The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism

Its Fundamentals & History



Dudjom Rinpoche

JIKDREL YESHE DORJE

I

The Translations

Translated and edited by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein





HIS HOLINESS DUDJOM RINPOCHE

The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism Its Fundamentals and History

Section One: The Translations

Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje

Translated and edited by
Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein



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the continued enlightened activity of
HIS HOLINESS DUDJOM RIṆPOCHE
and to all those who maintain
the living traditions of
Tibetan Buddhism.

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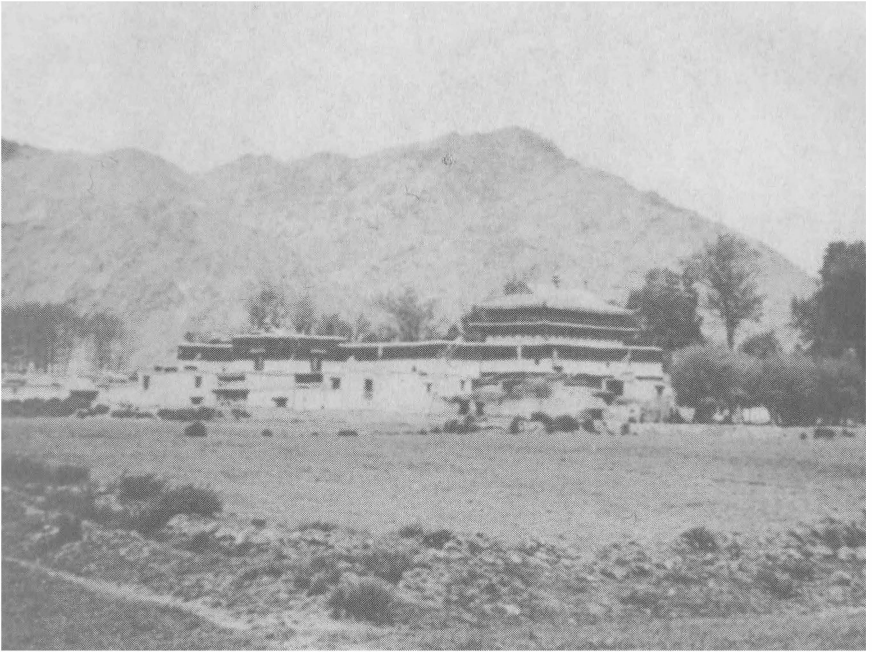
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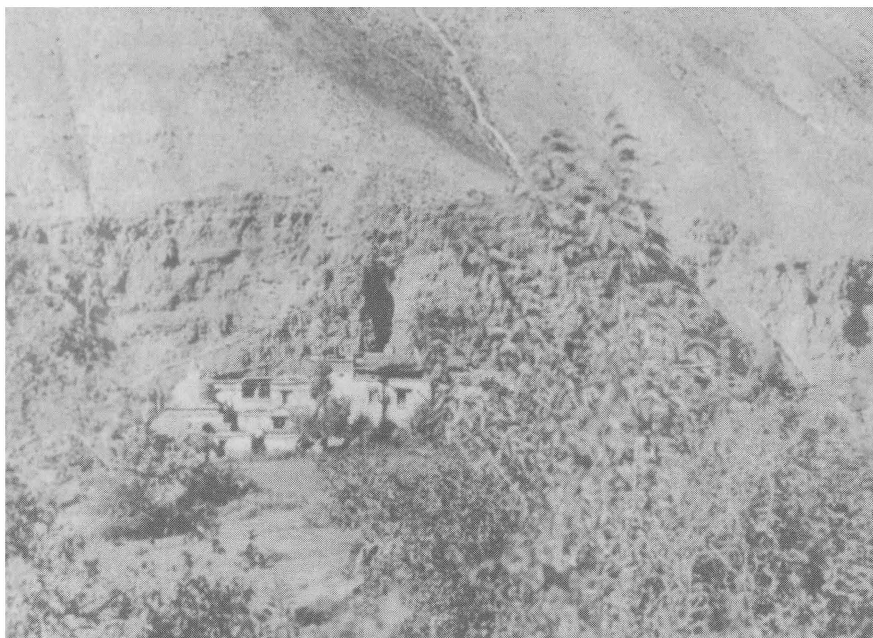
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Trhadruk, possibly Tibet's first Buddhist temple



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Öncangdo Peme Trashi Gepel Temple,
with Longcenpa's retreat centre on the hillside behind

Foreword by Shenpen Dawa Rinpoche

His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje, (1904-87) was appointed by His Holiness Dalai Lama XIV as the supreme head of the Nyingma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. He was an enlightened yogin and meditation master, a discoverer of concealed treasure teachings (*gter-ston*) who was inseparable from Guru Rinpoche [Padmasambhava], the most prolific of contemporary Tibetan scholars, and an incarnate lama who had intentionally emanated for the sake of sentient beings through seventeen successive lives. In ancient India these emanations included: Buddha Śākyamuni's foremost disciple Śāriputra; the *mahāsiddha* Saraha; Kṛṣṇadhara, the religious minister of King Indrabhūti; and the *ṛṣi* Hūṃkara. In Tibet, they included: Khyeucung Lotsāwa, one of Padmasambhava's twenty-five disciples; Smṛtijñanakīrti whose lifetime demarcated the transition from the ancient to the new system of translation; Rongzom Paṇḍita who was among the first to compose major treatises within the Nyingma tradition; Katok Tampa Deshek (1122-92) who founded the monastery of Katok in East Tibet; Chögyel Phakpa (1235-80) who established a Sakya administration in Central Tibet; Rikdzin Düdül Dorje (1615-72) who is famous for his discovery of concealed treasure teachings (*gter-ma*) in the Puwo region of south-east Tibet; Gyelse Sonam Detsen, responsible for revitalising Katok; and the treasure-finder Düjom Lingpa (1835-1904) who discovered the "New Treasures" (*gter-gsar*).

Like many of his predecessors, His Holiness was also renowned as a great discoverer of concealed treasure teachings which are now widely practised and propagated. These are primarily the direct "treasures of intention" or "mind treasures" (*dgongs-gter*) of the awareness-holders (*vidyādhara*) concerning the inner tantras of the secret mantra vehicle, which can bring about the unsurpassed enlightenment of the rainbow body in one lifetime.

He took birth in the Pemakö region on the frontier of Tibet, on the twenty-third day of the fourth Tibetan month, 1904. This birth occured while his predecessor Düjom Lingpa was still alive. Düjom Lingpa

himself gave the specific instructions of how to find his authentic emanation. His father was Tülku Jampel Norbu, who was Prince of Kanam, a direct descendant of King Trhisong Detsen, and his mother, Namgyel Drölma.

In his youth His Holiness received the transmissions and direct blessings of Guru Rinpoche, Yeshe Tshogyel and Mañjuśrī in person. He received all the lineages of the Nyingma school from his lamas: Phüngong Tülku Gyurme Ngedön Wangpo, Jedrung Trhinle Campa Jungne, Gyurme Phendei Özer, Namdröl Gyamtso of Mindröling, Gendün Gyamtso and Khenpo Aten, amongst others. He mastered every tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Astonishingly, at the age of fourteen, he gave the full empowerment and oral transmission of the *Store of Precious Treasure* (*rin-chen gter-mdzod*), which are the collected treasure texts of the Nyingma lineage. From that time on, he gave major empowerments relating to different treasure cycles, and at the same time composed many means for attainment (*sādhana*) which elucidated the profound teachings of the *buddhadharma*. He wrote commentaries both on his predecessor's teachings and on his own revealed treasures. When he was seventeen years old he composed his first celebrated treatise on the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-pa chen-po*). He became widely renowned as a scholar and meditation master, and was followed by many students. Among his students in Tibet and throughout the Himalayan regions, many have shown the signs of full enlightenment.

He maintained the lineage of the Mindröling tradition in Central Tibet, and above all at Pema Chöling [Lamaling] and his other seats in the Kongpo and Puwo areas of south-east Tibet. Subsequently, forseeing the incipient Chinese invasion, His Holiness and family left Tibet for India in 1958, following the prediction of Düjom Lingpa that the lineage of his New Treasures would spread to all continents of the world, and especially to the West.

After his arrival in India, Nepal and Sikkim, he established many vital communities of Buddhist practitioners. These include Zangdok Pelri in Kalimpong, Düdül Rapten Ling in Orissa and the Buddhist monasteries in Tshopema [Rewalsar, Himachal Pradesh] and Bodhnath in Nepal. In addition, he actively encouraged the study of the Nyingma tradition at the Tibetan Institute for Higher Studies in Sarnath. In such locations, he continued to grant the empowerments and literary transmissions for the *Collected Transmitted Precepts of the Nyingmapa* (*rnying-ma'i bka'-ma*), the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa* (*rnying-ma'i rgyud-'bum*), and the *Store of Precious Treasure*, among others. His prolific scholarship is attested by the recent publication in India of his *Collected Works*, and his edition of the *Collected Transmitted Precepts of the Nyingmapa*, a fifty-five volume work which he began at the age of seventy-four. At the request of the Dalai Lama, he also wrote a *Political History of Tibet (bod-kyi rgyal-rabs)*.

In the final phase of his teaching activity, His Holiness travelled widely throughout Asia, Europe and North America, where he brought many students to the *dharma*. He continued the buddha-activity of formal teaching, empowerment and personal supervision of meditation practice and retreat, which is the essence of the transmission of Vajrayāna Buddhism. Meditation and retreat centres were also established: the Vajrayāna Esoteric Society of Hong Kong, Dorje Nyingpo and Urgyen Samye Chöling in France, Yeshe Nyingpo and Orgyen Chö Dzong in the United States.

His Holiness passed into *parinirvāṇa*, dissolving his emanational body into the pure space of the buddha-body of reality (*dharmakāya*) on 17 January 1987, the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of the fire tiger year, shortly before the advent of a new Tibetan sixty-year cycle. This was at his residence overlooking the Vezère valley in the Dordogne, France. His passing was accompanied by miraculous signs of his enlightened realisation and buddha-attributes. His passing away in France is of great significance because it enacts the unification of East and West into a single maṇḍala of enlightened mind. His embalmed body was placed in a stūpa, constructed in Bodhnath, Nepal on 5 February 1989, in order to continue the Bodhisattva's activity of benefitting sentient beings. He was a Vajra Guru whose accomplishment is to be seen not so much in the outward form of elaborate monastic establishments, but in the direct, clear awareness of the mind, free from elaboration. This enlightened mind is displayed by many of his monastic and lay disciples. On this basis the purity of his lineage is established and maintained to this day in an unbroken succession.

The publication of this translation was originally conceived as a maṇḍala offering to His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche and to those great teachers who, through their discriminative awareness and skilful method, lead sentient beings to the path of the *dharma* – what is to be abandoned and what is to be adopted. For twenty years Gyurme Dorje devoted painstaking and continuous effort to bring these translations to fruition. He is a modest and unswerving scholar who has accomplished a work of paramount importance for practitioners, scholars and those generally interested in Tibetan Buddhism. Matthew Kapstein has given invaluable assistance for the later stages of these translations. Our joy is that this work has now come to its final form – the seed having been carefully planted and tended throughout, its growth has borne fruit. It will bring inconceivable benefit to all those who come into contact with it through reading, contemplation or meditation. Our regret is that we could not complete the project in time to make an offering of it to His Holiness during his lifetime. It is a work which communicates the highest wisdom of the Nyingma lineage to the English-speaking world.

I dedicate the benefit of this profound work of my father to the long life of His Holiness Dalai Lama XIV, the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, who is a benefit to the Land of Snows, and to the whole world. May all his actions be spontaneously accomplished. May the Tibetan people, under his lotus feet, never be separated from his enlightened discriminative awareness and compassion. May His Holiness the Gyelwa Karmapa manifest swiftly to raise the victory banner of the *dharma* which liberates sentient beings, and may the heads of the Kagyü schools continue to illuminate the path of those wandering in the six realms. May His Holiness the Sakya Trhizin powerfully safeguard and nourish the faultless tradition of the Sakyapa. May all other lineage-holders flourish, and their *dharma* activities increase like the waxing moon.

May His Majesty King Jikme Senge Wangcuk of Bhutan live long, bringing happiness, prosperity and spiritual growth to his people. May His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev of Nepal fulfil all the aspirations and wishes of his people. May the government and people of India, the land of the sublime ones, prosper and sustain their spiritual heritage.

May our *dharma* patrons, the Royal Grandmother of Bhutan, HRH Phüntsok Chödrön, M. Gerard Godet, Dr L. Y. Soo, Ms Emily Stevens and Jonathan Altman, enjoy both causal and wisdom merits and may their ability to benefit others never be exhausted. Tülku Pema Wangyel and Tülku Rangdröl selflessly served His Holiness – may their activities in the West be crowned with success.

To you, my physical and spiritual father and root guru, on behalf of my mother Rikzin Wangmo, my sisters Chime Wangmo and Tsering Penzom, my niece Lhanzey Wangmo, and my prophesied wife Sonam Chhuskit; on behalf of my sons Namgyel Dawa and Wangchen Dawa, and on behalf of all your disciples, I bow at your lotus feet and offer homage for your unrepayable kindness and guidance in making our lives wholesome and meaningful. May the victorious sound of the drum of the *dharma* penetrate all the levels of existence, bringing joy and happiness. May all be auspicious.

Taking a humble position, rich with the treasure of
  contentment,
Free from the binds of the eight worldly concerns,
  firm and strong-hearted in practice,
Receiving the Guru's blessing, realisation becomes
  equal to space.
May we attain the kingdom of the All-Good.

HIS EMINENCE SHENPEN DAWA RINPOCHE
Lineage-holder of the New Treasures
Dordogne, 1990

Preface

Two treatises form the present volume, namely, the *Fundamentals of the Nyingma School* (*bstan-pa'i rnam-gzhag*) and the *History of the Nyingma School* (*rnying-ma'i chos-'byung*). Among the most widely read of all His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche's works, these treatises were composed during the years immediately following his arrival in India as a refugee. His intention in writing them, as the concluding verses of the *History* state, was to preserve the precise structure of the Nyingma philosophical view within its own historical and cultural context, in a period of great uncertainty and instability.

Since the early sixties, His Holiness had appreciated the growing interest in the meditation practices and philosophical views of the Nyingma tradition, which is now evident both in universities and in the large number of Buddhist meditation centres throughout the world. He knew that, despite the vastness of the Tibetan literature, very few texts had actually been translated into other languages, and he recognised an urgent need for the presentation in English of traditional works which precisely define, stage by stage, the entire range of Buddhist experience and thought, and the authentic history of its transmission from antiquity to the present. Therefore, in 1971, he authorised and encouraged me to translate into English his *History of the Nyingma School*, which constitutes the latter part of this volume. Then, in 1980, he further authorised the translation of his *Fundamentals of the Nyingma School*.

Prior to 1971, partial Chinese and Hindi translations of the *History* had already been published in Hong Kong and Nalanda respectively. Working from the original Tibetan and its Hindi version, I prepared an annotated English translation in manuscript form at the monastery of Orgyen Kunzang Chokhorling in Darjeeling and at the sacred place of the Nyingmapa known as Tshopema, or Rewalsar, in Himachal Pradesh, between 1971 and 1977. The typing of the first draft was completed by Sheona Gunn at Bodhnath, Nepal, during the winter of 1977 to 1978. In the summer of 1979, the Author asked Matthew

Kapstein to edit the manuscript, and consequently in 1981 we met to revise the edited translation and to standardise the English terminology. Then, between 1980 and 1982, I prepared a translation of the *Fundamentals* in the Dordogne region of France and met again with Matthew Kapstein in New York during the summer of 1983, where he helped edit the *Fundamentals.* Both texts were prepared for publication with the assistance of many volunteer typists at Orgyen Chö Dzong, Greenville, New York.

The *Fundamentals* is written in the terse, highly structured style of the *grub-mtha'* genre, and is by no means an easy text to comprehend. A synopsis of the treatise has been included in the Translator's Introduction so that the reader can form an overall view of its structure and become familiar with the English terminology. Those unfamiliar with even the basic categories of Buddhist thought are recommended to start by reading the *History*, Parts One and Two, where these concepts are introduced in the clear narrative context of the origins of Indian Buddhism, as understood in the Nyingma tradition.

The annotations, glossaries and indexes for both texts, which are published here in the second section as a resource for the reader, were compiled after consulting materials at the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, between 1982 and 1983. The bibliographies were initially prepared in the Dordogne and London over the same period, and their sources thoroughly researched and documented at Brown University, Rhode Island, USA, from 1985 to 1986. All of this reference material was revised, updated and expanded into its present form with the help of our editor Sarah Thresher during the final editorial work in London, New York and Boston throughout 1989 and 1990.

The general problems of translation are compounded in the case of the Tibetan language. In the past, Tibetan scholars of the calibre of Vairocana and Kawa Peltsek could translate the Sanskrit Buddhist texts with great accuracy because they had fully realised the essence of enlightened mind. By contrast, in the present circumstances, despite our total absence of inner realisation, we are obliged to translate the great works of Tibetan literature in order to preserve and propagate them for the benefit of posterity. It is therefore hoped that the well informed reader will exercise some restraint in the knowledge that the translator accepts full responsibility for errors which inevitably exist. These in no way reflect on the realisation or scholarship of the Author.

At this juncture Matthew Kapstein and I wish to express our gratitude to all who helped bring about the publication of the English version of these texts. Above all, His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche suggested the task and inspired the work of translation at every stage of its development. Specifically, he gave attention to many textual problems in the

Dordogne, France, during the summer of 1982 and in New York during the summer of 1983. His wife, Lady Rikdzin Wangmo (Sangyum Kusho), and his *dharma* heir, Shenpen Dawa Rinpoche, have also given constant support. The late Kangyur Rinpoche and his family facilitated the project during its formative years in Darjeeling from 1971 to 1976, and gave invaluable subsequent assistance. During this period, the project was also funded and staunchly supported by Eric and Joan McLennan. Then, from 1977 to 1983, Gerard Godet of the Kangyur Rinpoche Foundation sponsored the translation with dedicated generosity. Some financial support was also provided by Tom Stickland in 1978, Georgina and Etienne De Swarte in 1982, and Mr C. T. Chen of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions during 1979 and 1980. Moreover, for the past twelve years enormous practical help has been given by Rigzin Dolma, who, keeping in the background, has sustained those working on the project.

Several scholars devoted many concentrated hours to clarify obscure points of *dharma* or translation. In chronological order, these were: Pema Dorje, the artist, and Khenpo Pema Sherab who dedicated themselves to the task at Clement Town during the winter and spring of 1978 to 1979; Khetsun Zangpo Rinpoche and Khenpo Tsewang Dongyel who offered similar assistance during the autumn and winter of 1979 in Nepal; and Lama Sonam Topgyel, Tülku Pema Wangyel, Khenpo Palden Sherap and Nyoshul Khen Rinpoche, who applied themselves to the editing problems in France from 1980 to 1982. I also wish to thank Professor David Snellgrove for his interest and support, Mr Hugh Richardson, Dr Michael Aris and Kalon Jikme Taring, who helped clarify specific points; and Mr Michael Farmer, who prepared our new maps with great thoroughness and care. Matthew Kapstein wishes to thank Khenpo Sangye Tenzin of Serlo Gumba, Nepal, for the profound kindness with which he introduced him to the historical and doctrinal traditions of the Nyingmapa.

Finally, we wish to express gratitude to all the staff of Wisdom Publications for their sustained efforts, editorial care and strong commitment to the preservation of the important works of Tibetan Buddhism. The publishers wish to thank Brian Boland for his assistance during the latter stages of production.

GYURME DORJE
London, 1990

Preface to the Second Edition

After H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche's *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History* first appeared in English in 1991, many expressed to us the desire for a more moderately priced edition that would be readily available to the broad range of students of Buddhism in the West and in Asia. We are therefore grateful to Wisdom Publications for now undertaking to bring out a new edition that will fulfill this demand. Our thanks are also due to the Venerable Sogyal Rinpoche and to the Rigpa Fellowship, whose encouragements have greatly facilitated these efforts.

The present volume reproduces in full the text of the two volumes of the original publication, the Translations, and Reference Materials. It differs in that it offers a reduced selection of the photographic plates that illustrated the first edition; and it corrects, without comment, a number of errors and infelicities that were found in the text after careful review. A list of addenda to the bibliography of works referred to by the translators has also been added so as to reflect pertinent developments in Tibetan Buddhist Studies during the past decade.

As promised in the original version, an exhaustive Tibetan-English glossary of the material treated in volume two is being prepared, and we are happy to announce that it is nearing completion. Remarks on new researches concerning the identification and availability of primary textual sources, which we have not been able to incorporate here, will be included in that forthcoming work, intended as an aid to Tibetological scholarship.

In concluding our present task, we wish to honour once again the memory of our magnificent teacher, H.H. the late Dudjom Rinpoche. We have been greatly privileged to assist in bringing these treasures of his intention to interested readers throughout the world. *dge legs 'phel! May virtue and goodness increase!*

Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein
June 2002

Credits for Illustrations and Maps

PLATES

The following people and organisations kindly made available colour or monochrome photographs for inclusion in Section One:

Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 5
Dudjom Rinpoche Collection, frontispiece, 6, 24
Gyurme Dorje, 1, 9, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20, 23,
Golbenkin Museum of Oriental Art, Durham, 2
Rigpa Meditation Centre, London, 3
Lama Yeshe Dorje, 4
Mathieu Ricard, 18, 22
Stone Routes, 10, 15, 17
Robin Bath, 8
Michael Farmer, 21
Richard Freling, 7
Ngawang Chödron, 13, 14

We would also like to thank Chris Conlon and all those who helped with the photo research.

LINE DRAWINGS

The series of line drawings in Section One was compiled from a number of sources and redrawn by Chris Conlon. The majority were commissioned and drawn under the guidance of Dudjom Rinpoche for the original publication of the *History* in its Tibetan version in 1962, and later redrawn by Gomchen Oleshey for publication in *Kailash*. We also acknowledge Professor Lokesh Chandra's *Buddhist Iconography of Tibet*, which was an invaluable resource, and thank all those who obtained or commissioned rare drawings, namely, Khenpo Pema Sherap, Nyoshul Khen Rinpoche, Tülku Pema Wangyel, Dr Yoshiro Imaeda, Dr Michael Aris, Chris Fynn and the Rigpa Meditation Centre, London. The completed line drawings were shown to Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche in the summer of 1990, who then instructed Tülku Pema Wangyel to review them for accuracy. Several revisions were undertaken on the basis of the latter's valuable advice.

MAPS

The maps in Section Two were compiled by Michael Farmer and extracted from the Tibetan mapping database currently being used to generate the forthcoming Wisdom map of Tibet. He wishes to thank YRM plc for the extensive use of their Intergraph CAD system, without which the project would not have been possible; and also Robbie Barnett, Jeremy Schmidt, John Cannon, Bradley Rowe, Anders Andersen and Urgyen Norbu, who generously provided valuable and rare maps from their own collections.

Technical Note

The two treatises presented here are works of great breadth and complexity. For this reason, extensive annotations, glossaries and indexes have been compiled to assist the reader, and these constitute Section Two. The introduction to the second volume details the reference material at the disposal of the reader – this brief note is intended to introduce only those conventions commonly used within Section One.

Each book is preceded by a detailed list of contents which includes a complete breakdown of all the sections and subsections of the original work. For the benefit of the reader, chapter and section headings have also been inserted within the texts themselves whenever possible even though these do not always appear in the original Tibetan. None of the inserted headings have been enclosed within square brackets or parentheses.

Square brackets have been used in the text where the terse character of the Tibetan language necessitates short explanations by the translators. They are also employed where, at the beginning of each section of the translation, the pagination of the original Tibetan text is given for the convenience of scholars wishing to locate specific passages in the original. Parentheses have been used where technical terms and book titles given in the original text have been retained, either in their Tibetan or Sanskrit versions. In those instances where these conventions would require the running together of square brackets and parentheses only the former have been employed.

Tibetan and Sanskrit book titles have been given in English translation and after their first occurence are followed by the Tibetan title (in the case of indigenous Tibetan works) or a Sanskrit title (in the case of works of Indic origin). The translated title always represents the form in which it is given in the Tibetan text and so may not always correspond to the known Sanskrit title. Abbreviated bibliographical data for texts occuring in certain well-known collections, such as the *Kangyur*, has also been provided, along with precise identification of the original sources of citations from major Indian Buddhist works

wherever possible. When the readings of the text and Sanskrit original diverge, the translators have remained faithful to the Tibetan. Full bibliographical information for texts cited by the Author or referred to by the translators is provided in Section Two.

Sanskrit has generally been used for the names of persons and places in India, and for the names of many of the deities. Sanskrit equivalents of Tibetan technical terms have also occasionally been given, though this is mostly reserved for the glossaries of Section Two. Where a technical term given in Sanskrit is not documented in the original Sanskrit sources that are presently available, this fact is indicated by the use of an asterisk (*) preceding the term in question. To avoid typographical clutter, however, we have not followed this convention with respect to personal and place names.

Numerical categories are not indicated in the body of the text and seldom in the Notes but are listed in the Glossary of Enumerations in Section Two, which should be directly consulted whenever enumerations occur. Similarly, Tibetan and/or Sanskrit equivalents for all the technical terminology employed in the body of the translations are given in the Index of Technical Terms.

Finally, readers are referred to the Guide to Pronunciation which follows, for an explanation of the system of romanisation and simplified spelling adopted for personal and place names in Section One. In particular, the conventions governing the use of the letters *c* and *e* may seem unnatural to an English speaker and so require special attention. Technical terms and book titles occuring parenthetically have been transcribed according to their proper Tibetan orthography.

Guide to Pronunciation

Readers should familiarise themselves at the outset with the following four rules of pronunciation for Tibetan and Sanskrit:

(1) A final *e* is never silent, but is always pronounced in the manner of the French *é*. Thus, Sanskrit *vane* is pronounced *vané*, and the Tibetan *Ghare*, *Kore* and *Dorje* are pronounced, respectively, *Gharé*, *Koré* and *Dorjé*.

(2) *C* is pronounced somewhat like the English *ch*, but without aspiration. Sanskrit *cakra* and *citta* thus resemble *chakra* and *chitta*, and Tibetan *Co-se*, *Campa* and *Koca* are rather like *Cho-sé*, *Champa* and *Kocha*.

(3) *Ph* is never pronounced like an English *f*, but like a *p* with strong aspiration, for example in Sanskrit *phala* and Tibetan *photrang*.

(4) *Th* is never pronounced like the English *th* in *think* or *that*, but always resembling a *t* with strong aspiration, for example in Sanskrit *tathāgata* and Tibetan *thuk*.

The following remarks explain the conventions adopted for the transcription of Sanskrit and Tibetan in greater detail:

SANSKRIT

The Sanskrit vowels in actual use here are as follows:

a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, e, ai, o, au

A, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* are pronounced as in Italian. *Ā*, *ī* and *ū* are not to be pronounced like the so-called "long vowels" in English, but like the *a* in *father*, the *ea* in *seat* and the *oo* in *boot* respectively. *Ai* is similar to the *y*-sound of English *by*, and *au* to the *ow* of *now*. *Ṛ* resembles the *ri*-sound of *brick*. Vowels may be followed by *ṃ* and *ḥ*, which respectively

indicate the nasalisation and aspiration of the vowel to which they are affixed.

The transcribed Sanskrit consonants are:

k, kh, g, gh, ṅ
c, ch, j, jh, ñ
ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ
t, th, d, dh, n
p, ph, b, bh, m
y, r, l, v
ś, ṣ, s, h

Of these, *k, ch, j, t, d, n, p, b, m, y, r, l, v, s,* and *h* indicate roughly the same sounds as they do in English, and *c, ph* and *th* have been explained above. The series *t, th, d, dh, n* is distinguished from the series *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ* in that the latter or "retroflex" series is pronounced with the tongue striking the roof of the mouth, and the former or "dental" series, with the tongue striking the upper incisors. *Kh, gh, jh, dh, ḍh* and *bh* are similar to *k, g, j, d, ḍ* and *b* respectively, but with strong aspiration. *Ṅ* resembles the *ng* in English *sing*, and *ñ* the *ny* in *canyon*. *Ṣ* and *ś* are both similar to the English *sh*-sound, but the tongue is positioned further back when pronouncing the former.

TIBETAN

The transcription of Tibetan in English introduces special problems owing to the fact that the pronunciation of the spoken language does not closely correspond to the orthography of the literary language. For this reason a transliteration of the Tibetan spellings is of little use to the ordinary reader, who will have no way of knowing that, for example, *bsgrubs* and *dbyings* are currently pronounced as *drup* and *ying* respectively. On the other hand, students of the classical Tibetan language usually prefer the literal transcriptions to simplified phonetic schemes. The solution adopted in the present work has been to give all Tibetan personal and place names occurring in the text in just such a simplified system, relegating the precise transliterations to the indexes. At the same time, book titles, technical terms and peculiarities of language which are given parenthetically or discussed in the annotations have been given in a formal transliteration of the classical Tibetan, the system used being based upon that of the late Turrell V. Wylie, which will be familiar to specialists.

Our simplified phonetic transcription approximates the pronunciation of modern Central Tibetan, but without the subtlety or precision of a formal phonetic transcription, such as that developed by Chang and Shefts. Our intention here is merely to minimise the difficulties with which Tibetan names confront the reader.

In addition to the five vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*, which have the same values here that they do in Sanskrit, Tibetan introduces two more – *ö* and *ü* – which are pronounced as in German.

The following additional consonants are used, along with those also found in Sanskrit: *ng*, *ny*, *tr*, *trh*, *dr*, *ts*, *tsh*, *dz*, *w*, *sh*, *z*, *zh*. Of these, *ng*, *ny*, *tr*, *dr*, *w*, *sh* and *z* are similar to their English values. *Trh* is like *tr*, but with strong aspiration. *Ts* resembles the *ts*-sound in English *bets*, and *dz* the sound in *adze*. *Tsh* is the strongly aspirated version of *ts*. *Zh* is similar to the *s* in leisure, or the *j* of French words such as *jamais*.

Specialists will note that this system does not reflect tone, an important feature of modern spoken Tibetan, and that we have dropped the aspirate in cases where it is not usually pronounced, even if it occurs in the classical orthography. Following a vowel, *l* is often silent, the preceding vowel being lengthened by way of compensation.

Abbreviations for Section One

DZ	*Gdams-ngag mdzod. Store of Precious Instructions.* 12 vols. Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971.
Fundamentals	Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, Vol. 1, Bk. 1.
History	Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, Vol. 1, Bk. 2.
Mvt.	*Mahāvyutpatti.* Ed. R. Sakaki, Kyoto, 1916-25.
NGB	*Rnying-ma'i rgyud-'bum. Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa.* Thimpu: Jamyang Khyentse Rinpoche, 1973. 36 vols. Catalogue by E. Kaneko, Tokyo, 1982.
NMKMG	*Rnying-ma bka'-ma rgyas-pa. Collected Transmitted Precepts of the Nyingmapa.* Ed. Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje. 55 vols. Kalimpong, WB: Dubjung Lama, 1982.
NYZ	*Snying-thig ya-bzhi. Four-Part Innermost Spirituality.* 11 vols. New Delhi: Trulku Tsewang, Jamyang and L. Tashi, 1970.
P	*The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition.* 168 vols. Tokyo-Kyoto: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1955-61.
RTD	*Rin-chen gter-mdzod. Store of Precious Treasure.* 111 vols. Paro: Ngodrup and Sherap Drimey, 1976.
SK	*Sa-skya bka'-'bum. The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa Skya Pa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism.* 15 vols. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968.
Skt.	Sanskrit
SP	*Śatapiṭaka Series.* Sarasvati Vihar, New Delhi.
T	*A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons.* Ed. H. Ui et al. Sendai: Tōhoku University, 1934.
Tib.	Tibetan

Book One
Fundamentals of the Nyingma School

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Note

This detailed list of contents has been compiled as a resource for the reader showing the entire structure and framework of the teachings as they are presented in Book One. Headings have been added which do not appear in the actual translation to give a more precise and full idea of the subjects mentioned in the text, and these have been included in square brackets. The actual nesting of subject categories within the original Tibetan treatise is indicated by the small figures in square brackets which follow each heading.

Detailed Contents of Book One

Translator's Introduction

The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism represents the original Buddhist teachings as they were translated, principally from Sanskrit but also from Burushaski and other languages into Tibetan, until the period of the Indian scholar Smṛtijñānakīrti (late tenth or early eleventh century) and prior to that of Locen Rincen Zangpo (958-1055). It is also known as the Ancient Translation School (*snga-'gyur*) in contrast to the other lineages of Indian origin such as the Kagyüpa, the Sakyapa, and the Kadampa, which subsequently arrived in Tibet and became known as the new traditions (*gsar-ma*) or the later translation schools (*phyi-'gyur*).

The original promulgator of the doctrines brought together within the Nyingma tradition is held to be Samantabhadra, who is the primordial buddha-body of reality (*chos-sku*, Skt. *dharmakāya*). However, there are also a considerable number of teachings which derive from Vajradhara and the Buddhas of the Five Families, who are the buddha-body of perfect rapture (*longs-spyod rdzogs-pa'i sku*, Skt. *sambhogakāya*), and from the emanational bodies (*sprul-pa'i sku*, Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*), such as Śākyamuni in the world of men, Munīndra in the god realms and so on.

All Buddhist teachings may be presented in accordance with the threefold approach of theoretical view (*lta-ba*), meditational experience (*bsgom-pa*), or conduct (*spyod-pa*). In the *Fundamentals of the Nyingma School,* His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche precisely delineates the entire range of the Buddhist spiritual and philosophical systems from the standpoint of the view. It is traditionally held that once the view has been comprehended, it is then to be experientially cultivated through meditation, and practically applied in all everyday situations which arise during the aftermath of meditation.

The Buddhist spiritual and philosophical systems form what is essentially a dynamic gradation of experience from the most mundane level of cyclical existence (*saṃsāra*) to that of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-pa chen-po*). As the text explains (p.80):

> When the transmitted precepts are classified according to their power, they form a vehicle, because it appears that therein higher and higher paths are traversed, in the manner of a "vehicle".

And again:

> Riding on that, which is the best of vehicles,
> Manifestly attaining to delightful bliss,
> All sentient beings pass into nirvāṇa.

The *Fundamentals* expands upon these systems, which are known in the Nyingma tradition as the nine sequences of the vehicle (*theg-pa'i rim-pa dgu*), in extraordinarily intricate detail. To facilitate the reader's understanding, a summary now follows.

SUMMARY OF THE TEXT

The *Fundamentals* consists of four parts. The first expounds the doctrines of cyclical existence or saṃsāra and the supramundane doctrines of nirvāṇa. The second explains the nature of the teachers who are endowed with the three buddha-bodies of reality, perfect rapture, and emanation. The third is an analysis of the causal vehicles of dialectics. And, finally, there is a detailed account of the resultant vehicles of indestructible reality (*Vajrayāna*) which are held to be supreme by all schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

Within these four parts the distinctions of entrance (*'jug-sgo*), empowerment (*dbang-bskur*), view (*lta-ba*), moral discipline (*tshul-khrims*), meditation (*bsgom-pa*), conduct (*spyod-pa*), and result (*'bras-bu*) are clarified as they apply to each stage of the Buddhist experience.

PART ONE: DOCTRINES OF SAṂSĀRA AND NIRVĀṆA

At the outset, the Author differentiates between mundane doctrines which do not transcend the suffering of cyclical existence and the supramundane doctrines which do so by relying on the continuum of enlightenment.

Doctrines of Saṃsāra

The basis of the mundane doctrines is held to be ignorance which, in three interrelated aspects, generates a sense of bewilderment. This, in turn, gives rise to consciousness of the ground-of-all (*kun-gzhi rnam-shes*, Skt. *ālayavijñāna*), the six conflicting emotions of ignorance, delusion, hatred, pride, desire, and envy, and also all sensory perception, the

eighteen psychophysical bases, the five components and the twelve activity fields.[1] All these are said to be compounded internally by the mind, their apparent aspect and support being the five gross elements compounded by external objects. In this way, the three world realms of desire (*kāmadhātu*), form (*rūpadhātu*) and the formless (*ārūpyadhātu*) are nothing but apparitional modes of the bewildered intellect of living beings. They do not appear in the pure vision of the buddhas, and the sufferings sustained within them are prolonged by karma or world-forming deeds.

The Mundane Vehicle and the Brahmā Vehicle

The mundane vehicle which is followed by gods and human beings (*lha-mi 'jig-rten-gyi theg-pa*) is the basis on which the nine specifically Buddhist sequences of the vehicle develop. By regulating world-forming deeds, renouncing the ten non-virtues and observing good deeds with piety and humility, one is said to progress to the status of a god of the desire realm within cyclical existence. As the text says (pp.60-1):

> It either forms the foundation of, or is preliminary to, all vehicles, because the vehicle which is not retained by the correct view and which does not observe the deeds and path of the ten virtues as its actual foundation is nowhere to be found.

As an extension of this mundane vehicle, the vehicle of Brahmā (*tshangs-pa'i theg-pa*) generates the experience of all the twenty-one higher realms within cyclical existence. These include seventeen realms of form, which are experienced through the four meditative concentrations of form, and four formless realms at the summit of cyclical existence, which are to be experienced through the four formless absorptions. These meditative techniques employ both tranquillity (*zhi-gnas*, Skt. *śamatha*) and higher insight (*lhag-mthong*, Skt. *vipaśyana*), and are accompanied by the practice of the four immeasurables (loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity). The chart on the following pages indicates the stages and overall structure of the three realms of cyclical existence with their subdivisions and their corresponding meditative states.

Since the vehicles of gods and human beings and the vehicle of Brahmā possess qualities which are basic to any Buddhist experience, they are regarded as a means of entering into the true vehicle of Buddhist experience.

Those of No Understanding and Those of Wrong Understanding

The sentient beings who are considered to be ensnared within cyclical existence and subject to continuous rounds of suffering are traditionally

THE SIX CLASSES OF LIVING BEINGS IN THEIR GRADATION TO THE SUMMIT OF EXISTENCE IN SAṂSĀRA

1. The Twenty-one Higher Realms (*khams gong-ma nyi-shu rtsa-gcig*)

1A. Four Formless Realms at the Summit of Existence
(*gzugs-med khams-pa'i gnas-bzhi*, Skt. *Caturārūpyadhātu*, Mvt. 3110-3113)

4. Activity Field of Neither Perception nor Non-Perception
(*'du-shes med 'du-shes med-min skye-mched*, Skt. *Naivasaṃjñāsaṃjñāyatana*)
3. Activity Field of Nothing At All
(*ci-yang med-pa'i skye-mched*, Skt. *Akiṃcanyāyatana*)
2. Activity Field of Infinite Consciousness
(*rnam-shes mtha'-yas skye-mched*, Skt. *Vijñānānantyāyatana*)
1. Activity Field Infinite as the Sky
(*nam-mkha' mtha'-yas skye-mched*, Skt. *Ākāśānantyāyatana*)

Class 6: God Realms

1B. Seventeen Realms of Form (*lha gzugs-khams bcu-bdun*)

1Ba. The Five Pure Abodes (*gtsang-gnas lnga*, Skt. *Pañcaśuddhanivāsa*, Mvt. 3101-3108)

5. Highest (*'og-min*, Skt. *Akaniṣṭha*)
4. Extreme Insight (*shin-tu mthong*, Skt. *Sudarśana*)
3. Attractive (*gya-nom snang-ba*, Skt. *Sudṛśa*)
2. Painless (*mi-gdung-pa*, Skt. *Atapa*)
1. Slightest (*mi-che-ba*, Skt *Avrha*)

1Bb The Twelve Ordinary Realms of the Four Concentrations
(*so-skye'i gnas bcu-gnyis*, Mvt. 3085-3100)

FOURTH CONCENTRATION
12. Great Fruition (*'bras-bu che*, Skt. *Bṛhatphala*)
11. Increasing Merit (*bsod-nams 'phel*, Skt *Puṇyaprasava*)
10 Cloudless (*sprin-med*, Skt *Anabhraka*)

THIRD CONCENTRATION
9. Most Extensive Virtue (*dge-rgyas*, Skt *Śubhakṛtsna*)
8 Immeasurable Virtue (*tshad-med dge*, Skt. *Apramāṇaśubha*)
7. Little Virtue (*dge-chung*, Skt. *Parīttaśubha*)

SECOND CONCENTRATION
6 Inner Radiance (*'od-gsal*, Skt *Ābhāsvara*)
5 Immeasurable Radiance (*tshad-med 'od*, Skt *Apramāṇābha*)
4. Little Radiance (*'od-chung*, Skt *Parīttābha*)

FIRST CONCENTRATION
3. Great Brahmā (*tshangs-pa chen-po*, Skt. *Mahābrahmā*)
2. Priest Brahmā (*tshangs-pa mdun-na 'don*, Skt *Brahmapurohita*)
1. Stratum of Brahmā (*tshangs-ris*, Skt. *Brahmakāyika*)

2. The Ten Higher Levels of the Desire Realm (*'dod-khams-kyi mtho-ris gnas-bcu*)

2A. Six Species of Kāma Divinities
(*'dod-lha rigs-drug*, Skt. *Kāmadevasatkula*, Mvt 3078-3083)

6. Mastery over Transformations
(*gzhan-'phrul dbang-byed*, Skt. *Paranirmitavaśavartin*)
5. Delighting in Emanation (*'phrul-dga'*, Skt. *Nirmāṇarata*)
4 Joyful (*dga'-ldan*, Skt. *Tuṣita*)
3 Strifeless (*'thab-bral*, Skt. *Yāma*)
2 Heaven of Thirty-three Gods (*sum-cu rtsa-gsum-pa*, Ski. *Trayatriṃśa*)
1. Four Great Kings (*rgyal-chen bzhi'i ris*, Skt. *Caturmahārājakāyika*)

Class 5: Antigods

Antigods (*lha-ma-yin*, Skt. *asura*)[2]

Class 4: Human Beings	2B. Human Beings of the Four Continents (*gling-bzhi'i mi*) 4 Surpassing the Body (*lus-'phags*, Skt. *Pūrvavideha* in the East) 3. Rose-Apple Continent (*'dzam-bu gling*, Skt. *Jambudvīpa* in the South) 2. Enjoyer of Cattle (*ba-glang spyod*, Skt. *Aparagodanīya* in the West) 1. Unpleasant Sound (*sgra mi-snyan*, Skt. *Uttarakuru* in the North)

3. The Three Lower Levels of the Desire Realm (*ngan-song gsum*)

Class 3: Animals	3. Animals (*dud-'gro*, Skt *tīryak*)
Class 2: Tormented Spirits	2. Tormented Spirits (*yi-dvags*, Skt *preta*)
Class 1: Hells	1 Denizens of the Hells (*dmyal-ba*, Skt. *naraka*)

divided into those who have no understanding (*ma-rtogs-pa*) and those who have wrong understanding (*log-par rtogs-pa*). The former include the apathetic who lack understanding of deeds and causality, and so fail to respond to any philosophical system, observing neither renunciation nor commitment; and the materialists (*Lokāyata*) who refer only to the present life and set their trust in the mysterious calculations of worldly wisdom.

Those of wrong understanding are traditionally said to comprise four schools of eternalistic extremism and one of nihilistic extremism. The former are the Sāṃkhya, the Aiśvara, the Vaiṣṇava, and Jainism. The Sāṃkhya hold all that is knowable to consist of twenty-five existent categories, which are said to be dissolved when sublimation of the self (*puruṣa*) occurs. The Aiśvara, who include the adherents of Nyāya logic and Vaiśeṣika analysis of substances, hold that an eternally existent lord or Īśvara controls the destiny of all beings regardless of deeds. The Vaiṣṇava uphold the authenticity of the Veda, along with the eternal status of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other deities. And Jainism holds all the knowable to be divided into nine categories, among which animate substances (*jīva*) are eternally existent. The nihilistic extremists are the Bārhaspatya hedonists of ancient India who negate causality, past and future lives, the existence of invisible beings and the possibility of progress beyond suffering into nirvāṇa.

All these are said to lack a means of achieving liberation from the suffering of cyclical existence – those of no understanding because they are roused by no philosophical view and those of wrong understanding because they either cling to the concept of an eternal self or become totally negative. Even so, the Author maintains, there are certain circumstances when a buddha may teach in the manner of the eternalists for a specific purpose or in that of the nihilists when scepticism may be transmuted into Madhyamaka dialectic.[3]

Doctrines of Nirvāṇa

The true doctrine of nirvāṇa which transcends the suffering of cyclical existence is said to surpass mundane doctrines because it seeks refuge in the Buddha, the doctrines of Buddhism and the community of practitioners. There are four seals or hallmarks indicative of such transmitted precepts, namely, all that is compounded is impermanent, all that is corrupt is suffering, all things are without self, and nirvāṇa is peace. By the practice of the Buddhist teachings all cyclical existence and rebirth are opposed.

In general, the Buddhist teaching is divided according to realisation (*rtogs-pa*, Skt. *adhigama*) and literary transmission (*lung*, Skt. *āgama*). The former includes the realisation which has been achieved by buddhas, or the truth of cessation, as well as the active or dynamic means

to attain that realisation – the truth of the path which removes obscuration and reveals the intrinsic awareness of buddhahood, bringing about the truth of cessation. The literary transmissions comprise both the transmitted precepts (*legs-bshad bka'*, Skt. *subhāṣitapravacana*) and the treatises (*bstan-bcos*, Skt. *śāstra*).

Transmitted Precepts

Transmitted precepts are the sūtra and tantra texts which originated from buddhas such as Śākyamuni. They comprise those given in the form of oral teaching, those given by the blessing or consecration of the buddha-body, speech and mind, and those given by a buddha's mandate (pp.74-6). They may also be classified according to the three successive promulgations of the doctrinal wheel, the twelve branches of the scriptures, the eighty-four thousand doctrinal components including the Vinayapiṭaka, Sūtrapiṭaka, Abhidharmapiṭaka, and Vidyādharapiṭaka,[4] or according to the nine sequences of the vehicle.

The Author indicates at some length that enumerations such as two vehicles, three vehicles, four vehicles, or five vehicles are merely different ways of categorising the single vehicle. In fact there may be as many vehicles as there are thoughts. As the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (*Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, T 107)[5] says:

> As long as there is perception
> The culmination of vehicles will never be
> reached.

In the Nyingma tradition the vehicle is said to have nine sequences, which are differentiated according to the acumen of those who require training through them. Each lower sequence is also included in the higher. Thus the *All-Accomplishing King* (*kun-byed rgyal-po*, T 828) states:

> Existentially there is only one
> But empirically there are nine vehicles.

These nine sequences are the vehicles of the pious attendants (*nyan-thos*, Skt. *śrāvaka*), self-centred buddhas (*rang-rgyal*, Skt. *pratyekabuddha*) and bodhisattvas (*byang-chub sems-dpa'*); the vehicles of Kriyātantra (*bya-ba*), Ubhayatantra (*gnyis-ka*), and Yogatantra (*rnal-'byor*); and those of Mahāyoga (*rnal-'byor chen-po*), Anuyoga (*rjes-su rnal-'byor*) and Atiyoga, the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-chen shin-tu rnal-'byor*). However, it is emphasised that the transmitted precepts in the form of a vehicle are a means of attaining realisation, and that, in the words of the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā*:

When the mind becomes transformed
There is neither vehicle nor mover.

Treatises

Treatises are commentaries composed by sublime beings such as Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Longcen Rapjampa to elucidate the intention of the transmitted precepts.

In Buddhist terms, treatises are defined as compositions which are made so as to counteract the three poisons of delusion, desire and hatred, and to protect the mind from the suffering of cyclical existence (pp.88ff.). They require four special attributes, namely, a motivation based on compassion and discriminative awareness, expressive words in verse, an expressed meaning which reveals the means for those who desire liberation, and a purposeful composition. Treatises are then classified in six ways according to: the purpose of the composer, the qualitative standard of the composition, the status of the composer (i.e. buddha, bodhisattva, arhat or paṇḍita), the specific or general manner of their composition, the view, conduct and integration of view and conduct as revealed in each of the three successive promulgations of the transmitted precepts, and finally the meaning they express, which may be quantitative, qualitative or conducive to liberation and omniscience.

The quantitative treatises, in which diverse categories are enumerated, include general treatises on ethics, and specialised treatises on grammar, logic, art, medicine, astrology, poetics, prosody, synonymics and drama. Qualitative treatises include those on Madhyamaka philosophy which establish the selflessness of the individual and of phenomena. Finally, the treatises conducive to liberation and omniscience include esoteric instructions of five kinds, which are condensed in order to generate liberation from cyclical existence in those who require training through them.

PART TWO: BUDDHA NATURE ACCORDING TO THE BUDDHA-BODIES

Having distinguished between the doctrines which cause one to remain in cyclical existence and those which transcend such suffering, what then is the nature of the buddha or the teacher who is said to communicate the means of attaining liberation? This is the subject-matter of Part Two.

Buddha (literally, the "awakened one") is rendered in Tibetan as *sangs-rgyas*: *sangs* meaning purified of all conflicting emotions and *rgyas* meaning vast in enlightened attributes. Thus a buddha is one who has purified all sufferings of cyclical existence and is endowed with the enlightened attributes of buddha-body and pristine cognition. The buddha-bodies are held to number three or five, although they have many other aspects. Lower sequences of the vehicle speak of the two bodies of reality and form, or

of three or four. Here in the Nyingma tradition there are five, namely, the buddha-bodies of reality, perfect rapture, emanation, awakening and indestructible reality.

The Buddha-body of Reality

The buddha-body of reality (*chos-sku*, Skt. *dharmakāya*), which is also known as Samantabhadra (*kun-tu bzang-po*), is considered to be the prime mover of the highest teachings of the Great Perfection or Atiyoga.

The Nyingmapa hold that buddhahood is attained when intrinsic awareness is liberated just where it is through having recognised the nature of Samantabhadra, the primordially pure body of reality. This buddhahood is endowed with the pristine cognition of the expanse of reality (*chos-dbyings ye-shes*, Skt. *dharmadhātujñāna*), for it is free from all conceptual elaborations, and the pristine cognition of sameness (*mnyam-nyid ye-shes*, Skt. *samatājñāna*) which remains pure through the extent of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa.

Reality (*chos-nyid*, Skt. *dharmatā*) in Buddhism refers to the emptiness which is the inherent nature of phenomena. The apparitional aspect of this reality is known as *chos-can* (*dharmin*), and that which is real (the phenomena themselves) are known as *chos* (*dharma*). Since it is held to be the foundation of all genuine experience, the body of reality is the basis of the buddha-bodies of form. It is also known as the youthful vase body (*gzhon-nu bum-pa'i sku*) because the pristine cognition remains inwardly radiant within it, in the manner of light within a crystal prism, even when it emanates as the buddha-body of form.

Through the blessing of this youthful vase body, the Buddha-field of the Bounteous Array (*Ghanavyūhabuddhakṣetra*) becomes manifest, and therein the Teachers of Five Enlightened Families, including the Buddha Vairocana, assume the body of perfect rapture. This is the great play of undifferentiated buddha-body and pristine cognition, which also acts out of compassion for the sake of sentient beings who are perceived to be bewildered without cause; for they wander in cyclical existence without recognising the nature of the primordial ground.

These teachers emanate all the buddha-fields within and around the body of Vairocana in order to guide beings to liberation. The fields are arrayed in three dimensions, namely, the Indestructible Nucleus of Inner Radiance (*'od-gsal rdo-rje snying-po*), Brahmā's Drumbeat (*tshangs-pa rnga-sgra*) and the Aeon of Great Brahmā (*tshangs-chen-gyi bskal-pa*), which correspond, respectively, to the body of reality, the body of perfect rapture and the emanational body. The last of these comprises all the realms of cyclical existence outlined in the chart above. It is said that in the space of a single atomic particle there are measureless fields of sentient beings being trained by the buddhas, and that on the surface of a single atom there are fields containing atoms of oceanic infinity.

As the *Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas* (*Buddhāvataṃsaka*, T 44) says:

> On the surface of a single atom
> There are as many buddhas
> As there are atoms.

However, as our text emphasises (p.119):

> These fields are said to be radiant apparitions, not existing in reality because, in the expanse of reality, relative appearances have not existed from the beginning.

The Buddha-body of Perfect Rapture

The buddha-body of perfect rapture (*longs-spyod rdzogs-pa'i sku*, Skt. *sambhogakāya*) is said to act within all those fields connected with Vairocana. It is endowed with seven attributes of natural expression, and the thirty-two major and eighty minor marks of the buddhas. These marks may appear outwardly, as the external form of the buddha-body; inwardly, as the network of energy channels, currents and seminal points (*rtsa rlung thig-le*) within the buddha-body; secretly, as present in the seed which is enlightened mind, or the nucleus of the tathāgata (*de-gshegs snying-po*, Skt. *tathāgatagarbha*); and, most secretly, as the rapture of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-pa chen-po*) which is experienced when the energy channels and seminal points are naturally expressed as supreme bliss.

As such, the five components of mundane cyclical existence find their true natural expression in the Teachers of the Five Enlightened Families, namely, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi; while the five elemental properties of space, cohesion, solidity, warmth and movement find their true natural expression as the five consorts: Dhātvīśvarī, Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, and Samayatārā. The four sensations of seeing, hearing, tasting and smelling, as well as the four sense objects, the four sense organs, the four temporal dimensions, the four aspects of sexual contact, and the four extremes of permanence, decay, self and character all find their true natural expression in the deities of the surrounding maṇḍalas. This pure vision, it is emphasised, lies within the perceptual range of the buddhas' pristine cognition alone, and remains invisible even to bodhisattvas of the highest level who are not liberated from all obscurations. It is maintained that all these elements of mundane cyclical existence are transmuted into the pure, divine nature through experiential cultivation of the Buddhist teachings. As the *Extensive Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul rgyas-pa*, NGB Vol.14) says:

If there is no understanding of intrinsic awareness or genuine perception,
The field of Sukhāvatī is even seen as a state of evil existence.
If the truth which is equivalent to the supreme of vehicles is realised,
Even states of evil existence are Akaniṣṭha and Tuṣita.

The Emanational Body

The emanational body (*sprul-pa'i sku*, Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*), which disciplines those who require training on the path to liberation, is of three types. First, there are the emanations of natural expression (*rang-bzhin sprul-pa'i sku*) who are the above-mentioned Teachers of the Five Enlightened Families appearing in their lower role before bodhisattvas of the highest level, in the manner of rainbow light. In this situation, when they are compounded by the minds of others, they are said to be endowed with a semi-manifest natural expression, half-way between the true body of perfect rapture and the emanational body.

Secondly, there are the supreme emanational bodies (*mchog-gi sprul-pa'i sku*) or emanations of the body of reality who train living beings through their twelve deeds in myriads of world systems. Within this world system of ours, which is known as the world system of Patient Endurance (*mi-mjed 'jig-rten-gyi khams*, Skt. *Sahalokadhātu*), the supreme emanational body appears as a sage embodying awareness of the true buddha nature in each of the six classes of living beings – gods, antigods, humans, animals, tormented spirits and hells. In the human world, for example, he appears as Śākyamuni Buddha, and, as the text explains (p.131):

> In these realms, the supreme emanational body projects the lamp of instruction for those requiring training in as many ways as they have psychophysical bases, sense organs and modes of conduct, and acts on behalf of sentient beings through four kinds of instruction.

These four are instruction by the great merits of the buddha-body's twelve deeds, instruction by the direct perception of the buddha-mind which is endowed with six supernormal cognitive powers (*mngon-shes drug*, Skt. *ṣaḍabhijñā*), instruction by inconceivable miraculous abilities which are the mysteries of the buddha's body, speech and mind, and instruction by knowledge conveyed in speech.

Thirdly, there are the diversified emanations (*sna-tshogs sprul-sku*) appearing as oases, food, and medicine, which are of benefit to living beings, and as the emanations of birth (*skyes-sprul*) and artistry (*bzo-sprul*) assumed, for example, by Śākyamuni Buddha in his previous lives and recorded in the *Jātaka Tales*.

The Nyingma tradition in particular holds that twelve teachers of the emanational body have appeared as the blessing of the body of perfect rapture in this world system to disclose the three emanational teachings of the buddha-body, speech and mind. A hand-sized vajra (*rdo-rje*) is said to be the actuality of the body of reality, a four-inch book is said to be the actuality of the body of perfect rapture, and the physical form, exemplified in those twelve teachers, is the actuality of the emanational body. The emanational body, in the Nyingma view, is endowed with sixty attributes; for each of those twelve teachers is connected with the five excellences of place, teacher, retinue, doctrine and time. A single emanational body also possesses ninety-six doctrines with respect to enlightened activity. Yet this enumeration is not regarded as a limitation because (p.138):

> The Sugata, learned in skilful means, manifests the body of form in ways which correspond to the number of atoms in the myriad fields of those requiring training, which are of oceanic extent.

The Buddha-body of Awakening

The buddha-body of awakening (*mngon-par byang-chub-kyi sku*, Skt. *abhisambodhikāya*), which is derived from the distinct apparitional functions of the aforementioned three bodies, possesses the four fearlessnesses, the eighteen distinct attributes of the buddhas, great compassion and the ten powers. These are all enumerated in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, the great glossary of technical terms composed by the Tibetan translators, probably during the reign of Senalek.

The Buddha-body of Indestructible Reality

Finally, the buddha-body of indestructible reality (*rdo-rje sku*, Skt. *vajrakāya*), which derives from the indivisible essence of the first three bodies, is the original unchanging expanse of reality in which all paths are concluded and all conceptual elaboration transcended. It is the taintless buddha nature pure from the beginning.

The Five Pristine Cognitions

The five pristine cognitions (*ye-shes lnga*, Skt. *pañcajñāna*), which are among the buddhas' attributes, are also discussed here. They are the pristine cognition of the expanse of reality (*chos-dbyings ye-shes*, Skt. *dharmadhātujñāna*), which is the perception of the buddha-body of reality; the mirror-like pristine cognition (*me-long ye-shes*, Skt. *ādarśajñāna*), which is the unbroken causal basis of all pristine cognition; the pristine cognition of sameness (*mnyam-nyid ye-shes*, Skt. *samatājñāna*),

which continuously abides in tranquillity, loving kindness and compassion without falling into the extremes of cyclical existence or nirvāṇa; and the pristine cognition of discernment (*sor-rtogs ye-shes*, Skt. *pratyavekṣaṇajñāna*), which is unimpeded with regard to the knowable, and refers to contemplations, dhāraṇī and other attributes. These last three are the perceptions of the body of perfect rapture. Finally, the pristine cognition of accomplishment (*bya-grub ye-shes*, Skt. *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna*) is diversified in all realms, within the emanations who act on behalf of living beings. Thus it is the perception of the emanational body.

The Author asserts that the nature of the buddhas who have purified obscurations and become vast in enlightened attributes of buddha-body and pristine cognition is to be experientially cultivated through the Buddhist teachings – both indirectly, through the sūtra texts, and directly through the mantra texts which are respectively a long and a short path to the same goal.

He concludes Part Two by distinguishing between the attributes of the buddha-bodies as they are revealed in the causal vehicles of dialectics, and in the resultant vehicles of secret mantra. The sūtras of the causal vehicles require one to undertake a long path of causal gradation, whereby conflicting emotions are abandoned, and merits and pristine cognition are accumulated. The resultant vehicles of the way of mantras, however, begin from the ultimate view of the buddha nature and insist that the whole of cyclical existence and nirvāṇa conform to the pattern of the three buddha-bodies.

PART THREE: CAUSAL VEHICLES OF DIALECTICS

The causal vehicles of dialectics (*rgyu mtshan-nyid-kyi theg-pa*, Skt. **hetulakṣaṇayāna*)[6] are classified either according to the three successive promulgations of the doctrinal wheel or according to the philosophical systems included within the lesser vehicle (*theg-pa chung-ba*, Skt. *Hīnayāna*) and the greater vehicle (*theg-pa chen-po*, Skt. *Mahāyāna*).

The Three Promulgations of the Doctrinal Wheel

In the first promulgation the Buddha expounded the four truths of suffering, its origin, the path and the cessation of suffering, with the intention that sentient beings should forsake cyclical existence. In the second promulgation he expounded the teaching on the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness (*shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa/ma*, Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*) with the intention that the buddha nature should be comprehended through topics of emptiness, signlessness and

aspirationlessness, and that consequently the ultimate truth which is referred to by synonyms in order to bring about the partial cessation of conceptual elaboration might become the foundation for those who enter the greater vehicle.

Then, in the third promulgation he excellently analysed all things from form to omniscience in accord with the three essential natures, namely, the imaginary (*parikalpita*), the dependent (*paratantra*), and the absolute (*parinispanna*), and disclosed the nucleus of the tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*), intending that the ultimate truth for which there is no synonym should become the nucleus of the path of the greater vehicle. Such were the three promulgations delivered by Śākyamuni Buddha.

The Lesser Vehicle

Among the philosophical systems of the causal vehicles of dialectics, those which belong to the lesser vehicle are the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika systems.

Vaibhāṣika

The pious attendants of the Vaibhāṣika school classify the knowable into five categories: perceptual forms, mind, mental events, disjunct conditions unassociated with mental events, and uncompounded entities. They hold that consciousness ultimately exists as a series of time-moments and that the material substances composing the world are an association of indivisible atomic particles unified by vital energy. They claim the subject-object dichotomy to be created through the recognition of objects by consciousness, but that there is no intrinsic awareness apart from this consciousness.

Through the vehicle of the pious attendants (*śrāvaka*), the status of an arhat is realised by meditation on the sixteen aspects of the four truths, so that the obscurations of the three poisons and ignorance are destroyed. As it is said in the *Sequence of the Path* (*Māyājālapathakrama*, P 4736):

> If, without realising non-duality,
> Everything is viewed to exist substantially
> In terms of the four truths,
> And one resorts to renunciation and non-renunciation,
> This is the level of the pious attendants.

Sautrāntika

The self-centred buddhas and pious attendants of the Sautrāntika school hold ultimate reality to agree with consciousness, which is a series of time moments. They also hold that, although consciousness refers to

objects, external objects are not actually perceived, a single, uncompounded sensum being transmitted in the manner of a reflection on a mirror. The subject-object dichotomy therefore becomes a subjective process, conventionally known as the recognition of objects. They are said to surpass the Vaibhāṣika in holding the conglomerate of atoms to be unknown and in their appreciation of an intrinsic awareness.

Through the vehicle of the self-centred buddhas (*pratyekabuddha*), the twelve modes of dependent origination are meditated on and reversed. Whereas pious attendants hold the individual self to be abandoned in ultimate truth, the self-centred buddhas hold external objects to be ultimately fallacious and subjective consciousness to exist genuinely. They are said to be realised in one and a half parts of what is implied by selflessness. This is because they realise selflessness with reference to the individual and understand that the atomic particles of external phenomena do not independently exist, but still hold time moments of consciousness or internal phenomena to be ultimately real.

The Greater Vehicle

Among the philosophical systems of the greater causal vehicle, there are the Vijñānavāda or proponents of consciousness, and the Mādhyamika or adherents of the middle path.

Vijñānavāda

The Vijñānavāda confirm the Sautrāntika view that objects are not perceived. All things are held to be apparitional aspects of mind, definitively ordered according to three essential natures: the imaginary which includes both phenomena and characteristics such as the concept of selfhood; the dependent which includes the five impure components of mundane existence and the pure attributes of buddha-body and pristine cognition; and the absolute which includes the unchanging abiding nature of reality and the incontrovertible absence of conflicting emotions.

The Mind Only school, which emphasises the ontological aspect of the Vijñānavāda, is divided into those who hold sensa to be veridical (*Sākāravāda*), and those holding sensa to be false, admitting only consciousness to be genuine (*Nirākāravāda*). These have many subdivisions. While the Vijñānavāda is held to surpass the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika of the lower vehicle, it fails to understand the absolute nature, since it holds consciousness to exist absolutely in the ultimate truth.

Madhyamaka

The Mādhyamika or adherents of the middle path are either those who uphold the coarse outer Madhyamaka or the subtle inner Great Madhyamaka (*dbu-ma chen-po*).

Outer Madhyamaka

The Outer Madhyamaka include the Svātantrika (*rang-rgyud-pa*) who employ independent reasoning, and the Prāsaṅgika (*thal-'gyur-ba*) who employ *reductio ad absurdum*.

The Svātantrika surpass the previous philosophical systems which adhere to substantiality and subjective conceptual elaboration, and they avoid both extremes. All things which appear are said to exist in relative truth, which is either correct or incorrect in conventional terms, but are inherently empty and non-existent in the ultimate truth, which cuts through conceptual elaboration. All relative appearances can be refuted by logical arguments, but it is also proven that no scrutiny or judgement can be made in relation to ultimate truth.

The Prāsaṅgika distinguish between the unbewildered intellect or pristine cognition of the buddhas, in which relative phenomena never appear, and the bewildered intellect of sentient beings. Ultimate truth, the reality of the unbewildered intellect of the buddhas, is vitiated by bewilderment, and so mundane cyclical existence appears and is assigned conventionally to the relative truth, though not really admitted.

The Prāsaṅgika also employ the five kinds of logical axioms used by the Svātantrika, but unlike them do not seek to prove their conclusions positively with reference to relative appearances and conceptual elaboration, having refuted them. Rather they refute all possible views which lie within the range of the four extremes of being, non-being, both being and non-being, and neither being nor non-being. Ultimate truth is thus the pristine cognition of the buddhas, free from all conceptual elaboration of the subject-object dichotomy. It is said that the two truths form the Madhyamaka of the ground; the two provisions of merit and pristine cognition form the Madhyamaka of the path; and that the coalescence of the two buddha-bodies of reality and form is the Madhyamaka of the result.

Great Madhyamaka

The Great Madhyamaka (*dbu-ma chen-po*) is aloof from the reasoning of the Outer Madhyamaka which is based upon dialectics, and instead must be experientially cultivated in meditation. In accord with the analysis of all things made by Śākyamuni in the third promulgation of the doctrinal wheel with respect to the aforementioned essential natures, it holds the imaginary to imply that attributes are without substantiality, the dependent to imply that creation is without substantiality, and the absolute to imply that ultimate reality is without substantiality. Absolute reality is thus empty of all the imaginary objects which are to be refuted and all conceptual elaboration of cyclical existence, but it is not empty of the enlightened attributes of buddha-body and pristine cognition which are spontaneously present from the beginning.

The *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (*Mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra*, T 4024) says:

> The seed which is empty of suddenly arisen
> phenomena,
> Endowed with divisive characteristics,
> Is not empty of the unsurpassed reality,
> Endowed with indivisible characteristics.

The Great Madhyamaka therefore maintains that the conceptual area of the subject-object dichotomy is intrinsically empty (*rang-stong*), while the buddha-body of reality endowed with all enlightened attributes is empty of that extraneous conceptual area which forms the subject-object dichotomy (*gzhan-stong*). If enlightened attributes were themselves intrinsically empty of their own essence, the entire structure of the ground, path and result would be negated and one would be in the position of the nihilistic extremists who deny causality, progress on the path to liberation and so forth.

This expanse of reality, the ultimate truth, is said to pervade all beings without distinction and is known as the nucleus of the tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*) or the nucleus of the sugata (*sugatagarbha*). It is held to be only fully developed and qualitatively perceived according to its true nature by buddhas, and yet equally present in ordinary sentient beings and bodhisattvas who are partially purified on the path to liberation. It is when the obscurations covering this seed of the buddha nature are removed that liberation is said to occur. Now, there are two kinds of renunciation of obscurations which have been expounded, one that is a naturally pure, passive *fait accompli*, and another which actively removes the obscurations by applying an appropriate antidote. Although the nucleus of the tathāgata is held to be present from the beginning in all beings, it is not therefore claimed that all beings are buddhas free from all obscuration. Similarly there are two kinds of realisation, one that is naturally present and passive, and another that is dependently produced and active. They are equivalent to the truths of cessation and of the path described above in Part One.

While the second and the third promulgations of the doctrinal wheel give authenticity to the view of Great Madhyamaka, it is the third or final promulgation which extensively reveals the nucleus of the tathāgata. Certain scholars of the past have, as the Author states, erroneously linked the views of Great Madhyamaka and Vijñānavāda. However, the former is concerned with absolute reality, and the latter is directed towards consciousness. There is held to be a great distinction between the pristine cognition of the buddhas and the consciousness of the ground-of-all. The proponents of Mind Only maintain that consciousness is not transcended in ultimate truth, but this is a view which is bound within cyclical existence. According to Great Madhyamaka,

the ultimate truth is the obscurationless pristine cognition, the uncorrupted expanse of reality transcending consciousness. This is because subjective consciousness is only dependently real, and pristine cognition is free from the subject-object dichotomy.

This view of the Great Madhyamaka is revealed in the compositions of Nāgārjuna,[7] Asaṅga and others, whether they belong to the second or third promulgation of the doctrinal wheel, for both refer to the three essential natures. Once Mind Only has been provisionally taught, the apparitionless Madhyamaka is taught, and when that has been transcended, the apparitional Madhyamaka is revealed. Without reaching that, the profound meaning of the greater vehicle is not perceived.

Those who actually and experientially cultivate the path to liberation do not differentiate the two modes of Madhyamaka (*rang-stong* and *gzhan-stong*), as is attested by the writings of Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and other paṇḍitas who commented on the intention of the definitive meaning (*nges-don*). While the second promulgation is generally confined to an outright negation of conceptual elaboration, this is merely a step in the experiential cultivation of Madhyamaka, which must subsequently transcend the Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika reasoning.

When meditational experiences have been established, it is the Great Madhyamaka, as taught in the third promulgation, which is profound and vast; and the vehicles of the secret mantra which are even more extensive. The purposes of the lower sequences of the vehicle are gathered within the higher. Otherwise the buddhas would not have given the three promulgations and nine sequences of the vehicle in that appropriate order.

Provisional and Definitive Meaning

Thus, in the Nyingma view, the first and second promulgations may be allocated provisional meaning (*drang-don*, Skt. *neyārtha*) because they are a basis for debate, respectively rousing the mind from cyclical existence by teaching impermanence and destroying by means of the three approaches to liberation the reductionist view which adheres to the selfhood of phenomena. The third promulgation, however, is allocated definitive meaning (*nges-don*, Skt. *nītārtha*) because it teaches that all relative appearances are intrinsically empty (*rang-stong*) and that all enlightened attributes are empty of those same extraneous appearances (*gzhan-stong*). The range of the buddhas' pristine cognition is thereby revealed and debate is surpassed by experiential cultivation. Yet, as the Author asserts, there is no difference between the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness (*prajñāpāramitā*) revealed in the second promulgation and the pristine cognition revealed in the third. The distinction merely concerns the extent to which ultimate reality is revealed.

The Enlightened or Buddha Family

Since all beings are endowed with the nucleus of the tathāgata, the seed of the buddha nature, they are all part of the buddha or enlightened family. From the ultimate point of view, this family is one in which the natural expression of enlightenment is said to abide inherently, and from the conventional or dynamic point of view, it is one in which that natural expression is to be attained. The former is the ground of separation from obscuration (*'bral-rgyu*), in which the three resultant buddha-bodies arise. It is also known as the truth of cessation according to the greater vehicle. The latter is the truth of the path on which the provisions of merit and pristine cognition are accumulated in order that the obscurations covering the nucleus may be removed and the result be actualised (*bral-'bras*). The three buddha-bodies are thus said to abide primordially in the nucleus of the enlightened family, and are merely realised by the removal of the obscurations which cover them. They are not themselves compounded by the accumulation of causal provisions.

This indivisible essence of the enlightened family, the nucleus of the tathāgata, is extensively revealed in the writings of Nyingmapa authors such as Longcenpa, Rongzompa, Terdak Lingpa and Mipham Rinpoche, and also in the compositions of the great masters of other Tibetan traditions – Kadampa, Kagyüpa, Sakyapa and Gelukpa, as can be seen in the many quotations cited from their works.

The Two Truths according to Great Madhyamaka

During moments of meditative absorption, the outer and inner Madhyamaka do not differentiate the two truths since one then abides in the expanse of reality, the pristine cognition that is free from all conceptual elaborations of the subject-object dichotomy. During the aftermath of meditative absorption, however, they are distinguished differently by the Outer Madhyamaka, which allocates emptiness to ultimate truth and appearances to the relative truth; and the inner Great Madhyamaka, which determines ultimate truth to be the realities of nirvāṇa, in which the subject or pristine cognition and the object of its perception, as established by conventional logic, are harmonious, and relative truth to be the phenomena of cyclical existence, in which the subjective consciousness and the object of its perception, incapable of being established even in terms of conventional logic, are in a state of dichotomy. Ultimate truth is thus the expanse of reality in which pure appearances and emptiness are coalesced. Although this coalescence is even more elaborately revealed in the resultant vehicles of the secret mantra, it must first be established according to the view of Great Madhyamaka, on which the superior views from Kriyātantra to Atiyoga are all based. The Great Madhyamaka is therefore said to be the

climax of the philosophical systems according to the causal vehicles of dialectics.

Through the vehicle of the bodhisattvas who uphold the Vijñānavāda and Madhyamaka philosophies, the ten levels and five paths are gradually traversed, and liberation is finally attained in the buddha-body of reality on the eleventh level (*Samantaprabhā*). Manifesting the two bodies of form, the bodhisattva then acts on behalf of others until all beings have been liberated from cyclical existence. It is therefore held that the vehicle of the bodhisattvas is the first of the nine sequences of the vehicle which may be conducive to total liberation.

Key to the Appraisal of Causal Vehicle Texts

Texts belonging to the causal vehicles of dialectics are firstly divided between those of the definitive third promulgation and their commentaries which reveal the full extent of the buddha nature, and those of the provisional earlier promulgations and their commentaries which partially reveal the buddha nature. There are also four kinds of intention with which buddhas deliver the teaching, unknown to the listener, and four kinds of covert intention which buddhas are said to employ in order for their precise meaning to be eventually understood by the listener.

Recapitulation of the Causal Vehicles

To facilitate comprehension of the above philosophical systems, Part Three is completed by a recapitulation of the three causal vehicles of dialectics, namely, those of the pious attendants, self-centred buddhas and bodhisattvas, within the context of their respective entrances, views, moral disciplines, meditations, modes of conduct and results.

PART FOUR: RESULTANT VEHICLES OF SECRET MANTRA

Part Four concerns the resultant vehicles of secret mantra, on which subject our text says (p.244):

> ...in the vehicle of dialectics, mind-as-such [or pristine cognition] is merely perceived as the causal basis of buddhahood. Since it is held that buddhahood is obtained under the condition whereby the two provisions increasingly multiply, and since the purifying doctrines which form the causal basis of nirvāṇa are made into the path, it is called the causal vehicle. Therein a sequence in which cause precedes result is admitted. According to the vehicle of mantras, on the other hand, mind-as-such abides primordially and intrinsically as the

essence of the result, identified as the buddha-bodies and pristine cognitions. Mind-as-such is thereby established as the ground which exists within oneself from the present moment as the object to be attained. It is then established as the path through its functions of bringing about recognition and removing the provisional stains which suddenly arise by means of inducing the perception of just what is, and it is established as the result through its function of actualising this very ground. Since a sequence in which cause precedes result is not really distinguished therein, it is called the resultant vehicle and the vehicle of indestructible reality.

Superiority of Secret Mantra

The resultant vehicles are said to surpass the causal vehicles in many ways. They are held to be unobscured, endowed with many means, without difficulties, and referred to by those of highest acumen; or to be swift, blissful, and endowed with skilful means. The *Tantra of Inconceivable Rali Cakrasaṃvara* (*Śrīcakrasaṃvaraguhyācintyatantrarāja*, T 385) speaks of fifteen such superior qualities. Above all, the resultant vehicles are said to transcend all conceptual elaboration and logical reasoning, and to establish pristine cognition as the nucleus of the buddha-body of reality, the coalescence of appearance and emptiness, within one lifetime and so forth. Since a sameness with respect to all things is to be experienced, they are capable of making relative appearances into the path, without requiring them to be renounced as in the causal vehicles. Thus one meditates through the outer mantras of Kriyātantra, Ubhayatantra and Yogatantra with reference to the deity's body, speech and mind, and according to the inner mantras all things are realised and experienced as the maṇḍalas of the buddha-body, speech and mind.

Essence and Definition of Secret Mantra

Mantra is defined as an attribute of buddha-body, speech and mind which protects the mind with ease and swiftness. It also includes the deities in which emptiness and appearances are coalesced, symbolised by the seed-syllables E-VAṂ, because they too protect the mind from rebirth in the three realms of cyclical existence. Those who attain realisation through the mantras are known as awareness-holders (*rig-'dzin*, Skt. *vidyādhara*) and the texts which convey the mantra teaching are known as the Piṭaka of Awareness-holders. There are said to be three kinds of mundane awareness-holder and enumerations of either four or seven kinds of supramundane awareness-holder. The resultant vehicle is also known as the vehicle of indestructible reality (*rdo-rje theg-pa*, Skt. *Vajrayāna*) because pristine cognition or mind-as-such is imperishable

and unchanging, despite the divergent apparitional modes of cyclical existence and nirvāṇa.

The Three Continua

Again, the resultant vehicle is also known as tantra, which is defined both as a means for protecting the mind and as the continuum extending from ignorance to enlightenment. There are said to be three such continua – those of the ground, path and result.

The continuum of the ground is another name for the nucleus of the tathāgata, the buddha-body of reality, the family in which the natural expression of enlightenment abides and the pristine cognition of the ground-of-all – which have previously been explained in the context of Great Madhyamaka. However, the same continuum of the ground is also spoken of in Kriyātantra as one's own real nature (*bdag-gi de-kho-na-nyid*), in Ubhayatantra as the blessing of that reality, which is the ultimate truth without symbols (*don-dam mtshan-ma med-pa'i byin-rlabs*), and in Yogatantra as a deity of the expanse of indestructible reality, who relatively appears (*kun-rdzob rdo-rje dbyings-kyi lha*).

Similarly, it is also spoken of in Mahāyoga as the superior and great body of reality in which the two truths are indivisible (*bden-gnyis dbyer-med lhag-pa'i chos-sku chen-po*), in Anuyoga as the fundamental maṇḍala of enlightened mind, the offspring of the non-duality of the expanse and pristine cognition (*dbyings-dang ye-shes gnyis-su med-pa'i sras rtsa-ba byang-chub sems-kyi dkyil-'khor*), and in the Great Perfection of Atiyoga as the ground conventionally known as essence, natural expression and spirituality (*ngo-bo rang-bzhin thugs-rje*).

The continuum of the path refers to the skilful means which purify the obscurations covering the ground, and cause all cyclical existence to be experienced as an array of deities and their fields of rapture. The continuum of the result is actualised when those obscurations have been removed, although it is essentially identical to the continuum of the ground. All accomplishments are therein actualised. It is said that when the ground and result are indivisible, the truth of the origin of cyclical existence appears as the truth of the path to its cessation, and that the truth of suffering appears as the truth of its cessation.

The Four Tantrapiṭaka

The texts in which the teachings of the resultant vehicles of the secret mantra are expressed are divided into four tantrapiṭaka, namely, Kriyātantra, Ubhayatantra (or Caryātantra), Yogatantra, and Unsurpassed Yogatantra (*Anuttarayogatantra*), which are taught as the means respectively for those of lowest, middling, superior and highest acumen who require training. According to the Nyingma tradition, the first three of these are known as the vehicle of austere awareness (*dka'-thub*

rig-pa'i theg-pa) because they all, to a greater or lesser extent, include external observances of body and speech. The last one is known as the vehicle of overpowering means (*dbang-bsgyur thabs-kyi theg-pa*), in which skilful means and discriminative awareness are coalesced.

Kriyātantra

Kriyātantra (*bya-ba'i rgyud*), or the tantra of action, emphasises external observances of body and speech, while continuing the subject-object dichotomy. It holds that meditation is required alternately on an ultimate truth, which is one's own real nature, and on a deity of relative appearance endowed with pristine cognition, distinct from that reality, who externally confers the accomplishments. By aspiring towards accomplishment, regarding the deity as a servant would his master, and by practising ablutions, fasting and other austerities which delight the deity, one may be granted the realisation of a holder of indestructible reality (*rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*) within seven lifetimes.

Ubhayatantra

Ubhayatantra (*gnyis-ka'i rgyud*), or the tantra which gives equal emphasis to the view and conduct, includes both symbolic meditation on the seed-syllables, seals and form of the deity and non-symbolic meditation on ultimate reality, the blessing of which may confer accomplishment as a holder of indestructible reality within five lifetimes.

Yogatantra

Yogatantra (*rnal-'byor-gyi rgyud*), or the tantra of union, emphasises meditation. The blessing of ultimate reality relatively appears as a deity of the expanse of indestructible reality. Persevering in the acceptance and rejection of positive and negative attributes in relation to this deity, one may attain the accomplishment of a holder of indestructible reality belonging to the five enlightened families within three lifetimes. Symbolic meditation in this context includes the experiences of the five awakenings (*mngon-byang lnga*), the four yogas (*rnal-'byor bzhi*), and the four seals (*phyag-rgya bzhi*) associated with the deity, and non-symbolic contemplation concerns the real nature of the mind. External observances are not, however, rejected.

Unsurpassed Yogatantra

The Unsurpassed Yogatantra (*bla-na med-pa'i rgyud*, Skt. *Anuttarayogatantra*) emphasises the coalescence of skilful means and discriminative awareness, and is said to surpass the lower tantras which have not abandoned duality. The three poisons are carried on the path – desire as the essence of bliss and emptiness, hatred as the essence of radiance

and emptiness, and delusion as the essence of awareness and emptiness – and the result may be achieved within a single lifetime. In the Nyingma tradition, the Unsurpassed Yogatantra is divided into Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga.

Mahāyoga

Mahāyoga (*rnal-'byor chen-po*) unites the mind in the superior body of reality, in which the two truths are indivisible. The continuum of the ground is established as the genuine view to be realised by means of four axioms. The continuum of the path has two stages, among which the path of skilful means (*thabs-lam*) carries the three poisons on to the path by means of practices concerning the network of energy channels, currents and seminal points (*rtsa rlung thig-le*) within the body. The path of liberation (*grol-lam*) comprises a ground of discriminative awareness, a path of contemplation and, as its result, the status of an awareness holder (*rig-'dzin*) is attained. Contemplation chiefly refers to the five contemplative experiences of the divine maṇḍalas in their creation and perfection phases (*bskyed-rim-dang rdzogs-rim*), which purify the rebirth process including the moment of death, the intermediate state after death (*bar-do*), and the three phases of life (*skye-ba rim-gsum*). At the successful conclusion of this practice one is said to become an awareness-holder and to actualise twenty-five resultant realities of the buddha level.

Anuyoga

Anuyoga (*rjes-su rnal-'byor*), or subsequent yoga, emphasises the perfection phase, and so forms a bridge between the creation phase of Mahāyoga and the Great Perfection of Atiyoga. The ground or view of Anuyoga is that the expanse of reality, which is the primordial maṇḍala of Samantabhadrī, and pristine cognition, which is the spontaneously present maṇḍala of Samantabhadra, are indivisible in the fundamental maṇḍala of enlightened mind.

The path of Anuyoga comprises these three maṇḍalas of the ground, along with all the nine sequences of the vehicle. Among them the specific Anuyoga practices include the definitive path of skilful means (*nges-pa'i thabs-lam*) in which the co-emergent pristine cognition of melting bliss is realised through the perfection of the energy channels, currents and seminal points within the body (see p.286); and the liberating path of discriminative awareness (*shes-rab grol-lam*) which establishes the view that all things are of the nature of the three maṇḍalas, and employs both a non-symbolic contemplation of reality and a contemplation of the symbolic deity. While the divine maṇḍalas of Mahāyoga and the lower sequences are gradually created or generated, those of Anuyoga arise spontaneously in a perfect manner. The result is that the five paths and ten levels known to Anuyoga are traversed, all the

subtle propensities which lead to rebirth in cyclical existence are refined, and the rank of Samantabhadra is realised along with the twenty-five resultant realities of the buddha level.

Key to the Appraisal of Secret Mantra Texts

At this point, Dudjom Rinpoche discusses the criteria by which the texts of the resultant vehicles of secret mantra are to be appraised. The language of the texts is said to observe six limits and their styles of presentation are said to number four. Each line or verse of the teaching of indestructible reality (*vajrapāda*) is to be analysed in terms of these criteria before the meaning can be ascertained.

Atiyoga

According to the Nyingma tradition, the Great Perfection of Atiyoga (*rdzogs-chen shin-tu rnal-'byor*) or "highest yoga" is the climax of the nine sequences of the vehicle. The expanse of reality, the naturally present pristine cognition, is herein held to be the ground of great perfection. The eight lower sequences of the vehicle have intellectually contrived and obscured by their persevering activities the pristine cognition which intrinsically abides. Accordingly, the text says (pp.294-5):

> In this way the pious attendants and self-centred buddhas among the lower vehicles, with reference to the selflessness which they realise, hold consciousness and atomic matter to be the ultimate realities; and the proponents of consciousness who hold consciousness, self-cognisant and self-radiant in nature, to be the absolute characteristic of ultimate reality, do not transcend [the view of] mind and mental events harboured by mundane beings. The Mādhyamika adhere to a truth of cessation scrutinised by four great axioms and the like, concerning the absence of creation, absence of cessation, absence of being and absence of non-being, which are appraised according to the two truths, and they adhere to an emptiness which is, for example, like the sky, free from extremes and free from conceptual elaboration. The Kriyātantra among the lower ways of mantra hold that accomplishments are attained which delight the deity endowed with the three purities, by means of cleanliness and other such austerities. The Ubhayatantra are attached to superficialities in their equation of the higher view and the lower conduct. The Yogatantra, having regarded the blessing of ultimate reality as a deity, objectively refer to the yoga of the four seals. The Mahāyoga holds that pristine cognition is generated by incisive application of the creation stage, and

> [practices associated with] the energy channels, currents and seminal points according to the perfection stage. The Anuyoga regards the expanse of reality and pristine cognition as maṇḍalas of the deity which are either to be created or are in the process of creation.

Since these lower sequences are all drawn together by the intellect, they are said to be points of great deviation (*gol-sa*) from the Great Perfection, as the long quotation from the *Tantra of the All-Accomplishing King* (pp.295-7) clearly demonstrates. They are said to have been designed and so intended for the differing degrees of acumen in those requiring training through the vehicle, or as stepping-stones to Atiyoga.

The Great Perfection, on the other hand, refers not to consciousness but to pristine cognition. It is the intrinsic awareness of mind-as-such (*sems-nyid-kyi rang-rig*), transcending the mind, and buddhahood is said to emerge not through compounded provisions but through realisation of pristine cognition without activity. Thus the nucleus of all Buddhist teachings, in the Nyingma view, is pristine cognition, and the establishment of it through intrinsic awareness is the path of the Great Perfection. While the structure of the buddha level was revealed in the third promulgation by Śākyamuni, the path or means by which it is actualised was not revealed to the adherents of the causal vehicles. The lower mantras, too, are not considered to be definitive since they persevere with intellectually contrived activities. If the nucleus of pristine cognition is not realised in accordance with the Great Perfection, all aspects of the path, such as the six transcendental perfections (*pha-rol-tu phyin-pa drug*), the creation stage and the perfection stage, will not transcend the ideas and scrutiny of one's own mind. Yet these aspects of the path are not, it is emphasised, to be renounced, since they are spontaneously perfect in the ground. So the text declares (p.307):

> ...in this abiding nature that is free from all activity, all things belonging to the truth of the path are naturally complete, without effort, in the manner of a hundred rivers converging under a bridge.

Great Perfection is therefore defined as the naturally present pristine cognition, or as a sameness throughout the extent of cyclical existence and nirvāṇa, in which all lower sequences of the vehicle are perfected in a single essence.

The Divisions of Atiyoga

Within the teachings of Atiyoga, there are three modes of experiencing the goal of Great Perfection according to the nature of those who aspire to it. The text explains (p.319):

> There is the Mental Class (*sems-sde*), which teaches that all things are liberated from the extreme of renunciation, because they are not separated from mind-as-such. There is the Spatial Class (*klong-sde*), which teaches that all apparitions of reality are free from activity and liberated from the extreme of the antidote, because they are perfectly gathered in Samantabhadrī, the space of reality. And there is the profound Esoteric Instructional Class (*man-ngag-sde*), which teaches that the particular characteristics of truth itself are liberated from both extremes of renunciation and antidote, because they are established according to the modes of reality (*yin-lugs*).

The spiritual and philosophical goal of the Mental Class transcends the subject-object dichotomy. The compounded truth of the path as taught in the causal vehicles and lower mantras is determined in the great expanse of reality to be a pristine cognition of great purity and sameness. When the Mental Class is analysed, there are seven categories or areas of mind (*sems-phyogs*) in which this determination is made.

While the Mental Class holds the apparitions of reality to appear as the expressive power of mind-as-such, the spiritual and philosophical goal of the Spatial Class is the establishment of a great infinity of primordial liberation unscrutinised by mind. All that appears in the vast space of Samantabhadrī is an adornment of that array, free from all activities. The Spatial Class is divided into teachings concerning the Black Space propounded as Absence of Cause (*klong nag-po rgyu-med-du smra-ba*), the Variegated Space propounded as Diversity (*klong khra-ba sna-tshogs-su smra-ba*), the White Space propounded as the Mind (*klong dkar-po sems-su smra-ba*), and the Infinite Space in which Cause and Result are Determined (*klong rab-'byams rgyu-'bras la-bzla-ba*).

While the Mental Class, referring to mind-as-such, mostly achieves profundity rather than radiance, and almost clings to mental scrutiny because it does not recognise the expressive power of radiance to be reality, and while the Spatial Class almost falls into the deviation of emptiness although it achieves both radiance and profundity, the Esoteric Instructional Class is considered to be superior to both because it gathers all apparitions of reality within reality itself. It is classified into the three categories of the Random (*kha-'thor*), in which pristine cognition instantly arises without regard for formal structure, the Oral Tradition (*kha-gtam*), which naturally shatters the source of all conceptualisation and remains indefinite in character, and the Teaching which accords with its own Textual Tradition of Tantras (*rgyud rang-gzhung-du bstan-pa*), that is, the *Seventeen Tantras of the Esoteric Instructional Class* (NGB Vols.9-10), which turn to the origin of all transmitted precepts, without renunciation or acceptance, saṃsāra or nirvāṇa, or disputations

regarding emptiness. These have their various subdivisions, and further subdivisions.

So in Atiyoga the awareness which transcends the mind is said to be a primordial liberation (*ye-grol*), a natural liberation (*rang-grol*), a direct liberation (*cer-grol*), and a liberation from extremes (*mtha'-grol*). Once this intrinsic awareness or pristine cognition has been ascertained to be the distinctive doctrine, there are said to be two means of realising it, which are known as Cutting Through Resistance (*khregs-chod*) and All-Surpassing Realisation (*thod-rgal*).

The former, Cutting Through Resistance, is oriented towards the emptiness-aspect, or primordially pure awareness without conceptual elaboration, and so causes the cessation of inherently empty phenomena. The latter, All-Surpassing Realisation, clarifies the apparitional aspect, which includes material objects, into inner radiance in a spontaneously present manner, and so causes the cessation of apparitional reality. It is said that when firm experience in Cutting Through Resistance has come about, one dissolves finally into a great primordially pure point of liberation. The coarse atoms of the four elements are transformed into pristine cognition and vanish. If, however, activity on behalf of others is resorted to, the dissolving atoms emanate as, and leave behind, relics of four kinds, while the awareness centred in the buddha-body of reality acts on behalf of beings through unceasing emanation.

While it is held that Cutting Through Resistance directly liberates the bewildering appearance of objects in fundamental reality, the All-Surpassing Realisation brings about the liberation of all apparitional aspects of the three world realms of desire, form and the formless (see chart, pp.14-15) in the inner radiance or luminosity of a seminal point of five-coloured light which is the natural tone of awareness. Thus, the expanse of reality and its appearances, which are known as indestructible chains [of light, *rdo-rje lu-gu rgyud*], are the mature awareness itself. At the successful conclusion of this practice, it is held that the outer and inner elements of the three world realms all dissolve into inner radiance through a succession of four visionary appearances (*snang-ba bzhi*), and so all cyclical existence is reversed. The awareness enters a formless disposition, as in Cutting Through Resistance, but the buddha-body of form continues to appear in the manner of rainbow light, and to act on behalf of sentient beings. As such, it is known as the body of supreme transformation (*'pho-ba chen-po'i sku*, Skt. **mahā-saṅkrāntikāya*), and this is recognised to be the buddha level attained by Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Śīlamañju and others. If, for the while, there is no one requiring to be trained, the buddha-body of supreme transformation is absorbed into the body of reality or the youthful vase body (*gzhon-nu bum-pa'i sku*), the emanational basis of all pristine cognition, and the intrinsic awareness abides radiantly within it.

Furthermore, according to the esoteric instructions (*man-ngag*, Skt. *āmnāya/upadeśa*) of the Great Perfection system, all things belonging to cyclical existence and nirvāṇa are established as a display of four intermediate states (*bar-do*, Skt. *antarābhava*), which are respectively known as the intermediate state of the birthplace, the intermediate state of the moment of death, the intermediate state of reality and the intermediate state of rebirth. Each of these transformations is provided with particular guidance, so that beings may be conveyed to the point of original liberation at any stage or in any circumstance. It is said that through the power of the descent of pristine cognition and the experiential cultivation of it in continuous yoga, the recollection of signs on the path, and the removal of obstacles, the result may be actualised within one lifetime.

Recapitulation of the Vehicles of Secret Mantra

Having detailed the overall meaning of the resultant vehicles of the secret mantra, Dudjom Rinpoche recapitulates them succinctly, categorising each sequence according to its entrance, view, moral discipline, meditation, conduct and result.

This concludes the summary of the contents of the *Fundamentals of the Nyingma School*. The history of their transmission in India by Garap Dorje, Mañjuśrīmitra, Jñānasūtra, King Ja, Kukkurāja, Līlāvajra and others, along with an account of their introduction to Tibet by Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Buddhaguhya and so forth, has been recorded by Dudjom Rinpoche, in his *History of the Nyingma School (rnying-ma'i chos-'byung)*, which is published here in conjunction with the *Fundamentals*.

The *History* elaborately traces the distant lineage of transmitted precepts (*ring-brgyud bka'-ma*) and the close lineage of concealed teachings or treasures (*nye-brgyud gter-ma*) from their first appearance in Tibet until the present century, and clearly indicates that the Nyingmapa for the most part remained aloof from the sectarianism which has so often been divisive in Tibetan history. Indeed, as the Author demonstrates, the destiny and propagation of all schools of Buddhism in Tibet have been interlinked from the earliest times.

THE LITERARY TRADITION REPRESENTED IN THE *FUNDAMENTALS*

The literary heritage of the Nyingma tradition includes both tantras and sūtras, along with the treatises or commentaries composed upon their intention over the centuries.

The tantras and sūtras which emphasise the particular Nyingma teachings of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga are found in the canonical transmitted precepts of the *Kangyur* (*bka'-'gyur*) and in the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa* (*rnying-ma'i rgyud-'bum*). Among them, those which focus on Mahāyoga are exemplified by the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (*rgyud gsang-ba'i snying-po*, T 832, NGB Vol.14), those which focus on Anuyoga are exemplified by the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* (*mdo dgongs-pa 'dus-pa*, T 829, NGB Vol.11), and those which focus on Atiyoga are exemplified by the *Tantra of the All-Accomplishing King* (*kun-byed rgyal-po*, T 828, NGB Vol.1). However, there are many other texts which elaborate on each of these three categories. Among those which refer to the entire nine sequences of the vehicle there are the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* (*rig-pa rang-shar chen-po'i rgyud*, NGB Vol.10) and the *Miraculous Key to the Storehouse* (*bang-mdzod 'phrul-lde*, NGB Vol.2).

The treatises composed by Indian scholars of the past on those transmitted precepts include long commentaries on specific texts such as those on the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* by Līlāvajra (*Śrīguhyagarbhamahātantrarājaṭīkā*, P 4718) and by Sūryaprabhāsiṃha (*Śrīguhyagarbhatattvanirṇayavyākhyānaṭīkā*, P 4719). Yet they also include a tradition of short, pithy explanations of the nine sequences of the vehicle, among which one should note the *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions* (*Upadeśadarśanamālā*, P 4726) by Padmasambhava, the *Sequence of the Path* (*Māyājālapathakrama*, P 4736) by Buddhaguhya, the *Lock of the Heart* (*Cittatālaka*, P 4758) by Śrī Siṃha, and the *Turquoise Display* (*gYu-thang-ma kras-dgu*, P 4729) attributed to Nāgārjuna.

When the Nyingma tradition was introduced to Tibet, the concise exegetical style was maintained by authors such as Kawa Peltsek who wrote the *Seventeenfold Appearance of the Sequence of the View* (*lta-rim snang-ba bcu-bdun-pa*, T 4356).

During the medieval period of Tibetan history which followed the persecution of the Buddhist doctrine by Langdarma and its subsequent restoration, long treatises were composed concerning these "ancient translations" by Rongzom Paṇḍita (eleventh century), Yungtönpa Dorjepel (1284-1365), Longcen Rapjampa (1308-63) and others. Longcenpa in particular was encouraged by his teacher Kumārādza (1266-1343) to compose the *Seven Treasuries* (*mdzod-bdun*) which definitively structured the entire Buddhist experience from the Nyingma point of view. These include his *Treasury of Spiritual and Philosophical Systems* (*grub-mtha'i mdzod*) which has had a profound influence on later interpretations of the nine sequences of the vehicle. Among his other works, one should note the *General Exposition [of the Secret Nucleus, entitled] Dispelling Mental Darkness* (*spyi-don yid-kyi mun-pa sel-ba*) which is a basic source-book for much of the present treatise.

Subsequently, Pema Trhinle (1641-1717) and Locen Dharmaśrī (1654-1717) have commented on the range of the Buddhist teachings in their respective *Collected Works*, and have explored in depth the distant lineage of transmitted precepts (*ring-brgyud bka'-ma*) and the meaning of the Anuyoga *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* (*mdo dgongs-pa 'dus-pa*, T 829, NGB Vol.11). The latter's *Oral Teaching of the Lord of Secrets* (*gsang-bdag zhal-lung*) is a primary source for the recapitulations found in Parts Three and Four of the present work.

In the eighteenth century, Jikme Lingpa (1730-98) intricately stated the view of the Nyingmapa tantras and the nine sequences of the vehicle in his nine volumes of *Collected Works*, particularly in the *Treasury of Enlightened Attributes* (*yon-tan mdzod*); and Gyurme Tshewang Chokdrup of Katok catalogued the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa* in his *Discourse Resembling a Divine Drum* (*rgyud-'bum dkar-chag lha'i rnga-bo-che lta-bu*), the first part of which corresponds closely to our present text.

During the nineteenth century, under the inspiration of his teacher the great Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, Jamgön Kongtrül (1813-99) compiled five anthologies (*kong-sprul mdzod-lnga*) which integrated the most important teachings from all schools of Buddhism.

More recently, Zhecen Gyeltsap and others have followed in this eclectic (*ris-med*) tradition, and Mipham Rinpoche (1846-1912) has composed elaborate exegeses on Madhyamaka, on the mind in its natural state (*gnyugs-sems*), and on the integration of the views of intrinsic emptiness (*rang-stong*) and extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan-stong*)[8] within the sphere of the causal vehicles of dialectics. These are all included in the four cycles of his *Collected Works*. His *Summary of the Spiritual and Philosophical Systems* from Longcenpa's *Wish-fulfilling Treasury* (*yid-bzhin mdzod-kyi grub-mtha' bsdus-pa*) has been partially translated into English by H.V. Guenther.[9]

These prominent texts and authors serve to illustrate the literary tradition which Dudjom Rinpoche has inherited. Looking back upon the development of the Nyingma exegetical tradition from the Indian period until the eclectic movement, he has produced a treatise, the *Fundamentals*, which conforms to contemporary circumstances and requirements. Many Tibetans who currently practise the doctrine do so in a refugee environment, and so lack the time and resources which were once available for the detailed study of vast commentaries. Capturing the elegance of traditional versification, and the scholarly insights which have gradually been acquired over the centuries, he has condensed the writings of past masters, presenting their reasoning in an immediate, contemporary manner, and at the same time has substantiated this summarisation with copious quotations from the concise exegetical tradition of both Indian and Tibetan origin, which epitomises the Ancient Translation School.

The formal title of this work is *An Abridged Definitive Ordering of the Nyingma Teaching, the Ancient Translation School of Secret Mantra, entitled Feast in which Eloquence Appears* (*gsang-sngags snga-'gyur rnying-ma-ba'i bstan-pa'i rnam-gzhag mdo-tsam brjod-pa legs-bshad snang-ba'i dga'-ston*). Its two hundred and thirty-two Tibetan folios were composed during the summer of 1966. The xylographs for the first edition of the text were prepared in Kalimpong, West Bengal, India, where they are preserved at the monastery of Zangdok Pelri. The text was subsequently reprinted in the *Collected Works of Dudjom Rinpoche* (Kalimpong, 1979).

GYURME DORJE

The Text

An Abridged Definitive Ordering of the Nyingma Teaching, the Ancient Translation School of Secret Mantra, entitled Feast in which Eloquence Appears

gsang-sngags snga-'gyur rnying-ma-ba'i bstan-pa'i rnam-gzhag mdo-tsam brjod-pa legs-bshad snang-ba'i dga '-ston

Verses of Invocation

May you who are the indestructible reality
Of the speech of all conquerors,
Having attained supreme accomplishment,
A level whose wonder cannot even be grasped,
And arisen embodied as an awareness-holder,
Powerfully transforming the three spheres of existence,
Orgyen Dorje Chang,[10] confer your blessings.

May you who bind the entire network
Of the supreme skilful means,
Which appears as great bliss,
In the seal of discriminative awareness,
Which is emptiness in its natural state,
Heruka, completely present
In mobile and motionless creatures,
All-pervading lord and guru,
Grant protection until enlightenment.

When the brilliant, attractive lotus of eloquent discourse
Born from the taintless ocean of doctrinal tradition
Exudes honey drops of excellent meaning,
The feast of the discerning bee increases in all ways.

Introduction

[2b.3-3a.1] On the basis of the unsurpassed aspiration and enlightened activity of the three ancestral religious kings[11] who emanated in the land of snow mountains [Tibet], the field of the sublime and supreme Lokeśvara,[12] the Teaching of the Conqueror [Buddhism] was established. Its foundation was clearly made secure by the preceptors, masters, paṇḍitas, accomplished masters, bodhisattvas and translators who were representatives of the Teacher [Buddha] through their translations, exegeses, teachings, study, meditation, and attainment. Subsequently, an immeasurable number of accomplished awareness-holders manifestly equal to the Conqueror himself emerged, such as Nupcen Sangye Yeshe and his nephew [Nup Khulungpa Yönten Gyamtso], the generations of the Zur family, Nyang-rel Nyima Özer, Rok Sherap-ö, Rongzompa Chöki Zangpo and Longcen Rapjampa.[13] Therefore, I wish to summarise and briefly explain the fundamentals of that body of teaching renowned as the Nyingma tradition or Ancient Translation School of the secret mantra, the exegesis, attainment and enlightened activity of which continue to be maintained without decline until the present day.

Part One
Doctrines of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa

1 *The Essence and Definition of Dharma*

[3a.1-4b.5] At the outset, the doctrines of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa must be recognised in general and their characteristics established. This has three aspects: essence, verbal definition and classification.

The essence is as follows: Mundane doctrines are characterised as those which, when referred to objectively, cause one to wander in the three realms by the power of corrupt deeds, and as those whose nature is flawed in such a way that suffering alone is experienced. Supramundane doctrines are characterised as those which destroy the two obscurations when founded upon the continuum of the mind, and which are endowed with positive attributes affording protection from the suffering of saṃsāra. As it is said [in the *Rational System of Exposition, Vyākhyāyukti*, T 4061]:

> The true doctrine (*saddharma*) is that which removes all suffering and every obscuration.

The verbal definition is that the term *dharma*, which is derived from the root *dhṛ*[14] "to hold", holds or conveys ten meanings. The *Wishfulfiller* (*Amaraṭīkākāmadhenu*, T 4300) explains:

> Because it holds everything
> It is the *dharma*.[15]

In the *Rational System of Exposition* the ten meanings emerge as follows:

> *Dharma* is that which is knowable, the path, nirvāṇa, an object of mind, merit, life, the scriptures, material objects, regulation, and the doctrinal traditions.

Accordingly, there are quotations from the sūtras illustrating the word *dharma* when it conveys the meaning of that which is knowable, for example:

> Some things (*dharma*) are compounded,
> Others are uncompounded.

And,

> All things (*dharma*) should be known in that way.

When *dharma* conveys the meaning of the path, it may be illustrated by the words:

> O monks, the wrong view is not the doctrine (*dharma*), but the correct view is the doctrine.

When it conveys the meaning of nirvāṇa, it may be illustrated by the words:

> He took refuge in the doctrine (*dharma*).

When conveying the meaning of an object of mind, it may be illustrated by the expression "activity field of phenomena" (*dharmāyatana*). When conveying the meaning of merit, it may be illustrated by the words:

> He practised the doctrine (*dharma*) in the company of a retinue of queens and maidens.

When conveying the meaning of life, it may be illustrated by the words:

> A childish person dearly holds to the things (*dharma*) which he sees.

When conveying the meaning of the scriptures, it may be illustrated by the words:

> O monks, that which is called the doctrine (*dharma*) includes for instance the piṭaka of the sūtras and the piṭaka of prose and verse combined.

When conveying the meaning of emergent objects, it may be illustrated by the words:

> As for compounded substances, this is their reality (*dharma*).

and:

> Even I have not transcended the phenomenon (*dharma*) of death and the reality of death.

When conveying the meaning of regulation, it may be illustrated by the term "four doctrines (*dharma*) of a spiritual ascetic",[16] and by the words:

> O monks, to kill is not the doctrine, but to renounce killing is the doctrine (*dharma*).

And so forth. When it conveys the meaning of tradition, it may be illustrated by "national traditions" (*dharma*) and "ethnic traditions" (*dharma*).

If one then wonders how these [ten definitions] relate to the sense of the term "to hold", then the things which are knowable hold both

individual and general characteristics. Individual characteristics are held as illustrated, for example, in the following words:

> Earth is hard, water wet, fire hot
> And wind is light and mobile.

And the manner in which general characteristics are held may be illustrated by the words:

> All that is compounded is impermanent.
> All that is corrupt is suffering.
> All things are devoid of self.
> Nirvāṇa is peace.

By the path and nirvāṇa one is held from falling into saṃsāra. By the object of mind the mind is held. By merit one is held from falling into evil existences. By the life-span or life itself one holds the body or its appropriate stations. The scriptures hold the unmistakable truth. Emergent objects hold that which has a transient basis. Regulations hold the precise foundation. Traditions uphold an idiosyncratic conduct; and by awareness [of all these] one is held apart from the area of bewilderment. Such analogies may be inferred by reason.

The classification is twofold, consisting of the doctrine of saṃsāra and the doctrine of nirvāṇa. Concerning the distinction between these two, the *[Long] Mother* [i.e. the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in One Hundred Thousand Lines*] says:

> Liberality is possessed by both mundane and supramundane beings. What, you may ask, is mundane liberality? That which, by the act of having made some offering, neither moves beyond, nor sublimates, nor transcends the world, is said to be mundane liberality. That which does move beyond, sublimate, or transcend the world, by the act of having made some offering, is called supramundane liberality.

According to such quotations, when one has reached a conclusion through any method, the result is distinguished by having or lacking the power to sublimate the world.

2 *Doctrines of Saṃsāra*

[4b.5-16a.3] First, the doctrines of saṃsāra are explained under three headings: (1) the characteristics of saṃsāra, (2) the mundane vehicle [and the Brahmā vehicle], and (3) an ensuing discussion of the views held by those of no understanding and by those of wrong understanding.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMSĀRA

The doctrines or phenomena of saṃsāra are originally caused by ignorance which arises in three interrelated aspects. Firstly, the ignorance of individual selfhood (*bdag-nyid gcig-pu'i ma-rig-pa*) arises as consciousness, but it is not recognised as such. Secondly, through the co-emergent ignorance (*lhan-cig skyes-pa'i ma-rig-pa*), the unconsciousness of the true essence and that consciousness emerge together. Yet it is thirdly, through the ignorance of the imaginary (*kun-tu brtag-pa'i ma-rig-pa*), that one's own perceptions are externally discerned. Since these three aspects arise diversely from a single essence, they arise from the ground as the appearance of the ground; and since this is not known to have been self-originated, the threefold ignorance which subjectively discerns objects is the causal condition [of saṃsāra]. The objective appearances, which arise like one's own reflection in a mirror, through clinging to externals apart from oneself, are the referential condition [of saṃsāra]. The consciousness which holds to the [concepts] of "I" and "mine" is the possessive condition, and since these three [conditions] are simultaneous, they form the immediate condition. Bewilderment originates from the impure referential aspect containing these four conditions [of saṃsāra] and is maintained by divisively clinging externally to objective phenomena, and internally to subjective consciousness. As it is said in the *Penetration of Sound* (*sgra thal-'gyur*, NGB Vol.10):

> The basis of bewilderment is ignorance.
> Ignorance has three forms.

And:

> Owing to that root which is the single indivisible[17] cause,
> The true essence is not perceived;
> This, therefore, is the beginning of saṃsāra.

And in the *Great Array* (*bkod-pa chen-po*):

> Spontaneous presence arises as an object,
> Which is emptiness.
> At that time, from the cycle of bewilderment
> Which has four conditions,
> The snare of clinging comes into being.

From the very moment of bewilderment, that same bewilderment arises as the ground-of-all (*kun-gzhi,* Skt. *ālaya*) in its role as the ignorance, the naturally obscuring expressive power, which is the unconsciousness of the true essence. Dependent upon that [ground-of-all] is the mind which is the consciousness of the ground-of-all and the six conflicting emotions which originate from it. These are [ignorance, the basis on which bewildering thoughts are grasped];[18] delusion, the bewilderment in the area of discriminative awareness; hatred, the bewilderment in the area of creative phases;[19] pride, the bewilderment in the area of the view; desire, the bewilderment in the area of appearances; and envy, the bewilderment in the area of non-understanding [in relation to these]. Eighty-four thousand phenomena (*dharma*) then emerge through the gradual accumulation of ideas, beginning with the mind which apprehends emotionally conflicted thoughts such as the above, the intellect which apprehends all memories, the ideas which form the ground of connecting propensities and doubts, and that area [of mind] which clings to objects and entities.

In this way then, the five sensory perceptions originate together with the consciousness of the intellect wherein the twenty-one thousand phenomena [in each of four categories], namely, the three poisons and their equal combination, arise dispositionally.

The object which maintains the continuity of any of these six active consciousnesses[20] at the moment of objectification, the immediate consciousness which at the same instant apprehends the object and its form, and any of the three subsequent feelings of pleasure, suffering or neutrality, are together called the sensation of contact. So it is that the eighteen psychophysical bases originate, divided into three groups of six.[21]

[Thereupon, the evolution of] the five components, the twelve activity fields, the six sense organs and karma or [world-forming] deeds ensues. The five components are, namely, the component of form, which is an accumulation of atoms and is capable of being destroyed and split; the component of feelings, which are the source of enjoyment

and desire; the component of perceptions, which are dynamic and object-oriented; the component of habitual tendencies which create and accumulate propensities; [and the component of consciousness which is aware and objectifying].[22]

As for the twelve activity fields which cause any accumulation of ideas to be sensed, there are six objective modes, such as form, the object apprehended by the eye, which causes both the continuity [of the object of perception] in the subsequent instant and the apprehending consciousness to be sensed; and there are also six subjective modes, such as the consciousness of the eye,[23] which arises in that subsequent instant and perceives as form that form which may be objectively sensed. There are five organs of sense, such as the eye, which have the power to apprehend objects, or six with the inclusion of the sense organ of the intellect, which originates from the possessive condition of the initial apperceptive consciousness.

Deeds may be of three types: virtuous, unvirtuous or neutral. The first includes the ten virtues which produce worldly happiness as their result. The second comprises the contrary deeds which cast [beings] into evil existences. The third refers to those [neutral] deeds[24] which cast beings into higher realms.

Although all these phenomena are compounded internally by the mind, their apparitional aspect and supporting foundation are the five gross elements of which external objects are compounded, and which are caused, conditioned, supported and substantiated by the fourfold process of creation, duration, destruction and dissolution. As the number of mental propensities through which they appear as objects expands, the world realm of desire containing the four continents, Mount Sumeru and perimeter appears like a dream, along with the realm of form, like self-radiating rainbow light of five colours, and the formless realm, which originates from the contemplation of the summit of existence, and so on.[25] In brief, the entire array of the inanimate container and animate creatures, mobile and motionless, subsumed by the three world realms, does not appear in the ultimate vision of sublime beings. Rather, it is an apparitional mode of the bewildered intellect of sentient beings, which appears by the power of the subject-object dichotomy lapsing into delusion, like water in a mirage, and into erroneous perception, like seing a multicoloured rope as a snake. As it is said in the *Pearl Necklace* (*mu-tig phreng-ba*, NGB Vol.9):

> In this way, the diverse appearances
> Resemble a rope when seen as a snake.
> Though not so, by clinging to them as such
> The outer container and inner essence
> Are established as a duality.
> The rope itself, on further investigation,

Is primordially empty of container and essence.
The ultimate takes form as the relative.
That perception of the snake is visually true,
The perception of the rope is genuinely true.
Enduring, for example, as a bird relates to a scarecrow,
The independent existence of the two truths
Refers only to the relative world.
It has no relation to genuine reality.
Because of the expanse of emptiness
The essence of that [reality] is that all is free.

And in the *Oral Instructions of Mañjuśrī* (*Mañjuśrīmukhāgama*, T 1853-4) it says:

All things of saṃsāra are held to be non-existent
Like the multicoloured rope when perceived as a snake.

Moreover, the creator of the happiness and suffering of saṃsāra, the high and the low and all such apparitional modes, is karma or [world-forming] deeds, corrupted by all-conflicting emotions, which are of three types. Without exception these modes are created by deeds, emanated by deeds, matured by deeds, and they appear through the power of deeds. Accordingly, it is said in the *Hundred Parables on Deeds* (*Karmaśatakasūtra*, T 340):

The diversity of the world is developed through deeds.
Happiness and suffering are created by deeds.
Deeds originate from an accumulation of conditions
And by deeds happiness and suffering are made.

And in the *Introduction to the Madhyamaka* (*Madhyamakāvatāra*, T 3861, Ch.6, v.89) it explains:

By mind itself the diverse
Sentient and inanimate worlds
Are allocated their share of deeds.
Living creatures without exception
Are said to be created through deeds.

THE MUNDANE VEHICLE AND THE BRAHMĀ VEHICLE

The Mundane Vehicle

[7b.2-10a.3] The mundane vehicle or the basic vehicle followed by gods and human beings is explained under three headings: essence, verbal definition and classification.

The essence is any method of progressing to the conclusive happiness of gods and human beings which lacks the power to sublimate saṃsāra.

It is verbally defined as a vehicle because it can merely unite with, and progress towards, the result of happiness experienced by gods and human beings. Its classifications are sixfold, namely, entrance, view, moral discipline, meditation, conduct and result.

Firstly, concerning the entrance: After having seen the three evil existences, which are naturally endowed with suffering, one enters by means of renouncing the unvirtuous deeds, which are the cause of birth therein. As it is said in the *Heruka Galpo* (*he-ru-ka gal-po*, NGB Vol.25):

> Non-virtue is renounced by the vehicle of gods and humans.

In this context the ten non-virtues consist of three physical deeds – to kill, to steal and to commit sexual misconduct; four verbal deeds – to lie, to slander, to talk irresponsibly and to utter abuse; and three mental deeds – to covet, to be malicious and to hold wrong views.

Secondly, concerning the view: The correct view is the conviction that there are such things as a future world and the cause and fruition of deeds. It says in the *Collection of Meaningful Expressions* (*Udānavarga*, T 326, Ch.4, v.9):

> The great one who possesses
> The correct view for a mundane being
> Even in a thousand lifetimes
> Will not turn to evil existences.

Conversely, with a wrong view, even though one may have practised other virtuous deeds, such as abstaining from murder, one will reap the fruit of suffering. As it is said in the *Letter to a Friend* (*Suhṛllekha*, T 4182, v.46):

> Even though an individual may have practised well,
> with a wrong view
> All that matures will be unbearable.

Therefore, it is important that the correct view be retained.

Thirdly, moral discipline is nothing but the moral discipline of renouncing the ten non-virtues. It has been said in the above-mentioned [*Letter to a Friend*, v.11]:

> The [eight vows of the] purificatory fast
> Cause the pleasant body of the gods who act as they desire
> To be bestowed upon lay people.

This being the case, is not the moral discipline derived from correct commitment explained to be necessary for one who would progress to the rank of the gods? Though indeed mentioned, it is spoken of only with reference to [the attainment of] the extraordinary [form] realms. For the ordinary [form] realms, its necessity is uncertain.[26] Therefore,

these latter realms are held to be attained simply by enacting the deeds and path of the ten virtues, along with their concomitants, which are retained by the correct view.

Furthermore, concepts such as purity of the grasping components are adhered to, and one who has been motivated by the possession of conscience and humility is called a holy or superior being for performing his or her duties of body and speech with propriety. And the converse is true for an evil or inferior being. The *Treatise on Behaviour entitled the Holy Ornament* (*lugs-kyi bstan-bcos dam-pa'i rgyan*) says: [27]

> To honour well those who are worthy of reverence,
> To be especially benevolent to those who are unprotected,
> And not to forget to repay kindness
> Is the conduct of a holy being.
> The holy person actually chooses death,
> Rather than a life which has forsaken conscience,
> Experiences which are tainted with sin,
> And power gained ' y the deception of friends.

And again:

> An evil creature delights in sin,
> Shows ingratitude and casts away
> Conscience like an enemy.
> That one will do anything
> To achieve his or her own purpose.

And in the *Short Chapter on Discrimination* (*'byed-pa le'u chung*) sixteen pure human laws (*mi-chos gtsang-ma bcu-drug*) are taught as follows:

> Develop faith in the Three Precious Jewels without sorrow or weariness; search ultimately for the true doctrine; skilfully study the excellent sciences; first recollect and then appraise anything that is to be undertaken; do not hanker after unassigned work; look to a higher level and emulate the ancients and those of superior conduct; repay kindness to one's parents of the past, present and future; be broad-minded and hospitable in one's dealings with elder and younger siblings and paternal relatives; ensure that the young respect their elders by degrees; show loving kindness to one's neighbours; arduously assist one's acquaintances who are spiritual benefactors; perfectly fulfil the needs of those nearby who are connected through the worldly round; help others through one's skill in science and the arts; provide a refuge with kindness to those who depend upon it; resist bad advice and establish advice which will increase the happiness of the country; and, entrusting one's deeds to the doctrine, one

should bring one's spouse to obtain the ground of enlightenment in future lives.

Fourth, meditation: There is training until one has the power to bring about the proper result.

Fifth, conduct: One enacts the deeds and path of the ten virtues "endowed with corruption" along with their concomitants, which [virtues] are so named after their function which is [merely] to renounce the ten non-virtues. The positive virtues of such physical actions as prostration, verbal actions as praise and mental actions which benefit others by virtuous thoughts are also included. However, one might object, is it not said in the *Heruka Galpo* that on the vehicle of gods and humans, the ten modes of doctrinal conduct such as writing [scriptures] and making offerings are necessary? Here, as before, there is a distinction between [the attainment of] the extraordinary realms, and the ordinary realms.

Sixth, the result is as follows: By the extent of the power of one's virtuous deeds, one is born in the ten higher levels of the desire realm, namely, among the human beings of the four continents or among the six species of Kāma divinities. Accordingly, the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net* says:

> The practice of the ten virtues and the renunciation of non-virtues
> Are the basis for birth among the gods and humans of the desire realm.

And in Buddhaguhya's[28] *Sequence of the Path* it says:

> By emphasising the ten virtues
> And not equating virtue with non-virtue,
> One is born among the gods and human beings.
> Without understanding sameness, one wanders in the desire realm.

Since this vehicle progresses to the culmination of the happiness desired in this life either as an emperor among men, or as a master of the Paranirmitavaśavartin[29] realm of the gods, the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* speaks of it as the divine vehicle, after the name of the highest realm to which it progresses. It has been said of this vehicle in the *Sequence of the Path*:

> It is definitively arranged
> As the first of the fundamental vehicles.

Accordingly, it either forms the foundation of, or is preliminary to, all the vehicles, because the vehicle which is not retained by the correct view and which does not observe the deeds and path of the ten virtues

as its actual foundation is nowhere to be found. The *Hevajra Tantra* (T 417-18, Pt.2, Ch.2, v.18cd) also states:

> Having commenced from the ten virtues
> His doctrine is disclosed.

The Brahmā Vehicle

[10a.3-11b.3] The *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* also speaks of the vehicle of Brahmā. Here Brahmā does not only apply to the three realms which begin with the Brahmakāyika,[30] but the meanings of chaste, clean and pure are also conveyed by the word Brahmā; for the conflicting emotion of desire is cleansed and purified. In this way the above sūtra refers to the whole range of the word Brahmā. All twenty-one higher realms, including the seventeen form realms of the gods and the four formless realms, are expressed by the word Brahmā, and the path, along with its concomitants, which progresses to these realms is called the vehicle of Brahmā.[31] It also says that one who has renounced the conflicting emotions of the lower level will be born in a higher realm by the power of having meditated with tranquillity, and with higher insight which perceives as coarse the level below one's own and perceives as subtle one's own level. Therefore, one will not be born in the higher realms without obtaining an actual foundation in the four meditative concentrations and the four formless absorptions on the path which removes attachment to the level below one's own. So it is that the meditative concentrations and absorptions are held to be the actual vehicle of Brahmā and the four immeasurables and five mundane supernormal cognitive powers to be the extraordinary path of enlightened attributes in the vehicle of Brahmā.

These attributes also require a view which accepts the [doctrine of] deeds and their result; an entrance and a moral discipline through which the ten non-virtues are renounced; a conduct through which the ten virtues are observed as before, but through which in addition the four immeasurables, namely, loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity are practised; and a meditation which includes both formal and formless absorptions. The formal ones are the four meditative concentrations which are characteristically disillusioned with the sensations of desire. As the *Intermediate Mother* [*Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Twenty-five Thousand Lines, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, T 9] says:

> That which possesses both ideas and scrutiny is the first concentration. That which possesses no ideas but scrutiny alone is the second concentration. Mental action devoid of both ideas and scrutiny is the third concentration, and mental action united with delight is the fourth concentration.

The latter [i.e. the formless ones] are the four absorptions which are characteristically disillusioned with the cognition of the four concentrations. These are the absorptions into the activity field infinite as the sky, into the activity field of infinite consciousness, into the activity field of nothing at all, and into the activity field where there is neither perception nor non-perception. They are the culmination of the path to the summit of existence.[32] Concerning these, the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net* also says:

> One whose conduct is the four immeasurables
> And whose meditation is unwavering
> Will be born in the Brahmā realms and so forth.

The result [in this context] refers to both the form and formless realms. As regards the former, one takes birth in the three realms which begin with Brahmakāyika through having meditated respectively on the weak, middling, and strong aspects of the actual foundation of the first concentration, and [by applying the second, third and fourth concentrations] in the same way, altogether there are twelve such ordinary realms in which one revolves. During the fourth concentration the uncorrupted discriminative awareness of the sublime beings increases and one takes birth in the Five Pure Abodes beginning with Avṛha through meditation in five respective stages. Yet, one does not obtain freedom from attachment to form, and one continues to wander in saṃsāra through attachment to the flavour of concentration. As the *Sequence of the Path* says:

> Holding to individual selfhood through the stages
> Of the four immeasurables and four concentrations,
> And imputing self in all forms,
> One takes birth successively in the Brahmā realms.

As regards the latter [type of result], one takes birth as a formless god by clinging to [the idea of] self during the contemplation endowed with four nominal components[33] in which the discriminative awareness of higher insight is absent. The same text [*Sequence of the Path*] says:

> Without understanding sameness and that which is
> formless,
> One does not know the four names to be non-existent.
> When one abides in the four activity fields,
> One is born on the level of the summit of existence.

THOSE OF NO UNDERSTANDING AND THOSE OF WRONG UNDERSTANDING

[11b.3-16a.3] The ensuing discussion of the views held by those of no understanding and by those of wrong understanding is explained as

follows: on this topic the opinions of past masters slightly differ. The master Sūryaprabhāsiṃha[34] claims that those of no understanding are the trio of the apathetic (*phyal-ba*), the materialists (*rgyang-'phen-pa*, Skt. *Lokāyata*) and the nihilistic extremists (*mur stug-pa*), while those of wrong understanding are the eternalistic extremists (*mu stegs-pa*, Skt. *tīrthika*). Master Līlāvajra[35] claims that those of no understanding are the apathetic and those of wrong understanding the extremists, both eternalistic and nihilistic. Vimalamitra[36] has said:

> The apathetic and materialists
> Have no understanding,
> The nihilistic and eternalistic extremists
> Have wrong understanding.

Since a similar account also is found in the great master Padmasambhava's *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions*, I shall adopt the same approach here.

Those of No Understanding

[12a.1-12a.4] Among those of no understanding and those of wrong understanding, the former are both interpreted and classified as follows. They are interpreted to be ordinary individuals whose attitudes have not been changed by a philosophical system. They are classified into two groups: the actual and the incidental.

The Apathetic

First, those who actually have no understanding, the mundane apathetic, are explained under three headings: essence, verbal definition and classification.

Their essence is that they are totally deluded because from the beginning they have not understood [the relationship] between the causes and results of deeds. The verbal definition is that they are called apathetic because they do not act in response to the existence or non-existence of doctrines concerning interdependent causes and results, and observe neither renunciation nor commitment. As the *Parkap Commentary* [*on the Secret Nucleus, Guhyagarbhamahātantrarājaṭīkā*, P 4718] says:

> He who understands nothing at all
> Is a mundane apathetic being.

Their classification is into an inferior type and a dubious type. The inferior type have a debased intellect which does not consider the attainment of positive attributes. The dubious type are both good and evil, and resemble those described below.

The Materialists

[12a.4-12b.4] Secondly, those who are incidentally classed with those of no understanding, the materialists, are also explained under three headings. Their essence is that without understanding the existence or non-existence of previous and future lives, they are inclined to achieve only the slight temporal and spiritual well-being of one lifetime. The verbal definition is that they are called materialists because, rejecting the future as remote, their achievements depend upon the mysterious expressions, oracles, dreams and calculations of mundane beings, such as those who are mighty and powerful in this life. Their classification is into two types: the cut-off and the perceptive. The former includes those cut off by nature and by conditions. Since [the view that there are cut-off beings] is not held by those who uphold the philosophy of the greater vehicle (*Mahāyāna*), they may be known in detail from other sources.[37] The perceptive type is fourfold. As a great sūtra (*mdo chen-po*) says:

> The four perceptive types,
> Known as the attached, the distracted,
> The fearful, and the aspiring,
> Appear as the field
> Capable of retaining the seed [of enlightenment].

Respectively, these four are unable to resist lustful attachment to objects of desire, distracted by the duties of man-made laws in this life, successful in power and wealth through evil means, and the type which aspires to renounce the ten non-virtues and attain liberation.

Those of Wrong Understanding

[12b.4-16a.3] Secondly, those of wrong understanding are interpreted and classified as follows. They are interpreted to be any receptive individuals whose attitudes have been changed by wrong philosophy. They are classified as the five sophistic schools of the extremist masters of the past, who turn outwards rather than inwards.[38] Included among them are four schools of the eternalist view, the first being the Sāṃkhya.

Sāṃkhya

[12b.5-13a.3] During the age when living beings had a life-span of twenty thousand years,[39] the sage Kapila attained accomplishment through the austerities of the eternalistic extremists and composed many treatises. There were two students who upheld his philosophical system, Bharadvāja and Patañjali. Those who follow the tenet of Bharadvāja, that all that is knowable is divided into twenty-five categories, are the Sāṃkhya. Those based on the tenet of Patañjali, that the abiding nature of the twenty-five categories is empty, are the Followers of Kapila

[*Kāpila*, the Yoga School]. As the *Compendium of the Nucleus of Pristine Cognition* (*Jñānasārasamuccaya*, T 3851) says:

> The Sāṃkhya speak of attributes;
> The Followers of Kapila maintain they are empty.

So it is that they are called the Sāṃkhya, the Followers of Kapila and Adherents of the Three Attributes (*Traiguṇya*).

Aiśvara

[13a.3-13b.1] The second school holding an eternalistic view is that of the Followers of Īśvara [Śiva]. The god Īśvara, the teacher of many tantrapiṭaka, had two students who attained accomplishment, namely, Akṣapāda and Kaṇāda. The adherents of Nyāya (*Naiyāyika*) depend on the *View of Reason* (*Nyāyadarśana*) which was composed by Akṣapāda, while the Vaiśeṣika depend on the *Clear Distinction* (*bye-brag gsal-ba*, Skt. *Vaiśeṣikadarśana*) which was composed by Kaṇāda. This school holds that all the bondage and liberation of sentient beings is created by Īśvara:

> Having no consciousness, these living creatures
> Lack control over their own happiness and sorrow.
> But when dispatched by Īśvara,
> They become creatures who exclusively inhabit
> The abyss [of evil existences]
> Or the higher realms [of gods and humans].[40]

Thus they are called Followers of Īśvara, Followers of the Owl (*Aulūkya*)[41] and Adherents of the Six Categories (*Ṣaḍpadārthavaiśeṣika*).

Vaiṣṇava

[13b.1-13b.6] The third school holding an eternalist view is the Vaiṣṇava. Viṣṇu composed the *Anthology of Vedic Treatises*. The four-faced Brahmā was born from the lotus of his navel, and, after emanating the entire world and its contents, he recollected the great *Four Veda*, namely, the *Ṛgveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. Later his exegeses were compiled by the sages and the following five divisions emerged:[42] the grammarians (*Vaiyākaraṇa*) who rely on Viṣṇu's treatise entitled *Light Rays of Grammatical Speech* (*brda'-sprod ngag-gi 'od-zer*); the logicians including Aviddhakarṇa[43] who rely on the *ṛṣi* Agni's *Weapons of Expression* (*smra-ba'i mtshon-cha*); the mystics among accomplished meditators who rely on the *ṛṣi* Satya's *Nine Cycles of the Meditational Sequence* (*bsgom-rim skor-dgu*); those proponents of textual exegesis who emphasise ritual, relying on the *ṛṣi* Bhṛgu's *Clear Judgement* (*rnam-dpyod gsal-ba*); and the followers of Caraka who are physicians relying on the *Anthology of Caraka* (*Carakasaṃhitā*), which

was composed by the *ṛṣi* Ātreya and others. All of these uphold the authenticity of the *Four Veda*. When classified, they are known as the Followers of Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇava*), the Followers of Brahmā and the Followers of the Veda.

Jainism

[13b.6-14a.2] The fourth school holding an eternalistic view is the Jaina (*rgyal-ba-pa*). In the *Ornamental Mirror of Categories* (*tshig-don rgyan-gyi snang-ba*)[44] it says:

> The great god [Ṛṣabha], holiest of conquerors
> Ascertains that which is knowable
> In the following nine categories:
> Animate substance (*jīva*), inanimate substance
> (*ajīva*)[45] and commitments (*saṃvara*),
> Rejuvenation (*nirjara*), bondage (*bandha*) and deeds
> (*karmāsrava*),
> Evil (*pāpa*), virtue (*puṇya*) and liberation (*mokṣa*).

Consequently, it is held that liberation has form and colour, while trees are animate. They are called the Followers of the Conqueror (*Jaina*), Adherents of the Nine Categories and the Naked Ascetics (*Nirgrantha*).

Nihilism

[14a.2-14b.3] The fifth school is the only one which holds a nihilistic view. In Trayatriṃśa, the heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, Bṛhaspati, who had become the accomplished guru of the gods, composed the treatise entitled *Essence of the View which Negates Everything* (*thams-cad-la skur-pa 'debs-pa'i lta-ba'i snying-po*)[46] in order that the gods might develop enthusiasm for their struggle against the antigods. Later it was propagated in the human world by Vālmīki. The treatise negates past and future births, saying [cf. *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, Ch.1, v.1]:

> Act joyously, good lady,
> While you are not dead,
> For nothing is not in death's range.
> Even your body will vanish like powder.
> Where can there be rebirths?

It then negates the existence of invisible beings, saying:

> As many creatures as there are,
> They exist solely
> Within the range of the senses.
> Alas, whatever the learned say
> Resembles the tracks of a deceiving wolf.

It goes on to negate buddhahood as the result of progress on the path, saying:

> The intellect is the body's soul,
> It is the body's fruit and the body's attribute;
> Depending on three modes such as these
> There is no possibility of progress [to enlightenment].

It negates logic, saying:

> Because it exaggerates
> There is no logic.

And it also negates causality, with the words [*Summation of the Real, Tattvasaṃgraha*, T 4266, vv.111-12ab]:

> Who made the anthers of a lotus?
> Who designed the markings of a peacock?
> Who sharpened the point of a thorn?
> All things emerge substantially without cause.

So it is that they are called the Followers of Bṛhaspati (*Bārhaspatya*), the materialists, hedonists,[47] and those who hold that mind emerges from space.

CONCLUSION

Since these four views of no understanding and wrong understanding exclusively originate from ignorance, they are mundane views. Such has been said in the *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions* from the passage beginning:

> The countless sūtras which gather together the erroneous views of sentient beings in the mundane realm fall within four categories, namely, the apathetic, the materialists, the nihilistic extremists and the eternalistic extremists.

down to:

> All these are ignorant views.

Among these, the two which have no understanding represent no philosophical view. However, they are explained to be associated with [such a view] because they are subsumed within the status of the mind. The two which have wrong understanding do represent views which change the attitude through a philosophical system, but by clinging to extremes which exaggerate and depreciate the reality free from extremes, they have become erroneous. Therefore, they are not the means of liberation from saṃsāra. This applies not only to the nihilistic ex-

tremists who are the worst among those professing philosophy, but to the eternalistic extremists as well, because, maintaining a self, they are bound by clinging to a self, which is the root of saṃsāra. Accordingly, the *Exposition of Valid Cognition* (*Pramāṇavārttika*, T 4210, Ch.1, v.193cd) says:

> As long as one actually clings to a self,
> One will turn to saṃsāra.

And in the *Sequence of the Path*:

> Anyone who inclines towards
> The duality of eternalism and nihilism
> Is said to deviate from the reality
> Of the genuine essence.

On this occasion, I have not written about the texts and so forth which they individually uphold. One wishing to know them should look elsewhere. Some may well ask at this point whether it is not most inappropriate to explain the philosophical systems of the Outsiders,[48] etc., while analysing the Conqueror's transmitted precepts. Yet there is no fault, because having recognised the downfalls and things to be renounced on the path with reference to the eternalistic extremists who follow their own independent course, one has reason not to delay [in following] our own path, which is the supramundane vehicle. It says in the *Heruka Galpo:*

> When the vehicle of the eternalistic extremists is well
> ascertained,
> It is explained to you so that
> You will not practise but renounce it.

Furthermore, with reference to those eternalistic extremists who are [the buddhas'] emanations, [there is no fault] because in addition to that aforementioned reason [for pursuing the path of the supramundane vehicle], they are said to represent the enlightened activity of the conquerors who train each in accord with his or her needs. It is said in the *Rite which Ties by the Rope of Compassion of the Gathering of the Sugatas* (*bde-'dus-kyi thugs-rje dpyang-thag gnas-kyi lung*, P 4781), which was composed by the bodhisattva Vajradharma:

> By the diverse inroads of compassion,
> Training in whatever manner may be suitable,
> The Teacher speaks of this [true doctrine]
> And whatever appears therein
> To the schools of the Outsiders.

In the very same way, one might well wonder how the development of such a negative view as that of the nihilistic extremists could appro-

priately be within the conquerors' skilful means, since it is an extremely terrible wrong view. None the less, it is appropriate because the nihilistic extremists, too, admit much that is reasonable. When one examines the scriptures or meets the arguments of those who established the pure Prāsaṅgika dialectic,[49] one is first of all sceptical, and subsequently having seen the pure proof to the contrary, one comes to develop the correct logic. Therefore [the nihilists] are nearer to developing the correct view than the fools who have never entertained philosophy.

Again, if one asks how these [views] are explained to form an ensuing discussion that is derived from the vehicle of gods and human beings, they are so called because the receptive individuals who make progress through the vehicle of gods and humans are both Outsiders and Insiders. With reference to the Outsiders, as Śūra says:

> The beings who do not side with your teaching are blinded
> by ignorance.
> Though they have reached the summit of existence,
> They will achieve a rebirth in which suffering re-emerges.

And with reference to the Insiders, even though they may hold to the refuge with a will to perform their duties on behalf of the Three Precious Jewels (*dkon-mchog gsum*), they are referred to as remaining only on the mundane path, unless their intellects aspire to liberation. As the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.19) says:

> With reference to differing volitions,
> The threefold refuge is laid down.

3 *Doctrines of Nirvāṇa*

[16a.3-17b.3] Secondly, the supramundane vehicle is explained in two parts: its superiority over [the vehicle of] the Outsiders and a detailed account of its own nature.

THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SUPRAMUNDANE VEHICLE

The true doctrine of nirvāṇa,[50] which affords protection from the suffering of saṃsāra, is the best of all doctrines, supreme, perfect and more special than others. Therefore, it is expressed by the word "true". Grasping the Three Precious Jewels as the focus of refuge, it admits to, or is included within, four seals indicative of the transmitted precepts which concern the view. By the study of the three correct trainings, it has a superior result because it can surpass the summit of existence. These [attributes] do not exist in the path of the Outsiders.

Among these [attributes], going for refuge must be the foundation and support of the path since that is the basis of the vows which support the aspiration for nirvāṇa. Therefore, one who has not gone for refuge does not develop the vows, and if one has not been bound by the vows, the correct path does not exist. The *Seventy Verses on Going for Refuge* (*Triśaraṇasaptati*, T 3971) says:

> For the three kinds of layman,
> Going for refuge is the root
> Of [their] eight vows.

And:

> Though one may keep all the vows,
> None exist for one who has
> Not gone for refuge.

The four seals are [the axioms that] all that is compounded is imper-

manent, all that is corrupt is suffering, all things are without self, and nirvāṇa is peace.

The three trainings are superior moral discipline, mind,[51] and discriminative awareness, and it is the study of these through listening, reflection and meditation for which the doctrine is respectively termed "virtuous in the beginning, middle and end". As the *Sun Commentary* (*Śrāmaṇerakārikāvṛttiprabhāvatī*, T 4125) says:

> The learned realise that the Buddha's speech
> Teaches well the three trainings,
> Is correctly endowed with the three seals,
> And is virtuous in the beginning, middle and end.

The result, which can surpass the summit of existence, is described by Śūra as follows:

> One who follows your teaching,
> Even without obtaining the actual foundation of
>   concentration,
> Opposes rebirths as if they were the vision of Māra.

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE SUPRAMUNDANE VEHICLE

The detailed account of the nature of this [supramundane vehicle] has two parts. Master Vasubandhu says [in the *Treasury of the Abhidharma, Abhidharmakośa*, T 4089, Ch.8, v.39ab]:

> The two kinds of the Teacher's true doctrine
> Are transmission and realisation.

Accordingly, there is both the doctrine which realises his expressed meaning and the doctrine which transmits his expressive words.

Realisation of the True Doctrine

[17a.2-17b.3] The former, the doctrine of realisation, also has two parts. Firstly, there is that doctrine attained through the attributes of realisation, evenly absorbed in the expanse [of reality]. This is the truth of cessation to which the sublime beings have departed, the great nirvāṇa wherein all signs of dualistic appearance have vanished, which is beyond objects of conception and expression. Secondly, there is that doctrine which becomes the essence of realisation, the uncorrupted pristine cognition along with its concomitants. This is the truth of the path by which any [sublime being] departs, and which remedies the obscuration [covering] the naturally pure nucleus of inner radiance whose range must be realised by each one individually.

The first aspect is the desireless essence, or the unborn, pristine cognition in which the mind-streams of the four classes of sublime being have finished renouncing what must be renounced. And the second aspect is the natural expression of that pristine cognition or the antidote by which renunciation and desirelessness are achieved. As the sublime Ajita [in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch. 1, vv.10-11] has said:

> The doctrine is that which is without thought,
> Without duality and without ideas,
> And which is pure, distinct and an antidote;
> Thus it is both that which is and by which
> There is freedom from desire,
> Endowed with the characteristic of two truths.
> The reality of freedom from desire is subsumed
> By the truths of the cessation [of obscurations]
> And of the [correct] path.

Transmission of the True Doctrine

Secondly, the doctrine which transmits the expressive words [concerning that realisation] also has two aspects: the transmitted precepts of [the Buddha's] excellent teaching and the treatises which comment upon their intention.

4 *Transmitted Precepts*

[17b.3-28a.4] Firstly, [the transmitted precepts] are explained under three headings: characteristic, verbal definition and classification.

The transmitted precepts are characteristically the conquerors' scriptures preserved in the sūtrapiṭaka and tantrapiṭaka which are endowed with four special qualities originating personally from our extraordinary Teacher, the Buddha. The doctrinal wheel of transmission means exactly this and is a synonym [for the term "transmitted precepts"]. The four special qualities are said in the *Sūtra which Encourages Superior Aspiration* (*Adhyāśayasañcodanasūtra*, T 69) to be the possession of expressed meaning, immaculate words of expression, a function of renouncing rather than engaging in the conflicting emotions of the three realms, and a result which teaches the benefit of peace. Accordingly, the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.5, v.18) says:

> The speech which is closely connected
> With meaningful doctrine
> And causes the all-conflicting emotions of
> The three realms to be renounced,
> And that which teaches the benefit of peace,
> Is the Sage's[52] speech.
> Others are its opposite.

It is furthermore explained that the four [qualities] are to teach the three trainings as the expressed [meaning], to possess immaculate words as its expression, to possess the three kinds of valid cognition as proof, and to have a result that is virtuous in the beginning, middle and end. Therefore it is said:

> Teaching the three trainings with immaculate words,
> Endowed with the three kinds of valid cognition
> And virtuous in the beginning, middle and end:
> These are the transmitted precepts
> Which the Conqueror taught in the greater [vehicle].

> Their opposite should be known as
> The texts of others.

The verbal definition of the term *transmitted precept* is as follows: Derived from the [Sanskrit] *subhāṣita*, [the prefix] *su* conveys the five meanings of noble, beautiful, happy, best and excellent, among which in this context it means excellent. *Bhāṣita* means that which has been taught. It is because they are excellently taught that they are "transmitted precepts".

If one wonders how they are excellently taught, it is through ten aspects. As it is said in the *Rational System of Exposition:*[53]

> If one asks how they are excellently taught, they are so in ten ways, namely, through the nature of their genuine source, through the nature of their scope, through the nature of their approach, through the nature of their sound teaching, through the nature of their classification, through the nature of their support, through the nature of their causing comprehension, through the nature of their titles, through the nature of their time, and through the nature of their complete grasp of enlightened attributes.

The transmitted precepts are classified in five ways: (1) through the personality [of the Buddha], (2) through time, (3) through sections, (4) through their function as antidotes and (5) through their power.

TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS ACCORDING TO BUDDHA'S PERSONALITY

Firstly, when classified according to [the Buddha's] personalıty, there are three kinds of transmitted precept: those given in oral teaching, by blessing and by mandate.

Among these, [the transmitted precepts] given in oral teaching are also twofold. The teachings delivered impromptu by the Teacher at receptions are exemplified by the *Verse Summation of the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness* (*Prajñāpāramitāsaṃcayagāthā*, T 13) in which it is said (Ch.1, intro.):

> Then, in order to delight correctly these four assemblies, the Transcendent Lord taught this further *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness*, and at that time pronounced these verses...

The teachings which he gave at the request of an assembly are exemplified by the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī* (*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, T 360). Therein it is stated (v.13):

The *Great Tantra of the Magical Net* says that
Immeasurable great Vajradharas, holders of secret mantra,
Joyfully beseeched him to explain
That which is the excellent teaching.

The transmitted precepts given by blessing are threefold. The transmitted precepts given by the blessing of his body are exemplified by the *Sūtra of the Ten Levels* (*Daśabhūmikasūtra*, T 44) which was taught by Vajragarbha and Vimukticandra who had developed the brilliance to explain and request it after the Teacher had placed his hand on the crowns of their heads. The transmitted precepts given by the blessing of his speech are exemplified by the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Eight Thousand Lines* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, T 12), which was explained by Subhūti after the Transcendent Lord had said:

> Subhūti, beginning from the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness of the great bodhisattvas, spiritual warriors, may you develop brilliance in the manner of the great bodhisattvas, spiritual warriors, who become disillusioned [with saṃsāra] through the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness.

The transmitted precepts given by the blessing of his mind are said to have three subdivisions. Those transmitted precepts given by the blessing of the contemplation of his mind are exemplified by the *Heart Sūtra of Discriminative Awareness* (*Bhagavatīprajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*, T 21), which was delivered through the dialogue of Śāriputra and Avalokiteśvara by the power of the Teacher's meditative equipoise in the contemplation of profound appearances. Then again, the transmitted precepts given by the blessing of the true power of his mind are exemplified by the sound of the doctrine which emerges even from the sky, and from birds, trees and so forth through the accomplished power of the Buddha. And the transmitted precepts given by the blessing of the power of his great spirituality are exemplified by the collected transmitted precepts of mantra syllables, which were spoken by pious attendants, yakṣas and others through the power of the Buddha and which are capable of granting extraordinary results.

Concerning the transmitted precepts given by mandate, the *Sūtra of Final Nirvāṇa* (*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, T 120) says:

> Ānanda, when councils are convened after I have passed into final nirvāṇa, let the teachings be compiled and introduced with the words "Thus have I heard on a certain occasion", with connecting verses in the middle; and let them

> be concluded with the words "Manifest praise to the teaching given by the Transcendent Lord".

In accordance with such advice, the compilers included the sayings which had been transmitted in that way.

TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS ACCORDING TO TIME

Secondly, when classified according to time, the transmitted precepts comprise the three successive promulgations of the doctrinal wheel.[54] The first of these promulgations was concerned with the four truths, the second with signlessness, and the third with the definitive meaning of ultimate [reality].

TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS ACCORDING TO SECTIONS

Thirdly, when classified according to sections, [the transmitted precepts] form the twelve or nine branches of the scriptures. The enumeration of twelve is cited in the *Great Commentary on the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Eight Thousand Lines* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāvyākhyābhisamayālaṃkārāloka*, T 3791):[55]

> Sūtras, aphorisms in prose and verse, and prophetic declarations,
> Verses, meaningful expressions and narratives,
> Parables and legends,
> Extensive teachings and tales of past lives,
> Established instructions and marvellous events:
> These twelve are the twelve branches of the scriptures.

The enumeration of nine branches excludes the three sections of narratives, parables and established instructions. Such is also said in the *Clearly Worded Commentary* (*Mūlamadhyamakavṛttiprasannapadā*, T 3860):

> Including the sūtra section of the buddhas and so forth,
> The teaching dependent on the two truths has nine branches.

The twelve sections are also condensed into the three piṭaka. As it is said in the *Minor Transmissions* (*Vinayakṣudrāgama*, T 6):

> The five sections of the sūtras, aphorisms in prose and verse,
> Prophetic declarations, verses and meaningful expressions
> Are subsumed within the Sūtrapiṭaka.
> The four sections of legends and narratives,

Parables and tales of past lives
Are subsumed within the Vinayapiṭaka.
The three sections of extensive teaching,
Marvellous events and established instructions
Are subsumed within the Abhidharmapiṭaka.

As far as the secret mantra (*gsang-sngags*) texts are concerned in this context, most ancients claim that they belong to the section of extensive teaching because they are said to be the Bodhisattvapiṭaka of extensive teaching (*Mahāvaipulyabodhisattvapiṭaka*) in the Mahāyoga tantra entitled the *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī* [i.e. *Nāmasaṃgīti*, T 360]. The learned Nartön Senge-ö,[56] however, has said that [the secret mantra texts] belong either to the section of established instructions or to that of marvellous events.

TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS ACCORDING TO THEIR FUNCTION AS ANTIDOTES

Fourth, when classified according to their function as antidotes, [the transmitted precepts] consist of the eighty-four thousand doctrinal components. As the *Dialogue with the Four Goddesses* (*Caturdevīparipṛcchā*, T 446) says:

The Great Sage [divided] the doctrines into
Eighty-four thousand components.

It is also said that the antidotes for each of the twenty-one thousand kinds of desire, hatred and delusion, and for conduct which results from these three poisons in equal proportion, are respectively each of the twenty-one thousand components of the Vinayapiṭaka, Sūtrapiṭaka and Abhidharmapiṭaka, and of the Mantrapiṭaka of the Awareness-holders. As it is said in the *Revelation of Endless Treasure* (*mi-zad-pa'i gter bstan-pa*):

The antidote for the twenty-one thousand kinds
Of desire, hatred, and delusion,
And of conduct in which all three poisons
Are of equal proportion
Is said to be as many doctrinal components.

Elsewhere, in other [texts], the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra subsumed the mantras within the Abhidharmapiṭaka, saying in the *Great Perfection endowed with Conch-Syllables* (*rdzogs-pa chen-po dung-yig-can*, NYZ)[57] that among the piṭaka they belong to the Abhidharma. Accordingly, Kyi Nyima Dorje[58] and others also have claimed that the Abhidharmapiṭaka contains both outer and inner aspects, among which the mantras form the inner Abhidharma. Others such as master Śāntipā[59] and

Nartön Senge-ö have said that, subsuming the profound meaning, the Teacher included the mantras in the Sūtrapiṭaka; for the *Tantra of the Summation of the Real* (*Tattvasaṃgraha*, T 479) says:

> This sūtra is excellently explained.

And the *Vajravidāraṇā* (T 750) says:

> On listening to this sūtra.

Although our own tradition[60] does not contradict [masters] such as these, who subsumed [the mantras] within the Abhidharma[piṭaka] and the Sūtra[piṭaka] because they determined their positions in accord with one or another tantra text, still, with reference to the tantrapiṭaka in general, it is best if they are allocated an independent piṭaka, called either the Piṭaka of the Awareness-holders, or the Fourth Piṭaka. Therefore, the *All-Accomplishing King* says:

> That spoken of as the antidote which cures everything
> Is the Fourth Piṭaka teaching twenty-one thousand
> components.

And also in the *Tantra of the Dialogue with Subāhu* (*Subāhuparipṛcchānāmatantra*, T 805):

> Thirty million five hundred thousand teachings
> Were given by the conquerors
> In the Piṭaka of Awareness-holders.

Furthermore, the *Indestructible Peak* (*Vajraśekharamahāguhyayogatantra*, T 480) speaks of:

> The prātimokṣa, bodhisattva and inner vows
> Of the awareness-holders...

Hence, there is another way of subsuming [all the transmitted precepts] within three [sections], known as the piṭaka of the pious attendants, bodhisattvas and awareness-holders, which respectively teach these three vows.

The *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle* (*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārakārikā*, T 4020, Ch.11, v.1ab) also says:

> The piṭaka appropriately number three or two
> Because they are compilations,
> And owing to nine basic conditions.

Accordingly, if all the doctrinal components are subsumed, it is appropriate to subsume them either under the three piṭaka of the Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma, or under the two piṭaka of the pious attendants and bodhisattvas.

Here, with reference to the threefold subsumption, the reason for the precise number given is that the nine basic conditions are allocated between the three piṭaka, three for each, by attending to what must be renounced, studied and known. [The basic conditions] allocated to the three piṭaka by attending to what must be renounced are said to be the Sūtra as the antidote for doubt, the Vinaya as the antidote for involvement in the two extremes, and the Abhidharma as the antidote for holding to the supremacy of one's own view. By attending to what must be studied, [the basic conditions] are that the three trainings are explained by the Sūtra, superior moral discipline and mind are attained by the Vinaya, and superior discriminative awareness is attained by the Abhidharma. Then, by attending to what must be known, [the basic conditions] are that the doctrine and its meaning are explained by the Sūtra, attained by the Vinaya, and that, by the Abhidharma, one becomes skilled in the formulation of discourses.[61]

These nine basic conditions are allocated between the three piṭaka, but the importance of such a distribution is also that, by studying the three piṭaka, propensities are left in the mind, by reflecting upon them the meaning is realised, and by meditating upon them, conflicting emotions are pacified through tranquillity, and one is liberated by means of properly realising just what is, through higher insight. As it is said in the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.11, v.1cd):

> By understanding and pacifying propensities
> And by their proper realisation,
> These are the cause of liberation.

Incidentally, [the piṭaka] are verbally defined as follows: Aphorisms [or sūtras] are so named because they are derived from [the Sanskrit] *sūtra* [Tib. *mdo*]. As that same text [*Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.11, v.3ab] says:

> Because they describe situations and characteristics,
> The doctrines and their meanings,
> They are the Sūtra[piṭaka].

Hence the section of the sūtras.

[The Sanskrit word] *abhi* means manifest [or clear], and when added to other syllables such as [the Sanskrit] *mukhya*, comes to mean "growing manifest". As [the above-cited text, Ch.11 v.3cd] says:

> Because it is manifest or clear,
> Because it is repetitive,
> Because of its overpowering realisation,
> It is the Abhidharma.

Hence the Abhidharma [Tib. *chos mngon-pa*].

[The Sanskrit] *Vinaya* [Tib. *'dul-ba*] means discipline. By syllabic variation it comes to mean moral downfall (*vipatti*)[62] and so forth. As it is said [*Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.11, v.4]:

> It is the Vinaya
> Because it sets forth downfalls,
> The source of negativity,
> Its rejection and renunciation,
> Individuals and the affirmation of vows,
> And the classification and ascertainment of vows.

[The Tibetan] *sde-snod* derived from the [Sanskrit] word piṭaka conveys the meanings of a collection, [Sanskrit] *piṇḍaka*, and of a large measuring basket, [Sanskrit] *piṭaka*. The piṭaka are so called because they subsume all objects of knowledge in an expressible form, or gather many meanings within them.

TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS ACCORDING TO THEIR POWER

Fifth, when the transmitted precepts are classified according to their power, they form a vehicle because it appears that therein higher and higher paths are traversed, in the manner of a "vehicle". This notion is derived from the [Sanskrit] word *yāna* (*theg-pa*), which generally conveys the meaning of "transportation". Therefore it is said in the *Verse Summation of the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness* (Ch.1, vv.21cd-22ab) also:

> This vehicle is the great celestial palace.
> Riding on that, which is the best of vehicles,
> Manifestly attaining to delightful bliss,
> All sentient beings pass into nirvāṇa.

When this vehicle is classified, one cannot say with absolute certainty that only such and such an enumeration is precise. This is because it was taught by the compassion of the Buddha in order to train each in accord with his or her needs, in a manner which suited the intellects of those requiring training. Such has also been said in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā*, (Ch.2, v.203acd and Ch.10, v.445abc):

> In order to guide sentient beings completely,
> I have explained the entire vehicle.
> As such it is not an object of reference.

This is expressed more briefly in the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, T 113, Ch.2, v.54ab):

> The vehicle is one.
> It is not divided into three.

According to such intentions, it is established that there is a single culminating vehicle. Yet, [other enumerations are also given]. There is a twofold classification into the lesser vehicle and the greater vehicle with its causal and resultant aspects;[63] and a threefold classification either into the vehicles of the pious attendants, self-centred buddhas and bodhisattvas or, as it is said in the *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, into the "vehicles of direction from the cause of suffering, austere awareness and overpowering means". Then, there is a fourfold classification which combines the three causal vehicles with the resultant vehicle, as stated in the *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī* (v.135cd):

> Attaining disillusionment through the three vehicles,
> One abides in the result through the single vehicle.

Five vehicles are also given when the single vehicle of the higher realms [of saṃsāra] is added as a path leading to these four vehicles. The *Secret Nucleus* (Ch.3, v.6) says:

> [Through] the vehicle of gods and humans,
> The vehicle of the pious attendants,
> The vehicle of the self-centred buddhas,
> The vehicle of the bodhisattvas
> And the unsurpassed vehicle...

Again, there are nine successive vehicles when the "vehicle of direction from the cause of suffering" is divided into the trio of the vehicles of pious attendants, self-centred buddhas and bodhisattvas; the "vehicle of austere awareness" into the trio of the Kriyātantra, Caryātantra and Yogatantra; and the "vehicle of overpowering means" into the Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga. Therefore it is said in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

> Existentially there is only one,
> But empirically there are nine vehicles.

In brief, it is said that the vehicle is inconceivable because its culmination cannot be reached until the degrees of the intellect have been exhausted. As it is found in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.2, v.202ab and Ch.10, v.458ab):

> As long as there are perceptions,
> The culmination of the vehicles will never be reached.

From the standpoint of the essentially pure intellect, the path on which movement relies and the one by whom movement is made are not objective referents of even the word "vehicle". So [the same text, Ch.2, v.202cd and Ch.10, v.458cd] says:

> When the mind becomes transformed
> There is neither vehicle nor mover.

As for the following statement found in the *Commentary on the Nucleus of Indestructible Reality* (*Vajrahṛdayālaṃkāratantrapañjikā*, T 2515):

> For those who are Buddhists,
> Neither the fourth nor the fifth
> Are the Sage's intention.

There are some who affirm this to imply that only the enumeration of the three vehicles is valid. The actual meaning of this authoritative passage, however, is that the secret mantra texts are also subsumed within the vehicles of the pious attendants, self-centred buddhas and bodhisattvas and, on this occasion, only indicated in a general way. That statement, in particular, was purposefully made in order that the force of the verse beginning:

> For those who are Buddhists...

might refute any equation with the five basic philosophical systems of wrong view held by the Outsiders and other such enumerations. Indeed, if that passage were [considered to be] a refutation of precise enumerations other than three vehicles, how then could one understand the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.2, v.201 and Ch.10, v.457) which does speak of five vehicles?

> The vehicle of gods and the vehicle of Brahmā,
> And likewise the vehicles of the pious attendants,
> Tathāgatas and self-centred buddhas were explained by me.

The *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī* (v.135) also speaks of this [resultant] vehicle in the following words:

> One who strives to benefit living beings
> By means of the diverse vehicles
> Attains disillusionment through the three vehicles
> And abides in the single vehicle's result.

It is inappropriate to think that some pious attendant or self-centred buddha, who has achieved disillusionment from saṃsāra, starting from then develops the aspiration and application of the greater vehicle in his mind and attains omniscience, because [such texts] refer to the disillusionment of all three vehicles. Again, if one were to think that a bodhisattva who has attained disillusionment from the two extremes [of eternalism and nihilism] manifests the sublime buddha level through his own path of the causal greater vehicle, the above-cited statement [from the *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī*] that the single vehicle [of the result] follows after the three vehicles would be meaningless.

If one asks what system is followed here: Though the definitive ordering of many vehicles has been made provisionally, these vehicles,

their circumstances and the varying degrees of their emphasis were revealed as a means of guiding those who require training. It is intended that when these vehicles have each arrived at the result of their respective paths, they are continued still higher in the supreme teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality (*Vajrayāna*), the unique path on which all buddhas have progressed. Those others are revealed merely as paths leading to this vehicle, and the paths which are to be traversed until perfect enlightenment are positioned like the rungs of a ladder. Therefore Nāgārjuna has said:

> This method has been taught by the perfect Buddha in the manner of the rungs of a ladder.

And in the *Lotus Sūtra* (Ch.2, v.54):

> The teaching of the three vehicles of the sages
> Is the skilful means of the guiding [buddhas].
> Though apart from the single vehicle,
> A second does not exist,
> The three vehicles are taught for the sake of guidance.

And similarly in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā*:

> Those who are worn out by the path of rebirth
> Will not find the meaning of respite therein
>   [i.e. in lesser vehicles].

Furthermore, it is said in the *Pagoda of Precious Jewels* (*Ratnakūṭa*, T 45-93):

> Kāśyapa, there are two vehicles,
> The lesser and the greater.

According to such passages the arrangment of only three vehicles is not exclusively observed. In this [Vajrayāna] tradition of ours, there is a precise enumeration of four, namely, the vehicles of the pious attendants, self-centred buddhas, bodhisattvas and mantras, the last of which is classified into the three lower classes of tantra and the three aspects of creation and perfection belonging to the Unsurpassed Tantra (*bla-na med-pa'i rgyud*). Therefore, there is no room for contradiction in this orderly succession of the vehicle. It is appropriate either to apply the name "single vehicle" to all the doctrines subsumed by the buddha level, or to apply the names of the individual vehicles to each in particular, because they are the path which brings about progress towards all-knowing [enlightenment].

Among them, firstly the three outer vehicles of dialectics (*mtshan-nyid theg-pa gsum*) are called vehicles because they respectively reach the goal of an arhat, a self-centred buddha [whose enlightenment is attained] in the manner of a parrot [i.e. in a group] or in the manner of a

rhinoceros [i.e. in solitude], and the eleventh level[64] which is called Universal Light (*Samantaprabhā*).

Secondly, the three vehicles of the outer tantras of austere awareness (*phyi-rgyud dka'-thub rig-pa'i theg-pa-gsum*) are vehicles because they respectively cause one to reach the level of a Holder of Indestructible Reality belonging to Three Enlightened Families (*rigs-gsum rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*), the level of a Sky-farer belonging to Four Enlightened Families (*rigs-bzhi mkha'-spyod-pa*), and the level of the Bounteous Array of Five Enlightened Families (*rigs-lnga stug-po bkod-pa*, Skt. *Ghanavyūha*).

Thirdly, the three vehicles of inner tantras of skilful means (*nang-rgyud thabs-kyi theg-pa gsum*) are explained by the word "vehicle" because they respectively cause one to reach the level of the Great Mass of Rotating Syllables (*yi-ge 'khor-lo tshogs-chen*), the level of Great Bliss (*bde-ba chen-po*) and the level of Unsurpassed Pristine Cognition (*ye-shes bla-ma*).

With an intention directed towards this, it is said in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.2, v.202 and Ch.10, v.458):

> As long as sentient beings manifest
> There will be no end to the vehicles.

Therefore, it is said that there are as many approaches to the vehicle as accord with the number of thoughts in the mind.

In the context of this [tradition of ours] also, the higher and lower mantra vehicles are proportionately revealed to those of middling and highest acumen with an intention directed towards appraising the intellects of those requiring training, which are classified into three groups of three. In addition, in the fundamental path of each [vehicle] the view, meditation, conduct and result are completely explained, one by one, but only in the context of the individual capacity of their respective paths. Then, the culmination in which intellect and all things have ceased is established as the literal truth of the sublime path.

Furthermore, with regard to this point, the nirvāṇa of the vehicles of the pious attendants and self-centred buddhas does not reach the culmination except in a merely provisional way. Having actualised the result of their own paths, in order that the nirvāṇa of liberation might be attained, they are actually gathered in the greater vehicle because, starting from then, they are required to enter the greater vehicle.

In the causal aspect of the greater vehicle, and in the three lower classes of tantra, the definitive order of the result is taught as an enumeration. However, the distinctive attributes of profound hidden meaning [contained] in the path which causes progress toward this result are not revealed in them, and the actual result makes a great distinction between perfection and imperfection. For these reasons, it is in the unsurpassed vehicle that the skilful means is perfectly revealed. All the modes of the path and result contained in the lower [vehicles] are

fulfilled and gathered in this unsurpassed vehicle because its uncommon doctrines are neither included nor represented in those [lower vehicles].

However, even within the unsurpassed [vehicle] there are some paths of both the creation and perfection [stages] in which the means of attainment is no more than an intellectual contrivance. Since the object of their attainment becomes compounded, they differ from the vision of pristine cognition in an extreme way. This being the case, the Great Perfection, where there is no room for contact with intellectually contrived doctrines, is the uncorrupted pristine cognition, the truth of the path subsumed by sublime minds and attained by the power of realisation, which accords with the abiding nature of the truth of reality. This is because the unerring reality, which the lower paths reveal through many enumerations as still to be actualised, is actually perceived here.

Because the vehicles, without exception, are gathered in this unsurpassed greater vehicle, it is also explained to be the "vehicle of pristine cognition". The *Sūtra of the Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas* says:

> Deeply involved in the vehicle of pristine cognition and in the greater vehicle, the mind dedicates the merit of those fundamental virtues.

And in the *Sūtra Requested by the Devaputra Suvikrāntacinta* (*Suvikrāntacintaparipṛcchāsūtra*, T 161):

> This vehicle of the greater vehicle,
> The inconceivable vehicle of the buddhas,
> Giving sentient beings a chance,
> Is the unsurpassed greater vehicle.
> Among all the vehicles that there are,
> This is intended to be supreme.
> So it is that, derived from the greater vehicle,
> All vehicles are well classified.

In the *Sublime Seal of Great Realisation* (*'phags-pa rtogs-chen phyag-rgya*, T 265)[65] it is said:

> Certainly there is only one vehicle.
> It does not exist as two or three.

And in its commentary:

> [The vehicles] of the pious attendants, self-centred buddhas, and the greater vehicle, are revealed in order to discipline those who require training by the three vehicles. In reality, there is but a single vehicle, the resultant vehicle of the indestructible reality.

And also in the *Intermediate Mother*:

> Subhūti, there is only one vehicle,
> The unsurpassed vehicle of the buddhas.

And in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā*:

> Apart from the single vehicle, no second exists,
> And the third never exists except in the world
> When diverse living beings are trained.

Thus, on certain occasions such as these, the single vehicle is mentioned.

None the less, in certain [passages] there are also statements in which no limits such as two, three or five [vehicles] and so forth are enumerated. As it is said [in the same text, Ch.2, v.203cd and Ch.10, v.445cd]:

> In order to guide the childlike,
> I have explained the different vehicles.

Or:

> The vehicle of the gods and the vehicle of Brahmā...

And they are sometimes also said to be countless, for example [in the same text, Ch.2, v.202b and Ch.10, v.458b]:

> As long as the mind manifests....

Then, with an intention directed toward the individual who sees the unbewildered abiding nature of reality, it is also said that there is no vehicle. As the same *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.2, v.202cd and Ch.10, v.458cd) says:

> When the mind becomes transformed
> There is neither vehicle nor mover.

Therefore, one should know that the statement of an exact, definitive order, saying "all such teachings necessarily have this but not that as their sole limit" is an indication that the manifestations of the intellect have not been turned in the direction of the genuine abiding reality.

In this [Nyingmapa tradition], for the while, the vehicle is precisely enumerated in nine sequences. Accordingly, the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

> There are sūtras and extensive teachings
> And extremely extensive teachings.
> The extremely extensive teachings
> Are the inconceivable eighty-four thousand
> [components],
> An exceedingly vast number,
> Inconceivable and immeasurable,
> Ineffable and most unthinkable.
> The extensive teachings, in the same way,
> Are held to have nine divisions:
> Those of pious attendants and self-centred buddhas,

And similarly bodhisattvas,
The Kriyā and the Ubhaya
And likewise the Yoga vehicles are explained;
Then the Mahāyoga and the Anuyoga
And likewise the Great Perfection, Atiyoga.
Explained in nine such divisions
Is the great teaching of the doctrine.

So this is the way that the vehicle which disciplines those requiring training was proportionately revealed, divided into three groups of three for situations involving those of lowest, middling and superior acumen.

It is said in the *Great Array of the Highest*:

The doctrines of my teaching
Were revealed in two stages
Through greater and lesser distinctions
Among the intellectual degrees of sentient beings.
Each has its own view and basic position.

These respective views are classified into the erroneous and the genuine, the latter of which is outlined as follows in the same text:

The genuine [view] has three stages.
For those of lesser and greater intellect,
And likewise for those of middling intellect,
It is revealed in three stages.
The three lesser kinds
Are the doctrines corresponding to the following
  intellects:
That of the pious attendants for those polluted by ideas,
That of self-centred buddhas for the perceptive,
And that of bodhisattvas for those who penetrate ideas.
As for the teaching given to those of the three middling
  [intellects],
The Kriyātantra is for the lowest,
The Caryātantra is for the low,
And the Yogatantra for those endowed with [higher]
  consciousness.
For those endowed with the three greater degrees [of
  intelligence],
The creation [of Mahāyoga] is for those who have
  transcended mind,
The perfection [of Anuyoga] is for those having the
  essence of mind[-as-such],
And Great Perfection is for [those intent on]
That which is supreme and most secret.

5 *Treatises*

[28a.5-41a.6] The definitive order of the treatises which comment on the intention [of these transmitted precepts] is explained under three headings: characteristic, verbal definition and classification.

Primarily, for one who is motivated by the thought of composing treatises, a mere treatise is characterised as an authoritative doctrine set forth in order that the philosophical system of one's own inclination might be revealed to others. Some which possess four special attributes are characterised as pure treatises, while those lacking any of the four special attributes are characterised as ostensible treatises.

The four special attributes are the attribute of motivation, when a composer of undistracted mind is motivated by discriminative awareness realised in words and their meaning, and by compassion which desires to benefit others; the attribute of expressive words which form refined metrical verses; the attribute of the expressed meaning which teaches the essential means for those requiring training, who aspire to liberation; and the attribute of purposeful composition which has the power [to inspire] the attainment of liberation by study of and reflection upon those words. The *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.5, v.19) says:

> There are some who teach with undistracted mind,
> Referring solely to the Conqueror, the Teacher,
> Conforming to the path which attains to liberation.
> Let them be reverently accepted
> Like the Sage's transmitted precepts.

Concerning the verbal definition, the [Tibetan] word *bstan-bcos* [or treatise] is derived from [the Sanskrit] *śāstra*, which is a compound of *śāsana*, to refine [or instruct], and of *trāya*, to protect. A treatise is so called because in its causal aspect it refines the three poisonous conflicting emotions into the possession of the three trainings, and in its resultant aspect it offers protection from the suffering of evil existences and

rebirth. In other words, because it possesses the attributes of refinement and protection, it is a treatise. Such is said in the *Rational System of Exposition*:[66]

> That which refines the enemies, conflicting emotions, without exception,
> And affords protection from rebirth in evil existences,
> Is a treatise, for it has the attributes of refinement and protection.
> Treatises having both these attributes do not exist in other traditions.

The treatises are classified in six ways according to: (1) the standard of their composition, (2) the purpose of their composition, (3) their individual composers, (4) the manner of their composition, (5) the transmitted precepts which they explain, and (6) the meaning which they express.

TREATISES ACCORDING TO THE STANDARD OF COMPOSITION

Firstly, when classified according to the standard of their composition, there are four kinds of treatise. As the *Binding of the Chapters of the Gathering of the Sugatas* (*bde-'dus-kyi sa-gcod tshoms-kyi chings*) says:

> One should know that there are four kinds of treatise: The meaningless, the low in meaning, the erroneous, and the meaningful.

The meaningless [treatises] are exemplified by a treatise on dentistry for crows (*Kākadantaparīkṣāśāstra*),[67] those which are low in meaning by the treatises of the four common sciences, the erroneous by the treatises of the eternalistic extremists who are Outsiders, and the meaningful by the treatises of the inner science of the Buddhists.

Then, in the *Yogācāra Level* (*Yogācārabhūmi*, T 4035), nine kinds [of treatise] are explained:

> The meaningless, erroneous and the meaningful;
> The hypocritical, the merciless and those which renounce suffering;
> Those devoted to worldly study, polemics and attainment:
> These are the nine kinds of treatise.

When divided into these three groups of three, the first two members of each group are ostensible treatises of low standard, while the last member of each group is a genuine treatise of high standard.

TREATISES ACCORDING TO THE PURPOSE OF COMPOSITION

Secondly, when classified according to the purpose of their composition, there are three sorts of treatise: those which summarise the vast meaning of the transmitted precepts, those which rectify disorder [concerning the doctrine], and those which disclose profundity. Basic examples of these three are respectively the *Compendium of the Abhidharma* (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*, T 4049), the *Root Sūtra of the Vinaya* (*Vinayamūlasūtra*, T 4117), and the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle.*

TREATISES ACCORDING TO THEIR INDIVIDUAL COMPOSERS

Thirdly, when classified according to their individual composers, there are five kinds. The treatises composed upon the teaching given by perfect buddhas are exemplified by the *Five Transmissions of the Gathering of the Sugatas (bde-'dus-kyi lung-lnga)*, which were composed by Vajradharma,[68] and the *Five Doctrines of Maitreya* (*byams-chos sde-lnga*).

The treatises composed upon the teaching given by arhats are exemplified by the *Seven Sections of the Abhidharma (mngon-pa sde-bdun)*. Concerning the *Seven Sections*, the *Commentaries on the Treasury of the Abhidharma* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*)[69] says:

> It is reported that the *Components of the Doctrine* (*Dharmaskandha*) is by Śāriputra,
> The *Treatise on Description* (*Prajñaptiśāstra*) is by Maudgalyāyana,
> The *Body of the Elemental Bases* (*Dhātukāya*) is by Pūrṇa,
> The *Body of Consciousness* (*Vijñānakāya*) is by Devaśarman,
> The *Entrance to Knowledge* (*Jñānaprasthāna*) is by Katyāyanaputra,
> The *Dissertation* (*Prakaraṇapāda*) is by Vasumitra,
> And the *Enumeration of Classes* (*Saṃgītiparyāya*) is by Mahākauṣṭhila.[70]

According to the tradition of the Vaibhāṣika, since the teachings given in fragments by the Teacher in different places and times to different individuals were compiled by the likes of Śāriputra, they are transmitted precepts similar to the *Collection of Meaningful Expression*. Therefore, they say that the *Treasury of Detailed Exposition* (*Vibhāṣākośa*) is earliest among the commentaries. According to the Sautrāntika; however, the *Seven Sections of the Abhidharma* were formulated by ordinary pious attendants. They hold the compilation of these words of the Teacher by arhats to be an ill rumour and say therefore that the *Seven Sections*

are earliest among the commentaries. But this is doubtful for the following reason: Just as there is a distinct Abhidharmapiṭaka in the greater vehicle, so also the pious attendants must have had one, and the doubt arises that there is surely no reason for [the pious attendants] to have had the other two piṭaka in their separate volumes but not the Abhidharma. Hence, the tradition of the Vaibhāṣika would seem to be correct.

Supreme scholars say that the great master Vasubandhu[71] maintained the Sautrāntika view and therefore held these [*Seven Sections*] to be basic examples of treatises composed by arhats. Elsewhere, there are some who talk meaninglessly, saying the *Seven Sections* are not transmitted precepts because they contain many errors, and that rather they were composed by the likes of Śāriputra. Such talk would seem to be extremely foolish, for if such great arhats as the Supreme Pair [Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana] who had been produced by the Teacher himself, through his emanational power, had misinterpreted the transmitted precepts, there would be no referential basis for recognising any genuine witness [to the Buddha's teaching] because the genuine witness would have all but come to an end. And if even the arhats had not seen the truth, it is implicit that there would have been no individual who saw the truth in the tradition of the pious attendants.

Furthermore, the treatises composed upon the teaching given by sublime bodhisattvas are exemplified by the extensive treatises of the *Five Sections of the Levels*,[72] and the abbreviated treatises known as the *Two Summations*, namely, the *Compendium of the Abhidharma* and the *Collection of the Greater Vehicle* (*Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, T 4048), all of which were composed by the sublime Asaṅga who was abiding on the third level.[73]

The treatises which were composed after prophetic declarations had been obtained from the meditational deities are exemplified by Dignāga's[74] *Compendium of Valid Cognition* (*Pramāṇasamuccaya*, T 4203) and the *Seven Treasuries of the Scriptures* (*gsung-rab mdzod-bdun*) by the great all-knowing Longcen Rapjampa.

The treatises which were composed by ordinary learned paṇḍitas to advocate their own philosophical systems and to reject the wrong ideas of others are exemplified by the *Eight Dissertations* (*Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*)[75] composed by the best of scholars Vasubandhu.

Therefore, when the treatises are classified according to the individuals who composed them, they are gathered into these five divisions.

TREATISES ACCORDING TO THE MANNER OF THEIR COMPOSITION

Fourth, when treatises are classified according to the manner of their composition, they fall into two categories: those which are labelled as

commentaries on the transmitted precepts themselves, and those which are composed independently on the meaning of the transmitted precepts.

The former treatises are also of four kinds. Those which establish both word and meaning in detail are the extensive commentaries such as the *Commentary on the Prātimokṣa Sūtra in Fifty Sections* (*Prātimokṣasūtraṭīkā*, T 4106), and the great commentary on the *Kālacakra Tantra* entitled the *Taintless Light* (*Vimalaprabhā*, T 845). Those which explain the words in conjunction with annotations are verbal commentaries such as the *Commentary on the Collection of Meaningful Expressions* (*Udānavargavṛtti*, T 4100), and the *Commentary on the Secret Nucleus entitled Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions* (*snying-'grel phyogs-bcu mun-sel*). Those which disclose points which are hard to understand are the commentaries on difficulties such as the *Commentary on the Verse Summation of the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness* (*Sañcayagāthāpañjikā*, T 3798 or T 3792). And those which subsume and establish the primary meaning are the commentaries of summarised meaning such as Vimalamitra's *Condensed Commentary on the Secret Nucleus* (*Guhyagarbhapiṇḍārtha*, P 4755), and the *Chapterless Commentary on the Supplementary Magical Net* (*le-lag-gi sa-ma 'grel*) by the great Rongzompa.

The latter category of treatises composed independently on the meaning of the transmitted precepts are of three kinds. Those which completely teach the meaning of one transmitted precept are exemplified by the *Root Sūtra of the Vinaya*, the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation* (*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, T 3786), and Buddhaguhya's *Sequence of the Path of the Magical Net*. Those which teach the meaning of a fragmentary transmitted precept are exemplified by the *Stanzas on the Novitiate* (*Śrāmaṇerakārikā*, T 4124). And those which teach the meaning of many transmitted precepts are exemplified by Śāntideva's[76] *Compendium of Lessons* (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*, T 3939-40) and the all-knowing Jikme Lingpa's[77] *Precious Treasury of Enlightened Attributes* (*yon-tan mdzod*).

TREATISES ACCORDING TO THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS THEY EXPLAIN

Fifth, when classified according to the transmitted precepts which they explain, those treatises which comment on the transmitted precepts as a whole include commentaries on their verbal structure such as the grammatical treatises of the *Kalāpasūtra* (T 4282) and the *Grammar of Candragomin* (*Candravyākaraṇa*, T 4269), and commentaries on their meaning such as the *Seven Sections of Valid Cognition* [by Dharmakīrti][78] and the *Sūtra* [i.e. the *Compendium of Valid Cognition* by Dignāga].

Then, there are those which comment on the intention of the different particular promulgations of the transmitted precepts. Commentaries on the intention of the first promulgation of the doctrinal wheel are divided into those which establish the view, those which establish conduct and those which establish the integration of view and conduct.

The first [those which establish the view] are exemplified by the *Treasury of the Abhidharma*. After an introduction which gives the definitive order of the body [of the text], the first of its eight chapters teaches the objects of perception, the components, psychophysical bases and activity fields. The second teaches the nature of the sense organs and the manner in which things that are compounded arise, along with their causal basis, conditions and results. The third teaches the truth of origination of the world, the container and its contents, [which experience] the truth of suffering. The fourth teaches of [world-forming] deeds, and the fifth the definitive order of the conflicting emotions. The sixth, teaching of paths and individuals, reveals how the path is experientially cultivated. The seventh reveals the manner in which complete knowledge of the result is attained; and the eighth teaches the definitive order of the concentrative absorptions and so forth, because they are necessary to support the truth of the path which is the antidote expounded previously in the sixth chapter.

Secondly, those commentaries which teach the aspect of conduct are exemplified by the *Root Sūtra of the Vinaya*. This text details the seventeen *pāda* [of the *Vinayavastu*, T 1], the first of which teaches the ordination of a renunciate (*pravrajyā*). Thereafter, based on the sixteen remaining *pāda* and the *Two Analyses* [*of the Vows of Monks and Nuns* – *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga*, T 3 and *Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga*, T 5], it explains the Vinaya instructions of the *Supreme Text* (*Vinaya-uttaragrantha*, T 7), the *Analyses*, and so forth, with suitable excerpts from the chapters of the *Minor Transmissions*. These commentaries are also exemplified by the *Flower Garland of the Vinaya* (*Vinayapuṣpamālā*, T 4123) which, based on the *Analyses*, explains the Vinaya in conjunction with various other quotations.

Thirdly, those commentaries which teach the integration of view and conduct are exemplified by the *Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*, in which it is the meaning of the philosophy of the Vaibhāṣika that is explained in detail. This text is said to have been composed in the time of Upagupta[79] by all the arhats in common, and there are also some who hold it to be the work of Yaśaḥ, Sarvakāmin and others. The Tibetans have confused these two reports, claiming that it was composed by five hundred arhats such as Sarvakāmin and Kubjita at the Narttaka Vihāra in the Northern Vindhya Mountains. Actually, it would seem correct to say that the words of these arhats were transmitted by the elders (*sthavira*) from ear to ear in one continuous arrangement, and later written down.

Again, the commentaries on the intention of the intermediate promulgation of the doctrinal wheel are also divided into treatises which establish the view, those which establish conduct and those which establish the integration of view and conduct.

First, [those which establish the view] are exemplified by Nāgārjuna's[80] *Collection of Madhyamaka Reasoning* (*dbu-ma rigs-tshogs*). There are four such collections of reasoning which refute the elaborate extremes that others seek to prove, namely, the *Root Stanzas on the Madhyamaka entitled Discriminative Awareness* (*Prajñānāmamūlamadhyamakakārikā*, T 3824), the *Sixty Verses on Reason* (*Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, T 3825), the *Seventy Verses on Emptiness* (*Śūnyatāsaptati*, T 3827), and the *Refutation of Disputed Topics* (*Vigrahavyāvartanī*, T 3828). Then, with the inclusion of the *Technique of Pulverisation* (*Vaidalyasūtra*, T 3826), a collection of reasons which refute the arguments of sophists, there are reputed to be five collections of reasoning; or six with the further addition of the *Vindication of Conventional Truth* (*Vyavahārasiddhi*) which teaches that, although ultimately there is no substantial existence, conventions are valid with reference to relative appearances. None the less, according to the intention of the *Clearly Worded Commentary*, the enumeration of five collections of reasoning is said to be correct.[81]

Secondly, those commentaries which teach conduct are exemplified by the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva* (*Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*, T 3871) by Śāntideva. This text teaches in ten chapters: the beneficial attributes of the enlightened mind; the importance of the repentance of sins; the seizing of the enlightened mind; vigilance with respect to [the enlightened mind]; the guarding of awareness of the present; [the transcendental perfections of] patience; perseverance; meditation; and discriminative awareness; and the dedication of merit.

Thirdly, those commentaries which teach the integration of view and conduct are exemplified by the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation*. This text affirms (Ch.1, v.4) that:

> The transcendental perfection of discriminative
> awareness
> Is correctly explained through eight topics.

Accordingly, the eight topics are the three concerned with the entry into objective understanding [namely, understanding all aspects of omniscience – *rnam-mkhyen*, Skt. *sarvākārajñāna*; the understanding of the path – *lam-shes-nyid*, Skt. *mārgajñatā*; and understanding all bases of omniscience – *thams-cad shes-pa-nyid*, Skt. *sarvajñatā*]; the four concerned with the entry into the properties of the doctrine [namely, manifestly realizing all aspects of omniscience – *rnam-kun mngon-rdzogs rtogs-pa*, Skt. *sarvākārābhisambodha*; the reaching of the summit of existence – *rtse-mor phyin-pa*, Skt. *murdhābhisamaya*; the culmination of saṃsāra – *mthar-*

gyis-pa, Skt. *anupurvābhisamaya*; and the instantaneous perfect enlightenment – *skad-cig-ma-gcig-gis mngon-rdzogs byang-chub-pa'i sbyor-ba*, Skt. *ekakṣaṇābhisamaya*]; and the buddha-body of reality (*chos-sku*, Skt. *dharmakāya*) which is the result of these entrances. These eight topics are established through seventy points.

Then, the commentaries on the intention of the final transmitted precepts, the third promulgation of the doctrinal wheel, are also divided into treatises which establish the view, those which establish conduct and those which establish the integration of view and conduct.

First, [those which establish the view] are exemplified by the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* and the *Two Analyses* [the *Analysis of the Middle and Extremes*, Skt. *Madhyāntavibhaṅga*, T 4021, and the *Analysis of Phenomena and Reality*, Skt. *Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga*, T 4022]. In the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.1), it is stated that:

> Buddha, doctrine, community, seed and enlightenment,
> Enlightened attributes and finally activities of the
> Buddha:
> The body of this entire treatise when condensed
> Consists of these seven topics of indestructible reality.

Accordingly, this text establishes seven topics: the Three Precious Jewels, their causal basis or seed which is the nucleus of the tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*), its result which consists of enlightenment, the sixty-four enlightened attributes, and the enlightened activities of the buddhas. The *Analysis of the Middle and Extremes* dispels the extremes of existence and non-existence, or of eternalism and nihilism, and then teaches the middle path. The *Analysis of Phenomena and Reality* teaches the distinctions between the apparitional reality or phenomena of saṃsāra, and the reality of nirvāṇā.[82] In this way, these two are analytical texts or *vibhaṅga*.

Secondly, those commentaries which teach conduct are exemplified by the *Twenty Verses on the Bodhisattva Vow* (*Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśaka*, T 4081). This text establishes the four root downfalls and forty-six transgressions which confront a bodhisattva of average ability.

Thirdly, those which teach the integration of view and conduct are exemplified by the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle*. Its twenty-one chapters, beginning with the "Proof of the Transmitted Precepts of the Greater Vehicle" (*Mahāyānasiddhyādhikāra*), establish [this integration] according to ten categories such as [the gradation of] the families (*gotra*), volition with respect to the doctrine (*dharmaparyeṣṭya*) and so on.

Similarly, with reference to the Fourth Piṭaka, or the Piṭaka of the Awareness-holders, also, there are treatises which comment on the intention of the four or six classes of tantra. For example, the master Padmasambhava's *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions* and Kawa Peltsek's[83] *Seventeenfold Appearance of the Sequence of the View* are representative of those which teach the view. Līlāvajra's *Clarification of Commitments* (*Samayavivyakti*, P 4744) exemplifies those which teach conduct, and the master Buddhaguhya's *Sequence of the Path of the Magical Net*[84] exemplifies those which teach the integration of view and conduct.

TREATISES ACCORDING TO THE MEANING THEY EXPRESS

Sixth, when the treatises are classified according to the meaning they express, there are those which teach quantitatively, those which teach qualitatively, and those which teach the means for attaining liberation and omniscience.

6 *Quantitative Treatises*

The treatises which teach quantitatively are both common and uncommon.

COMMON QUANTITATIVE TREATISES

The common sort are exemplified by the treatise on worldly behaviour entitled the *Point of Human Sustenance* (*Nītiśāstrajantupoṣaṇabindu*, T 4330) and Cāṇakya's[85] *Treatise on the Behaviour of Kings* (*Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra*, T 4334). Although these are actually the causal bases for birth in the higher realms [of gods and humans], one may still proceed through them to [a rebirth which is] receptive to liberation. It is said in the *Hundred Verses on Discriminative Awareness (Prajñā-śatakanāmaprakaraṇa*, T 4328):

> If human traditions are well practised,
> Progress to the god realms is not far distant.
> If one ascends the stairway of the gods and men,
> One is close to liberation.

The common treatises also include the eight subjects of scrutiny, concerning which [Rongzompa][86] says:

> These are the scrutiny of precious gems, land,
> Garments, trees, horses, elephants, men and women.

UNCOMMON QUANTITATIVE TREATISES

The Outer Sciences

[34b.2-40b.4] The uncommon sort of [quantitative] treatises are those which emphatically establish the first four sciences. In the *Sūtra Repaid*

with Gratitude (*thabs-mkhas-pa chen-po sangs-rgyas drin-lan bsab-pa'i mdo*, T 353) it is said:

> If a bodhisattva does not study the five sciences, he can never obtain all-knowing pristine cognition in the unsurpassed, genuine and perfect enlightenment. This being the case, in order to obtain unsurpassed enlightenment, the five sciences should be studied.

And in the *Yogācāra Level*:

> If one were to ask what are the five sciences, they are as follows: the sciences of medicine, logic, grammar and artistic crafts, in addition to the inner science [of Buddhism].

The necessity of training in the first four of these sciences is also mentioned by the regent Ajita [Maitreya, in the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.11, v.60c]:

> In this way they eradicate [the faults] of others
> And bring them into the fold.

Thus grammar and logic are the two sciences which respectively eradicate wrong understanding in the words and meaning of others, while art and medicine are the two which respectively bring into the fold seekers of many useful skills in general, and the advantage of sound health in particular.

The Arts

Since the arts gather within them the other three, it is opportune first to explain the science of the arts. If one were to wonder how this gathering comes about, then it has been said:

> Through emphasising the body, the speech or neither,
> The arts are divided into those of body, of speech and of mind.

Accordingly, those emphasising movements of the body and expressions of speech, which are related to the mind, are assigned to the arts of body and speech, while those in which the mind refers to thought alone, unrelated to those two, are called the arts of the mind. For this reason, the arts contain infinite means of attaining many useful skills such as the sixty-four crafts explained in the commentaries on the *Sūtra of Extensive Play* (*Lalitavistarasūtra*, T 95) and the *Minor Transmissions*, the thirty designated arts, the eighteen appendages of music such as dancing and drama, the seven harmonious tones beginning with the middle tone and the tone of the sages, and the nine dramatic airs such as erotic grace – all of which are explained in the *Mahāvyutpatti*

(T 4346);[87] the eighteen artistic techniques explained in the sūtras; and the eight subjects of scrutiny.

Supreme among the arts of the body, in particular, are the methods of constucting the receptacles and contents which represent the Tathāgata's body, speech and mind [i.e. images, books and stūpas]. Supreme among the arts of speech are the songs of praise in the form of offerings to the conquerors, and supreme among the arts of the mind are the extraordinary aspects of discriminative awareness[88] produced by processes of thought such as study, reflection and meditation. The textual tradition which teaches these art forms comprises the *Sūtra Requested by Śāriputra* (*Śāriputrāṣṭaka*, P 5812), scriptures such as the *Kālacakra Tantra* (T 362) and the *Emergence of Cakrasaṃvara* (*Śrīmahāsaṃvarodayatantrarāja*, T 373), along with their commentaries, the *Notebook on Iconometry* (*Pratibimbamānalakṣaṇanāma*, T 4316) which was composed by the *ṛṣi* Ātreya, the *Alchemical Transmutation into Gold* (*Rasāyanaśāstroddhṛti*, T 4314) and other such artistic treatises.

Medicine

The second of the sciences, medicine, is exemplified by Yutokpa's *Commentary on the Intention of the Four Glorious Tantras of Medical Science* (*dpal-ldan rgyud-bzhi'i dgongs-pa bkral-pa*, SP Vol.72).[89] The *Exegetical Tantra on the Eight Divisions of Medicine* [*yan-lag bshad-rgyud*, the second of the *Four Tantras*] says:

> In order to maintain health and heal sickness in the
> human body,
> Superior among the six classes of living creatures,
> And to attain longevity, the wealth of the doctrine and
> happiness,
> The topics of medical science, when condensed,
> Are explained under these four headings:
> That which is to be healed and the remedy which heals,
> The mode of healing and the healer.

Accordingly, that which is to be healed includes the disease and the invalid, the remedy which heals includes regimen, medication and diagnosis, the modes of healing or therapy include the prolonging of life free from disease and the healing of sickness when it occurs, and the healer includes the doctor and the nurses. These are also subsumed and taught in Śūra's *Eight Divisions of Medical Science* [*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*, T 4310 by Vāgbhaṭa].[90]

Grammar

The third of the sciences, grammar, is exemplified by the eight great grammatical sūtras which, as explained in the *Commentary of Pāṇini*

(*Pāṇinivyākaraṇasūtra*, T 4420), were known in India, or, in particular, by the treatises and instructions of the *Kalāpasūtra* and the *Grammar of Candragomin* which are known here in Tibet like the sun and moon.

The common purpose of grammar is [the utilisation of] nouns, words and syllables. As the *Ornamental Flower of Speech* (*smra-ba rgyan-gyi me-tog*) says:

> The support for the teaching of both
> The essence alone and its distinctive attributes
> Comprises nouns, words and syllables.

Then, the distinctive meaning [of grammar] is stated in the *Clear Nucleus Grammar* (*brda'-sprod snying-po gsal-ba*):

> Natural stems, affixation and morphological changes
> Are the concepts to be expressed in grammatical texts.

Now, the basis on which various morphological changes (*rnam-'gyur*) are made by means of affixation (*rkyen*) is the natural stem (*rang-bzhin*). And when it is classified:

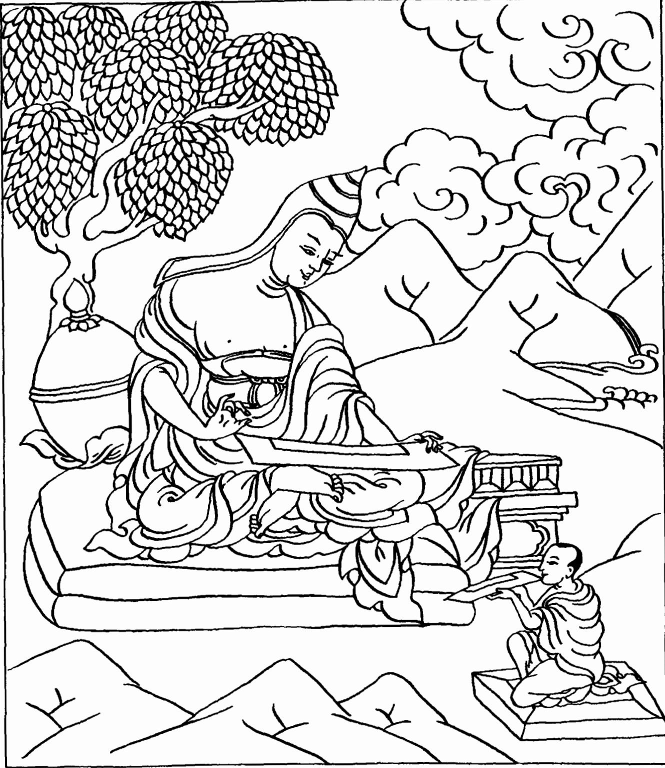
> There are natural roots and nouns among which
> The former contains the meaning of the verb.
> [The latter] comprises the three genders,
> With final vowels and consonants.

Both of these natural grammatical forms [roots and nouns] are subject to affixation or the adjuncts of grammar which cause nouns, words and phrases to be appropriately formed. There are in this respect seven kinds of affixation through which the root takes form as gender, the root takes form as an inflected word, the root takes form as a root, gender takes form as gender, nominal stems take form as nominal stems, gender takes form as a root, and gender takes form as an inflected word. Among them, the second and seventh [through which the root takes form as an inflected word and gender takes form as an inflected word][91] together are the common substratum (*samānādhikaraṇa*) of affixation and the declensions (*vibhakti*). Tense and meaning are differentiated by means of the second kind of inflection through which roots endowed with tense-affixes (*ti-ādi*) take form as words. Morphological change therefore includes strengthening and elision which result from the conjunction of natural stems and inflections, or of the interconnecting syllables. As the great Pang Lotsāwa [Lodrö Tenpa] has said:

> Strengthening and elision are morphological changes
> Which occur by conjunction of natural stems and affixes,
> Or by conjunction of the syllables alone.

Furthermore, the basic paradigms are revealed by the rules for euphonic

conjunction (*sandhi*), the tables of nouns, the rules for syllabic quantity (*vṛtta*) and so forth, while their branches include the paradigms of the verbal roots, prepositional prefixes (*upasarga*) and suffixes (*uṇādi*).[92]



Dignāga

Logic

The fourth of the sciences, logic, is explained according to eight categories of dialectics. As the *Compendium of Valid Cognition* (*Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti*, T 4204, Ch.1, v.2) says:

> Direct perception and inference,
> Along with their invalid forms,
> Are for one's own understanding.
> Proof and refutation
> Along with their invalid forms
> Cause others to understand.[93]

In this way, each of the four – direct perception, inference, formal argument and *reductio ad absurdum* – is ascertained to have both valid and invalid forms, [making eight categories]. When they are condensed, they are gathered under two headings: the means of comprehending

that which is to be appraised by oneself, and the means of communicating that comprehension to others.

Now since the same text says:

> *The characteristic is one of infallible knowledge*[94]

logic is characteristically said to be reason which is infallible with respect to the objects of one's own experience as they newly arise. Therefore, it establishes an epistemic standard for making appraisals, in the manner of a measuring container or a scale-balance. There are three kinds of objects to be appraised, namely, the directly evident, the indirectly evident, and the indirectly evident to an extreme degree. As for their means of appraisal: There are three kinds of direct perceptions for appraising directly evident objects, namely, the direct perception of the sense organs, the direct perception of intrinsic awareness, and the direct perception of yoga. There are three logical axioms of implicit inference for the appraisal and proof of the indirectly evident objects, namely, the axiom of the result, the axiom of identity and the axiom of absence of the objective referent.[95] The axiom concerning those objects of appraisal which are indirectly evident to an extreme degree necessarily relies on scriptural authority of which the purity is established by three types of scrutiny, for it is not proven by the [other] two kinds of axiom – direct perception and implicit inference.

The treatises of logic are exemplified by the *Sūtra of Valid Cognition* which was composed by the master Dignāga, and the commentaries on its intention, the *Seven Sections of Valid Cognition*, which were composed by the glorious Dharmakīrti. Among them, the dissertations (*prakaraṇa*) of the *Seven Sections* include three treatises which are comparable to the main body [of the *Sūtra*], namely, the extensive *Exposition of Valid Cognition*, the intermediate *Ascertainment of Valid Cognition* (*Pramāṇaviniścaya*, T 4211), and the condensed *Point of Reason* (*Nyāyabindu*, T 4212). And they also include four treatises which proceed from them, comparable to the separate limbs, namely, the *Point of the Axioms* (*Hetubindu*, T 4213) and the *Inquiry into Relations* (*Sambandhaparīkṣā*, T 4214), which proceed from [the topic] concerning inference for one's own sake; and the *Proof of Other Minds* (*Saṃtānāntarasiddhi*, T 4219) and the *Reasoning of Polemics* (*Vādanyāya*, T 4218), which proceed from [the topic] concerning inference for others' sake.

Again, there are certain great scholars who say that the logical treatises are treatises of the inner science [of the true doctrine] because they belong to the Abhidharmapiṭaka, but this would appear to be incorrect.[96] We think as much because in many sources statements are found resembling the following quotation from the *Compendium of Valid Cognition* (Ch.6):

> By means of the true expression of logic and of objects which are to be appraised, the tenets of the extremists are [seen to

> be] without essence. This [treatise] has been composed in order to oppose those who cling to their view. Yet, for this very reason, it is not concerned with providing an entrance to the Tathāgata's teaching; for his doctrine is not an object of sophistry.

And also [*Pramāṇasamuccayakārikā*, T 4203, Ch.6]:

> The idea that one is lead to reality
> By the path of sophistry
> Is very remote from the teaching of the Sage.



Dharmakīrti

Minor Sciences

[38a.4-40b.4] There still remain five minor sciences which are designated as branches of either the artistic or the grammatical sciences. It has been said:

> As for the quintet of astrology, poetics,
> Prosody, synonymics and drama,
> Their reputation in India as the "five sciences"
> Resounded like a banner in the wind.

Astrology

Among these five, concerning astrology: There are ten planets demarcating celestial longitude, along with the moving band of constellations and lunar mansions[97] with reference to the objective basis [of space], and the years, months, days, and two-hour periods[98] with reference to time, on which basis celestial longitude is determined. Astrology is a procedure for correctly determining the degrees of celestial longitude demarcated by these [planets and constellations] and their quarterly aspects (*rkang-pa*). As a direct result of this, with reference to their cyclical motion, the calculations of the ascendent conjunctions in the sky are explained along with the calendrical cycle of the four seasons on earth, the rising and setting of the planets through their respective aspects, the eclipsing of the sun and moon through orbital direction, and the fading and rising of malign circumstances which occur in accordance with the respective celestial longitudes [of the planets and constellations].

When abbreviated, astrology is gathered under the two headings of that which is to be calculated and the calculation. Such are the astrological treatises which follow the *Commentary on the Kālacakra Tantra*, the *Commentary on the Four Seats* (*Catuḥpīthatantrarājasmṛtinibandha*, T 1607), and other such uncommon treatises of the Teacher's [doctrine], as well as those treatises which are held in common with the Outsiders, including the *Astrological Treatise entitled Martial Conquest* (*Yuddhajayanāmatantrarājasvarodaya*, T 4322).

Other than astrology, the science of elemental divination or geomancy (*'byung-rtsis*), also known as Chinese divination because it originated from China, is very necessary for the scrutiny of individual awareness. Among the cycle of texts concerning the five elements, which are the object of the calculation, there are two sets of techniques – those concerning the natural basic calculation, and those concerned with the appearances bewildered by ignorance which are subsumed within four *kaptse* or diagrams. The latter depict the discrete entities of the elements, the objective appearances, the acting intellect and the grasping mind. The method of calculation comprises nine topics:

Bases (*khams*), years, numbers (*sme-ba*) and trigrams (*spar-kha*),[99]
Months, days, two-hour periods, planets and stars.

The treatises which explain elemental divination are mentioned in the tantras, and would appear to be taught in their esoteric instructions such as the *Mother and Son of the Clarifying Lamp* (*gsal-sgron ma-bu*).[100]

Poetics

The treatises of poetics are exemplified by the *Mirror of Poetics* (*Kāvyādarśa*, T 4301) of Daṇḍin,[101] an exegesis which, in two special

topics, subsumes the techniques through which the masters of the past formed the meaning desired in all poetical expressions, and embellished that body of verse, prose and mixed verse and prose. In the *Mirror of Poetics* (Ch.1, vv.10-11ab) it says:

> They excellently reveal the body
> And also the ornaments of poetics.
> The body is the string of words
> Determining the desired meaning;
> It consists both of verse and prose
> Or of a blend of verse and prose.

And (Ch.2, v.1ab):

> The features which embellish poetry
> Are well expressed as ornaments.

Accordingly, when classified, these ornaments include the uncommon sort, which is divided between the traditions [of Gauḍa and Vaidarbha],[102] and the common sort, which consists of thirty-five ornaments of sense (*arthālaṃkāra*) such as natural description (*rang-bzhin brjod-pa*), simile (*dpe*) and metaphor (*gzugs*), and of phonetic ornaments (*śabdālaṃkāra*) of which it is said:

> There are many such enumerations
> Of precise composition which are hard to execute,
> Such as alliteration and geometric poetry,[103]
> Assonance and so forth.

And there are sixteen ornaments of enigmatic innuendo (*gab-tshig*, Skt. *prahelikā*).

Prosody

The treatises of prosody are exemplified by the *Precious Source of Prosody* (*Chandoratnākara*, T 4303-4) of the master Śāntipā [Ratnākaraśānti], which in general is the basis for any metrical composition. There are those who, following the *Collection of Prosody* (*sdeb-sbyor-gyi tshoms*, SK Vol.5) which was composed by the doctrine master Sakya Paṇḍita,[104] disagree with the *Precious Source*, claiming that Sakya Paṇḍita does not cut the flow of composition into *pāda* or metrical lines. However, I think the intentions [of the two works] do agree, because it is said in the *Mirror of Poetics* (Ch.1, vv.80-1):

> When there are many compounded expressions,
> The text is sustained by passages of prose.
> Even in verse, with the exception of the southerners,[105]
> This custom alone is observed:
> Witness the heavy and light syllables,

The varying number of syllables,
The undulations in form,
Its expression and so forth.

Such an arrangement would appear to be a basis for investigation for those who have said that no such thing has been mentioned in this text on poetics [*Mirror of Poetics*], and it is clearly necessary to explain that the teaching in the *Precious Source* refers to the prosody of verse alone.

With reference to this text [*Precious Source*], verse is the basis of any metrical composition. When classified it consists of rules concerning syllabic quantity (*vṛtta*) and metrical feet [*jāti*, groups of morae]. As the text says [cf. *Mirror of Poetics*, Ch.1, v.11cd]:

These four *pāda* [i.e. lines] of verse
Are classified according to syllabic quantities
Or in metrical feet.
Vṛtta is the counting of syllables,
And *jāti* is the counting of morae.

Syllabic quantities are of three types: those in which the syllables form lines of equal length, those which form semi-equal lines, and those which form unequal lines. Metrical feet, on the other hand, form the *āryā* or sublime metre, the *mātrā* or morae metres, and lines of equal feet.

Synonymics

The treatises of synonymics are exemplified by the *Treasury of Amarasiṃha* (*Amarakośa*, T 4299). This text contains homonyms such as the [Sanskrit] word *go*, and synonyms such as the epithets for the sun which include "green-horsed", "hot-rayed" and more than a hundred others. As the text says:

There are single words conveying many meanings,
  clearly expressed.
The very word *go* has ten such meanings,
Including: a topic for discussion, light rays and
  cattle.
There are also many words conveying a single
  meaning:
The sun itself is known as "green-horsed" and
  "hot-rayed",
And as "gem of the sky", "friend of the lotus", and
  so on.

Drama

The treatises on drama are exemplified by the *Dramatical Treatise* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*) of Bharata and the *Utter Delight of the Nāgas* (*Nāgānan-*

danāmanāṭaka, T 4154). Drama means that certain works of verse, prose and a mixture of verse and prose are presented in a blend of the four languages [Sanskrit, Prakrit, Paiśācī, and Apabhraṃśa]. These works also include five sequences of dramatic juncture (*sandhi*) beginning with the introduction, along with four dramatic manners (*vṛti*) such as the dialogue, with their sixteen aspects such as the elucidation (*prarocanā*). Within these, there are interwoven [dramatic features] including the seven harmonious tones, the thirty-six characteristics such as embellishment and abbreviation, and artistic skills such as graceful song and dance (*lāsya*), the wearing of garlands, and aspects of other dramatic junctures.

7 Treatises of Inner Science

QUALITATIVE TREATISES

[40b.4] The treatises which teach qualitatively are exemplified by thos(of Madhyamaka which emphatically establish the two kinds of selfless ness [of individuals and phenomena].

TREATISES TEACHING LIBERATION AND OMNISCIENCE

[40b.5-41a.6] The treatises which teach the means of attaining liberation and omniscience are exemplified by the *Bodhisattva Level* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*, T 4037) and the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva*. If one were to wonder what sort of character the masters who compose such treatises have, the superior type includes masters who perceive the truth of reality, such as the glorious lord Nāgārjuna and the sublime Asaṅga. The middling type includes masters, such as Dignāga and Candragomin,[106] to whom permission has been actually granted by the meditational deities, and the lesser type includes those who are learned in the five sciences and possess the esoteric instructions of the lineage of the gurus, such as masters Śrīgupta and Śākyamati.[107]

Then, the instructions of the lineage which they possess have five aspects. As the *Rational System of Exposition* says (cf. BST 4, p.277):

> To those who wish to explain the sūtras
> I must give instructions.
> The following are the aspects of instruction
> Which are to be explained:
> One must give exegeses by relating
> The purpose and the condensed meaning,
> The words along with the meaning,
> And also with response to objections,
> And the outline which connects the text.

Alternatively, they are to be explained through five calculated approaches which conform to five headings given [by the Teacher]. As it is said in the *Clarifying Lamp* (*Pradīpodyotana*, T 1785):

> What is this tantra's title?
> For whose benefit is it composed?
> Who is the composer?
> What is its scope?
> And what is its purpose?

This completes the anthology through which the doctrines of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are recognised in general and their characteristics established, the first part of this book, the *Feast in which Eloquence Appears*, which is a definitive ordering of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Two
The Nature of the Teacher endowed with the Buddha-bodies

Introduction

[41b.1-41b.4] Having recognised the respective doctrines of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, and generally outlined the structure of the true doctrine, now I shall reveal the structure of the Teacher endowed with the three buddha-bodies (*trikāya*), the Conqueror who is the ground from which that profound, true doctrine originated.

This is divided into four sections, namely, (1) the mode of awakening in the buddha-body of reality which is the Primordial Lord [Samantabhadra], (2) the manner in which his emanation Vajradhara attained the quiescence [of nirvāṇa] in this field [of the trichiliocosm],[108] (3) the manner in which the two buddha-bodies of form emanate from him, and (4) the distinctive attributes of the buddha-bodies and pristine cognitions as revealed in the causal and resultant vehicles.

Samantabhadra, the Buddha-body of Reality

[41b.4-45a.4] In general, it is the opinion of the lower vehicles that one such as this teacher of ours [Śākyamuni Buddha], after accumulating the provisions [of merit and pristine cognition] conducive to liberation over three "countless" aeons[109] as an ordinary person, in his final existence subjugated Māra at dusk in Vajrāsana, the Point of Enlightenment.[110] Developing the path of connection in his mind at midnight by means of the actual foundation of the four meditative concentrations, he manifested the six transcendental perfections at the very moment when the pale light of dawn appeared, and attained buddhahood endowed with the bodies of reality and form. Apart from his promulgation of the doctrinal wheel to [the five noble companions][111] – from Ajñātakauṇḍinya to Bhadrika and so forth – [these lower vehicles] do not admit the complete definitive structure of [the Teacher's] three buddha-bodies.

Then, in the sūtras of the greater vehicle the three buddha-bodies are taught, while the mantra texts also refer to the five outer and inner awakenings, as well as to the holder of indestructible reality who embodies cause and result, the emanational buddha-body (*nirmāṇakāya*) which comprises the physical form and energy channels [of that Teacher], the buddha-body of perfect rapture (*sambhogakāya*) which is his speech and vital energy, the buddha-body of reality (*dharmakāya*) which is his mind and seed in the form of nectar, the essential body (*svābhāvikakāya*) which is his nucleus and the vital energy of pristine cognition, and so forth. These, however, have all been revealed only according to the acumen of those requiring training and the volition of the yogin on the path.

In this [Nyingmapa tradition], however, it is explained in accordance with the uncommon transmission of the Indestructible Nucleus of Inner Radiance (*'od-gsal rdo-rje snying-po*),[112] supreme and unsurpassed among the vehicles, that pristine cognition itself, or intuitive awareness, is liberated right where it is through having recognised is nature as Samantabhadra to be self-manifesting – at the very moment when the ground arises as phenomena from the primordial ground. Samantabhadra is

the teacher in whom both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are indivisible, the antecedent of all, who holds sway over existence and quiescence in their entirety, and who is the expanse of reality and the nucleus of the sugata. Thus buddhahood is attained in the naturally present pristine cognition, without thoughts of the three times, beginning, middle, and end, or of all else that can be known. As the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.2, v.38ab) says:

> Without beginning, middle, or end, and indivisible,
> It is neither two, nor three,[113] taintless and without thought.



Samantabhadra and Consort

And in the *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī* (vv.99cd-100ab):

> Spontaneously present without thought,
> Is the agent of the buddhas of the three times;
> Buddha without beginning or end,
> He is the original, impartial Buddha.

This buddhahood is supreme renunciation, because the two kinds of suddenly arisen obscuration [of conflicting emotions and that which

is knowable], along with their propensities which are bewildering appearances non-existent in reality, are totally purified in that intrinsic essence. It is also supreme realisation because great pristine cognition, which does not divide consciousness and its object in two, sees existence and quiescence all-pervasively and without partiality. And it is supreme mind which naturally performs spontaneously present enlightened activity by means of [the aforementioned renunciation and realisation] for the sake of all living beings without qualification. As it is said in the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation* (Ch.1, v.43):

> Inasmuch as three supreme qualities are present
> In the trio of mind, renunciation and realisation,
> Which are supreme among all sentient beings,
> This purposeful activity of the self-emergent ones
> should be known.

Now, this buddhahood is the pristine cognition of the expanse of reality (*dharmadhātujñāna*), which is without object of reference and free from all elaborate extremes, and the pristine cognition of sameness (*samatājñāna*) which does not abide in the extremes of existence and quiescence because it sees neither good nor evil throughout the extent of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa equally. The hollowness of mere explanations through which the causal vehicles explain how all that is manifest abides in the expanse of reality, firm in the cessation of quiescent [nirvāṇa], is surpassed by mastery over that pristine cognition which qualitatively knows [the view, *ji-lta-ba mkhyen-pa'i ye-shes*].[114] The subtle natural expression of that pristine cognition continues to abide in the great field of the inwardly radiant youthful vase body (*gzhon-nu bum-pa sku*),[115] as if it were the light contained within a crystal. It is also unobscured when formally absorbed as the ground or causal basis of the range of objects perceived by the tathāgatas' pristine cognition of discernment. These are, namely: the buddha-body of form (*rūpakāya*) which appears before the eyes of the conquerors' sons or lords of the tenth level,[116] and of the host of those to be trained; the buddha-speech which is heard by their ears; the fragrance of sublime moral discipline which they scent; the savour of the doctrine which they relish; the bliss of contemplation which they feel; the appraisal of the doctrine which they make through their discriminative awareness endowed with ideas and scrutiny; and so forth.

Then, in the spontaneously present Realm of the Bounteous Array (*Ghanavyūha*), a field which is manifest in and of itself through the blessing or consecration of this [youthful vase body], far removed from objects of thought, expression and symbolism, and which is unlimited and without direction, the Teachers of the Five Enlightened Families abide in a great display of undifferentiated buddha-body and pristine cognition. These teachers are identified with the maṇḍala of the body

of perfect rapture (*sambhogakāya*) which manifests in and of itself, is endowed with five certainties and is subsumed by the pristine cognition of buddhahood.

However, at other times, they perceive that when the expressive power by which the ground arises as phenomena from the primordial ground is not intrinsically recognised, there are dream-like sentient beings who, bewildered without cause for bewilderment, move in a cycle of ostensible suffering. Generating loving compassion for the sake of these beings, they emanate an extensive array of fields including those situated on the contemplative hand gesture of Vairocana the Great Glacial Lake (*gangs-chen mtsho*), who embodies the five kinds of pristine cognition and the self-manifesting body of perfect rapture.[117] This array also includes the great fields which extensively fill all the space in each of Vairocana's pores occupied by indivisible atomic particles of the four elements, and which are absolutely beyond all objects of expression such as shape, extent and altitude.

All these fields have distinct features; for the expanse of reality is filled with oceans of fields and buddha-bodies which do not intermingle, take birth or change into other forms, alter or decline, and which are not even slightly covered by extraneous matter. As it is said in the *Sūtra of the Arrayed Bouquet* (*Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, T 44, cf. Ch.34, v.28):

> Even on a single hair-tip,
> Is an unthinkable array of fields.
> Though they have various shapes,
> They do not differ,
> And they do not become intermingled.

And in the *Sūtra of Inconceivable Secrets* (*Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra*, T 47):

> Śāntamati, all that is pervaded by space
> Is pervaded by the tathāgatas' fields and bodies.

Similarly, these fields are arrayed in three dissimilar dimensions which are respectively occupied by the buddhas' three bodies. In the dimension of the buddha-body of reality they are called Fields of the Indestructible Nucleus of Inner Radiance (*'od-gsal rdo-rje snying-po*). In the dimension of the buddha-body of perfect rapture, manifest in and of itself, they are called the Fields of Brahmā's Drumbeat (*tshangs-pa'i rnga-sgra*). And in the dimension of the emanational body they are called the Aeon of Great Brahmā (*tshangs-chen-gyi bskal-pa*). Oceans of buddhas who are emanations of the Primordial Lord [Samantabhadra] himself, appear in these dimensions throughout the three times, and there are also oceans of world systems of sentient beings which exist, but their entire extent, encompassed by the four elements and space, is confined within this Aeon of Great Brahmā.

In this aeon, diverse appearances of happiness and suffering are experienced; for example, the impure sentient beings transfer consciousness at death and emerge at birth, buddhas pass into nirvāṇa, the teaching endures and declines, the path is attained and so on. Similarly, in the space of each atomic particle, measureless fields containing mountains, continents and oceans appear, and in addition, each atomic particle of the world on the surface of a single atom consists of measureless world systems of sentient beings well furnished with causes and conditions. These include emanations of the sugatas, the most powerful of bodhisattva aspirations to purify lands [into buddha-fields], the accumulation of deeds manifestly gathered by the bewildered perceptions of sentient beings, and excellent attainments which spring from reality. As it is said in the *Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas*:

> Since the object of the buddhas' pristine cognition is
>   unthinkable,
> So are these emanations of their blessing.
> Teaching in oceans of fields, without extreme or centre,
> Vairocana has totally purified them through the doctrine.
> In accord with enlightened mind, which is the thought of all,
> He has purified unthinkable oceans of aspirations.
> Since the oceans of deeds of sentient beings are
>   unthinkable,
> All the oceans of fields in all directions emerge.
> The emanations of all the bodhisattvas and
> The approach to all-knowing reality
> Have been actually attained by all the oceans of aspirations,
> And in the expanse of space, infinite fields emerge.
> By oceans of conduct, beings without extreme or centre
>   practise,
> And enter the range of measureless sugatas.
> Purifying all the oceans of fields in the directions,
> They purify each field for infinite aeons.
> All the oceans of fields of deeds
> Which are the thoughts of sentient beings,
> Inconceivable in expanse, emerge.

And in the *Aspiration of Good Conduct* (*Bhadracaryāpraṇidhānarāja*, T 44 and T 1095, v.29bcd):

> The three times are measured in the space of a hair,
> By oceans of buddhas in oceans of fields,
> Practising and manifesting for oceans of aeons.

Moreover, these fields are radiant apparitions, not existing in reality, because in the expanse of reality relative appearances have not existed from the beginning.

2 *Vajradhara, the Emanation of Samantabhadra*

[45a.4-46b.4] Secondly, concerning the manner in which Vajradhara attained buddhahood in this field [of the trichiliocosm]. For the sake of those requiring training in this field, the original buddha Samantabhadra gave teaching through his great emanation who is learned in skilful means, illustrating the manner in which ordinary, indifferent persons would generate the enlightened mind, and so he sent forth a display of the modes and actions of buddhahood. Such modes [of emanation] are also known in the ordinary vehicle. As it is said in the *Sūtra of the Meeting of Father and Son* (*Pitāputrasamāgamanasūtra*, T 60):

> Great Warrior, learned in skilful means,
> You have been the Conqueror in one billion aeons
> In order to mature sentient beings,
> And though you have revealed yourself as the Buddha,
> Even today, my Guide,
> You reveal yourself as manifold buddhas.

And in the *Sublime Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas*:

> Though they have well attained oceans of enlightenment,
> In order to mature fully oceans of sentient beings,
> They continually reveal their oceanic cultivation of
> enlightened mind,
> And at all times teach oceans of unobscured conduct.
> Such are the emanations of the sugatas.

Immeasureable aeons ago,[118] in the field which is called Array of Natural Expression (*rang-bzhin rnam-par bkod-pa*), the emanation of the Primordial Lord [i.e. Vajradhara, the emanation of Samantabhadra] offered a golden vajra to the Buddha Puṣpa Mahāroca (*me-tog mdzes-pa chen-po*), and so first aspired to supreme enlightenment. Then, after two such lifetimes in which he became the son of a householder, Sudāna (*legs-sbyin*), who was named Maṇimālya (*nor-bu'i phreng-ba*), he listened to the doctrine in the presence of the Buddha Sucaritacakra (*'khor-lo*

legs-par spyod-pa); and thereafter, manifesting as the son of one Vidyut-prabha (*glog-gi 'od*), who was named the brahman youth Sudatta (*bram-ze'i khye'u legs-byin*), he studied the doctrine under the Buddha Kalyāṇamati (*dge-ba'i blo-gros*) and abided in contemplation for seven years. Finally after seventy-five [years], on the summit of the mountain called Array of Gem Clusters (*rin-po-che'i phung-po rnam-par bkod-pa*), he revealed the way of manifest, perfect buddhahood and continued to abide in the intention of the buddha-body of reality for one great aeon.



Vajradhara

Then he naturally appeared as the buddha-body of perfect rapture in a cycle of ornaments and colours, and from its nature, self-manifesting maṇḍalas of the Conquerors of the Five Enlightened Families emerged of their own accord beyond number. However, among these apparitional forms, his emergence in the body of Vajradhara, perfectly endowed with the major and minor marks,[119] derived from that offering of the vajra, which was the supporting basis of his aspiration.

While these [deities] also have mastery over the thirty-six actions of the wheel of the inexhaustible ornaments of buddha-body, speech and mind, which form one aspect of the teaching on the Innermost Spirituality (*snying-thig*),[120] in reality, as explained above, they are no different

from that magical emanation of the Primordial Lord, who is learned in skilful means. For there are numerous names which describe him, including: Vajradhara, who teaches most tantras of the way of secret mantra; Samantabhadra, who is the teacher of the profound abiding nature or indestructible reality of the utterly secret Innermost Spirituality; and elsewhere he is referred to as the Original True Buddha, Vajrasattva and so on. So it is that the *Collection of Realisation* (*Sarvakalpasamuccayasarvabuddhasamāyogottaratantra*, T 367) says:

> Supreme among all the purest,
> Primordially liberated tathāgata,
> Samantabhadra, the lord of all,
> Is certainly the enlightened mind itself.

And again:

> Spiritual warrior without beginning or end,
> Vajrasattva, supreme delight,
> Samantabhadra, the lord of all,
> Indestructible nucleus, highest of the high –
> Since he is primordial and without end,
> He is considered the first of the true [buddhas].
> Since he is the centre of all maṇḍalas,
> He is the true lord of the true [buddhas].

3 *The Two Buddha-bodies of Form*

[46b.4] Thirdly, there is the buddha-body of form (*rūpakāya*) which has two apparitional modes – namely, the body of perfect rapture (*sambhogakāya*) and the emanational body (*nirmāṇakāya*).

THE BUDDHA-BODY OF PERFECT RAPTURE

[46b.4-50a.5] As to the former, there is an explanation in Buddhaguhya's *Sequence of the Path*:

> The fields and celestial palaces
> With their thrones and ornaments,
> Which are the self-manifesting
> And spontaneously perfect awareness
> Appear as manifold light rays.

Accordingly, the great buddha-body of reality which abides within the nature of inwardly radiant reality, in the manner of the five-coloured light radiated within a crystal prism by the sun's rays, has an apparitional aspect of pristine cognition, which extends outward radiance to an object manifest [only] in and of itself. In this way it is experienced as measureless buddha-bodies and fields of rapture.

Among them, in this emanational array which comprises twenty-five different fields situated one above the other on the petals and anthers of a lotus stem growing on the palms of Vairocana the Great Glacial Lake, and in the sixteen different fields within the streams of fragrant water which flow beneath his crossed legs, uncountable [bodies of] rapture are projected in a constant cycle, endowed with oceans of major and minor marks. This natural expression of the Buddhas of the Five Enlightened Families, endowed with the five certainties, is the characteristic basis of the great body of rapture, the array of fields and buddha-bodies present within Vairocana, the Great Glacial Lake of Pristine Cognition (*ye-shes gangs-chen mtsho*).

It should be known that the indestructible play of these magical emanations is inconceivably secret. For example, it is by no means contradictory that fields containing atoms of oceanic infinity exist on the surface of a single atom, bodies of oceanic infinity are gathered in a single body and each body also covers an oceanic infinity of fields. Such is said in the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (Ch.9, v.13):

> In the manner of the trichiliocosm
> Absorbed in a mustard seed,
> One should make offerings
> After inviting the maṇḍala from the expanse.[121]

And in the *Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas*:[122]

> On the surface of a single atom
> Are as many buddhas as there are atoms.

This buddha-body of rapture, the teacher who holds sway over these fields, is also endowed with seven particular attributes of natural expression. These are, namely: the natural expression which has fully matured in the nature of just what is; the natural expression which is spontaneously present without seeking for enlightened attributes; the natural expression which is pristine cognition without extremes or centre; the natural expression which, even though the result be mastered, does not reveal its true essence [i.e. it manifests only in and of itself]; the natural expression which, even when sameness has been disclosed, remains free from the range of objective qualification; the natural expression which is liberated from [concepts of] one and many; and the natural expression which is without conjunction and disjunction throughout the three times.

In the [buddhas] who greatly embody these seven [attributes of natural expression], spontaneous presence refers to the ordinary major and minor marks through which the diverse symbols of their body, speech and mind appear in accordance with the acumen of those requiring training. This transformation includes the thirty-two excellent major marks such as the wheel-marked hands and feet, and the eighty minor marks such as the copper-coloured nails which appear on their bodies, blazing with the major and minor marks. It also refers to the [major and minor marks], disclosed by the Teacher's mind through four kinds of pristine cognition, namely, the outer major and minor marks derived from his expressive power, the inner major and minor marks derived from the purity of his energy channels and centres, and the secret major and minor marks derived from the purified aspect of the seed that is the enlightened mind. Then, in the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-pa chen-po*),[123] the rapture of equal savour, experienced when the network of energy channels is naturally expressed as purified supreme bliss, is explained to be the supreme embellishment among the ornaments. The *Oceanic Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul rgya-mtsho*, NGB Vol.15) says:

Know that the twofold bliss of vowels and consonants
Intermingles and becomes one;
The sixteen [delights] by their dual movement
Possess the major marks.
One series of them is endowed with five pristine cognitions,
And becomes the eighty minor marks.
Superior are they to the feeling of receptiveness and other causal [teachings].[124]

The five components – namely, the one [component] which perceives the liberated and uncorrupted pristine cognition, utterly transcending accumulated ideas; the component of moral discipline; the component of contemplation; the component of discriminative awareness; and the component of liberation – are also naturally expressed as the Five [Conquerors] – Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, who are supreme embodiments of the tathāgatas' body, speech, mind, enlightened attributes and activities.

The five elemental properties [of space, cohesion, solidity, warmth, and movement], too, are naturally expressed as [the divine consorts of those conquerors] – Dhātvīśvarī, Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, and Samayatārā. Purified as such, [the components and elemental properties] abide in a coalescence of unchanging supreme bliss and emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects.[125]

In this way, the pristine cognition which transcends subject and object displays amazing maṇḍala arrays through its [rapturous] appreciation of all self-manifesting objects. These arrays include the maṇḍalas with their centre, periphery and clusters [of deities], their father consort and mother consort, body-colours, symbolic hand implements, passionate and passionless forms – male and female tathāgatas, male and female bodhisattvas, and male and female wrathful deities.

So it is that the four sensations of seeing, hearing, smelling, and tasting find their natural expression respectively as the four [bodhisattvas] Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Ākāśagarbha and Avalokiteśvara, and the four sense objects of form, sound, smell and taste as the four female bodhisattvas Lāsyā, Mālā, Gītā and Nartī. Similarly the four sense organs of eye, ear, nose and tongue find natural expression as [the bodhisattvas] Maitreya, Nivāraṇaviṣkambhin, Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, and the four temporal dimensions of past, future, present and indefinite time as Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Ālokā and Gandhā.[126]

Again, the common savour of supreme delight experienced through contact, the subject of contact, object of contact and sensation of contact, which interact when the secret [sexual] sense objects, organs and consciousness are united in meditative equipoise with the Vajra Queen,[127] is naturally expressed as the Four Mahākrodha [or "most wrathful

male"] deities, "lords of death". The four [extremes] of permanence, decay, self and character are also naturally expressed as the Four Mahākrodhī [or "most wrathful female"] deities. Yet, the forms present in such infinite retinues are nothing but the display of the Teacher himself, the wheel of inexhaustible ornament which appears as the centre and periphery of the maṇḍala. So it is explained in the *Tantra of the [Secret] Nucleus*:

> The centre without extremes or middle is intrinsic
> awareness.
> The four pristine cognitions emanate around it in the
> manner of a wheel.

And in the *Illuminating Lamp of the Fundamental Text* (*khog-gzhung gsal-sgron*, P 4739):

> Having reached the culmination of the result in
> Akaniṣṭha,
> He abides as the centre and periphery of the maṇḍala.

The fields of these [maṇḍala deities] are present in every form because they are the pristine cognition of the buddhas manifest in and of itself and the display of the magical net, which is the nature of all forms. Their thrones are everywhere, their celestial palaces are everywhere, they arise everywhere, their zenith is everywhere, their nadir is everywhere, their spheres are everywhere, their squares are everywhere, their triangles are everywhere, their faces are everywhere, their hands are everywhere, their feet are everywhere, their eyes are everywhere, and they face in every direction. Each sense organ, too, performs the function of all sense organs, because the expanse of reality is infinitely covered and enveloped by the unimpeded expressive power of pristine cognition. Accordingly, the *Lion's Perfect Expressive Power* (*seng-ge rtsal-rdzogs chen-po'i rgyud*, NGB Vol.9) says:

> The face of Samantabhadra sees in all ten directions.
> The body of the all-seeing, all-positive [Samantabhadra]
> Has neither front nor back.
> With an eye which fills the ten directions,
> He sees form.

And also in the *Kālacakra Tantra*:

> With hands and feet everywhere,
> With eyes, head and face everywhere,
> Possessing ears everywhere,
> He who remains pervading all the world's limits...

Since these perceptual objects of the buddhas are subsumed by the

minds of the buddhas alone, they are invisible even to the lords of the tenth level; for the latter are not liberated from all obscurations and have not attained the eye of pristine cognition, which, without even a mote [of obscuration], qualitatively knows [the view] and quantitatively knows [phenomena]. So the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.2, v.69) says:

> Because it is not an object of speech,
> Is subsumed by ultimate reality,
> Is not within reason's domain,
> Is beyond exemplification,
> Is unsurpassed and is subsumed neither by existence nor
> quiescence,
> The objective range of the Conqueror is inconceivable,
> Even to sublime beings.

These perfect supramundane fields in which the cycle of myriad pure worlds and their contents arise, forming the apparitional aspect of the great inner radiance of the ground, manifest in and of itself, are equivalent to the purest of dreams. For, in situations where the subject-object dichotomy and its propensities are purified, there are not thought to be any material substances with independent attributes existing elsewhere apart from that apparition. As the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net* says:

> If there is no understanding of intrinsic awareness or
> genuine perception,
> The field of Sukhāvatī is even seen as a state of evil
> existence.
> If the truth which is equivalent to the supreme of
> vehicles is realised,
> Even states of evil existence are Akaniṣṭha and Tuṣita.

THE EMANATIONAL BODY

[50a.5-60a.3] The Teacher who instructs [sentient beings] appears as the emanational body (*nirmāṇakāya*) in response to the degrees of impurity, slight purity and utter purity of the stains which obscure the nucleus of the sugata within the minds of those to be trained. Without moving from the expanse of ultimate reality, for both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa have one great common savour in the utterly pure body of reality, his buddha-body of form sends forth a varied, unimpeded display of emanations of effortless, great spirituality. Among these, reality reflects as many aspirations as there are shapes of the moon in vessels of unsullied water, dependent on the ostensible dichotomy of

those to be instructed and the instruction itself. As Ajita [in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.4, v.29] has said:

> Just as in the pure terrain of beryl
> The reflection of Surendra's body appears,
> So in the pure terrain of sentient beings
> The image of Munīndra's body is reflected.[128]

And in a sūtra:

> Having comprehended that the reality of the
>   Conqueror
> Is without body, tranquil, not two, and without
>   substantial existence,
> The body of form adorned with dignified marks
>   continues to teach,
> Fulfilling the hopes of all living beings.

When classified, the emanational body is of three types: emanations of natural expression, emanations who train living beings and diversified emanations.

Emanations of Natural Expression

Firstly, concerning the emanations of natural expression: Just as the aforementioned teacher, the great buddha-body of perfect rapture who is an apparition of the expanse [of reality], appears to those lords of the tenth level who are somewhat pure among those to be trained, he also appears in the manner of a reflected image in clear crystal within the five fields of the emanational body of natural expression, namely, Akaniṣṭha in the centre, and Abhirati, Śrīmat, Padmakūṭa and Karmaprasiddhi respectively in the four cardinal directions.

Therein he appraises and teaches the doctrines through his body of measureless peaceful and wrathful transformations, in the form of the Five Teachers, who are identified by oceans of major and minor marks beginning with Tathāgata Vairocana, the king of form.[129] As an antidote to the five conflicting emotions of those who require training, he turns the inexpressible and unthinkable doctrinal wheel by means of his five great fields, five bodies, five doctrines, five pristine cognitions and so forth.

Since this Teacher, who is the body of perfect rapture and its retinue, is compounded by the minds of others, he is classified in the *Tantra of the Great Coalescence of Sun and Moon* (*nyi-ma dang zla-ba kha-sbyor-ba chen-po'i rgyud*, NGB Vol.9) as a semi-manifest emanation of natural expression. The Madhyamaka philosopher Dharmamitra has, in uniformity with this, given the following lucid explanation [in the *Clear Word*, *Prasphuṭapadā*, T 3796]:

> Manifestly perfect buddhahood is to be attained in only a single realm of Akaniṣṭha, which is disclosed to bodhisattvas as far as the path of insight by this body explained to be the imputed body of perfect rapture that appears to them, and by aspiration, the residual force of the accumulations, or mere intention. Therefore, the buddha-body of perfect rapture endowed with a multitude of forms has extensively appeared only as the emanational body in the Akaniṣṭha realms.[130]

And on the same subject, the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.10, v.774) says:

> In the desire and formless realms
> The Buddha does not become enlightened.
> In Akaniṣṭha among the realms of form,
> Without desire, you will attain buddhahood.

Through such quotations, authoritative passages do explain that the supreme emanational body attains buddhahood in Akaniṣṭha before becoming a buddha in the human world, and thus confirm the meaning expressed in this section.

Emanations who Train Living Beings

Secondly, concerning the emanations who train living beings: From the nature of this [Teacher], the emanational body who instructs living beings reveals inconceivable modes of display through skilful means in order to mature fully the mass of those to be trained in all world systems. The venerable Ajita [or Maitreya, in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.4, v.54] has said:

> Diversified in all realms,
> By measureless emanations beyond thought,
> He benefits all sentient beings.

Accordingly, the supreme emanational body simultaneously reveals the way of twelve deeds in myriad world systems of the ten directions, since it is skilled in remaining in the Tuṣita realm, in passing from that realm, in taking birth, renouncing the world, practising asceticism, reaching the point of enlightenment, vanquishing Māra's host, attaining perfect enlightenment, turning the doctrinal wheel, passing into final nirvāṇa, and teaching the duration and the decline of the doctrine. In each of these [world systems] it emanates as the Six Sages Embodying Awareness, who act on behalf of the six classes of beings to be trained, instructing them in accord with their differing sense perceptions and respective classes. So it is said in the *Sūtra which Resembles the Elephant's Expressive Power* (*Hastikakṣyasūtra*, T 207):

> Mañjuśrī, at this, when a great bodhisattva has become evenly absorbed in the contemplation named Great Lotus (*Mahāpadma*), he has taken into his following or takes into his following the hellish domains of sentient beings, and causes all these beings to experience the bliss of the gods, however slight. These sentient beings also perceive him as a denizen of hell in the hells, and through that guise he teaches the doctrine to the sentient denizens of hell in order that they might become free from the hells.

And in the *Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas*:

> Son of the enlightened family, the emanations of the tathāgatas are immeasurable. They act on behalf of living beings by training each in accord with his needs, and by their forms, colours and names.

Now, if one were to ask just how these sages act on behalf of beings in this realm with its six classes of sentient creatures, the *Superior Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul bla-ma*, NGB Vol.14, T 837) says:

> In the realms of the gods he is Lord Śakra,
> Among the antigods he is Vemacitra,
> Among men he is the Lord of the Śākyas who subdues
>   Māra,
> In the domain of tormented spirits he is Jvālamukha,
> To animals he is called Siṃha,
> And in the hells he is Yama, lord of deeds.[131]

Such a sixfold classification of realms applies in this world system of Patient Endurance (*mi-mjed 'jig-rten-gyi khams*, Skt. *Sahalokadhātu*), the thirteenth among the series of twenty-five world systems which, as has already been explained, are situated one above the other upon the heart of a lotus on the palms of [Vairocana] the Great Glacial Lake of Pristine Cognition, at the centre of his buddha-fields which are as infinite in extent as atomic particles. In this context, the [Tibetan] word *mi-mjed* ["endurable"] is explained to mean patient or intrepid. The sentient beings of this field endure desire, endure hatred, endure delusion and endure fetters of conflicting emotion. Thus, it is so called because the [Sanskrit] word *saha* conveys the sense of endurance or capability.

The living beings [inhabiting this world] appear also to have their own respective world-forming deeds. The *Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas* says:

> The distinctions of deeds are inconceivable.
> The world of the hells slopes downwards.
> The world of Yama is topsy-turvy.

The animals and antigods move upwards and
downwards.

Or alternatively, the celestial beings face upwards, the animal beings face horizontally, and the hellish and tormented beings face downwards.

These six [classes of beings] are complete within a single trichiliocosm. As the *Short Commentary on the Secret Nucleus* (*Śrīguhyagarbhapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*, P 4755) says:

The six kinds of creatures in a single trichiliocosm
Are said to be the field of a single emanational body.

The world system of the four continents comprises everything from the energy field [below the earth][132] upwards as far as Akaniṣṭha. The chiliocosm has a circumference which encloses one thousand such world systems. The dichiliocosm is encircled by a second perimeter enclosing one thousand times that in extent. The trichiliocosm is encircled by a third perimeter one thousand times the dichiliocosm in extent. The frontier limits of one myriad world systems are one billion times that in extent; a series of myriad world systems one billion times that; a myriad oceanic world systems one billion times that; and one billion of these equals a single Buddha-field whose Foundation and Centre are Adorned with Flowers (*Kusumatalagarbhālaṃkārakṣetra*), which is explained to be the field of a supreme emanational body.

In these realms, [the supreme emanational body] projects the lamp of instruction for those requiring training in as many ways as they have psychophysical bases, sense organs and modes of conduct, and acts on behalf of sentient beings through four kinds of instruction. These four are instruction by the great merit of the body, instruction by the direct perception of mind, instruction by inconceivable miraculous abilities, and instruction by knowledge conveyed in speech.

Concerning the first of these [which instructs by the great merit of the body], it is impossible to enumerate exactly, or otherwise to qualify, the deeds of the Teacher's emanational body, for it is a topic beyond conception. In the sūtras of the greater vehicle, too, all manner of quantities are mentioned which contradict one another and do not lend themselves to summarisation; but here when his principle activities are subsumed, instruction through the great merit of the body refers to the deeds of taking birth, renouncing the world, practising asceticism, subjugating Māra, attaining buddhahood, turning the doctrinal wheel, displaying great miracles and passing into final nirvāṇa. It is so called because those requiring training who actually see them possess immeasurable merit.

Secondly, concerning instruction by the direct perception of mind, the pristine cognition [of the supreme emanational body], which is unhindered and unimpeded in respect of the three times, does not

discriminate between the three times while entering into all that is knowable. Accordingly, there are six supernormal cognitive powers which accompany his mind. These are the supernormal cognitive power which knows time totally without obscuration, the supernormal cognitive power which knows the minds of others totally unobscured, the supernormal cognitive power of clairvoyance which totally perceives everything, the supernormal cognitive power of clairaudience which totally hears everything, the supernormal cognitive power which meaningfully enacts rites of total benefit to sentient beings, and the supernormal cognitive power with respect to the cessation of corruption, in which obscurations have been purified. Since these directly perceive and overpower all that is knowable, they are instruction by the direct perception of his mind.

Thirdly, concerning instruction by miraculous abilities, the supreme emanational body acts on behalf of those who require training through the totally inconceivable [mystery] of his buddha-body, the totally inconceivable [mystery] of his buddha-speech, and the totally inconceivable mystery of his buddha-mind. The mystery of buddha-body refers to his emanations who train living beings in accord with their class, such as Brahmā and Īśvara[133] among the gods, a universal emperor among men, and Vemacitra among the antigods;[134] and similarly as a woodpecker (*shing-rta-mo*) for the sake of birds,[135] Dṛdhasamādāna, the king of lions, for the sake of wildlife,[136] and so on. It refers, too, to the revelations of the maṇḍala of his visage which appropriately manifests in and of itself as the peaceful and wrathful deities, *piśācī* and so on, and to his revelations at various times, as when taking birth, transferring realms, living, passing away, and residing [in other realms], which accord with the respective fortunes [of those requiring training].

The mystery of his buddha-speech refers to the fact that the revelation of the doctrine, which manifests according to those requiring training and their intelligence, is also understood by means of different languages and symbols. As the *Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas* [i.e. the *Aspiration of Good Conduct*, v.18] says:

> In the language of gods, the languages of nāgas and yakṣas,
> In the languages of trolls and of humans,
> In as many languages as there are among living beings,
> I teach the doctrine in the languages of all.

The mystery of his buddha-mind refers to the pristine cognition, free from all corruptions, which manifests appropriately for all by qualitatively knowing the attitudes and minds of those requiring training. This threefold mystery is instruction through inconceivable miraculous abilities.

Fourth, concerning instruction by knowledge conveyed in speech, the supreme emanational body gives abbreviated teaching by means of

the five vehicles which correspond to the perception of those requiring training, who are of five families or types (*gotra*). He gives detailed explanation, teaching the eighty-four thousand doctrinal components as an antidote for the eighty-four thousand conflicting emotions, and he concludes his teaching corresponding to the degree of acumen [in those who require training]. All these are instruction by knowledge conveyed in speech which conveys understanding beyond the attributes of mere sounds and words, to the realms of sentient beings in an appropriately intelligible form through the tathāgatas' blessing. As a sūtra of definitive meaning says:

> Concerning all these teachings,
> I did not teach a single syllable.

Diversified Emanations

Thirdly, the diversified emanations include all things basic to the greater well-being of sentient beings. As such, [the Teacher] reveals physical forms which originate both naturally and through deliberate efforts – emanations in the form of mansions, verdant meadows, *ghandhola* spires, and cities on the plains of suffering; as well as material objects such as the Wishing Tree (*Kalpavṛkṣa*), the Wish-fulfilling Gem (*Cintāmaṇi*), bridges, wagons, food, clothing and medicine. It also includes other diverse emanations of artistry and birth such as a great fish which appeared during a time of famine,[137] a noble creature which appeared [to cure] an epidemic,[138] the horse Ājāneyabalaha in the island of ogresses,[139] and a golden bee in a swampy marsh.[140]

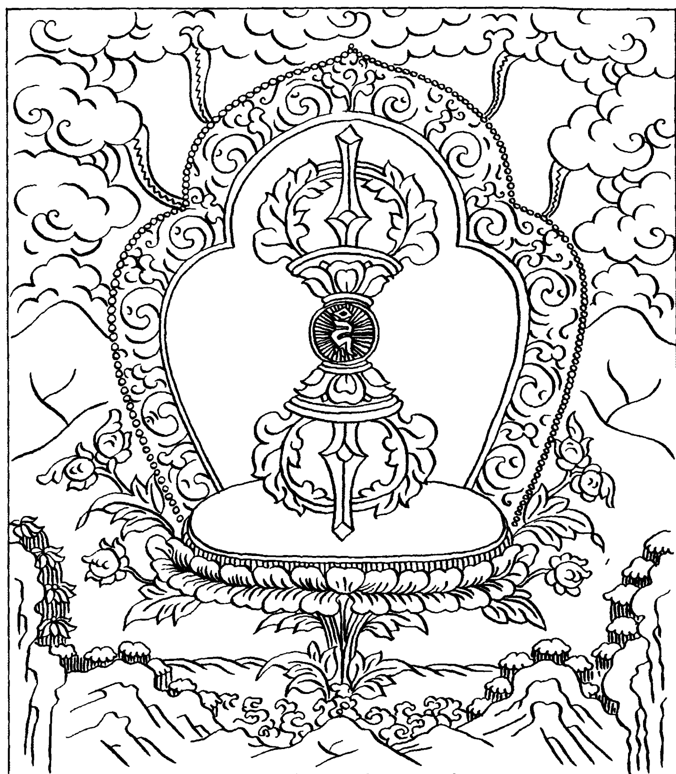
Extensive descriptions [of these diversified emanations] are found, such as in the *Sūtra of the Lamp of Precious Jewels* (*Ratnolkānāmadhāraṇīmahāyānasūtra*, T 145):

> Everywhere I reveal many forms:
> As kings among bards composing verses,
> As dancers, drummers, athletes and musicians,
> As dancers wearing beautiful ornaments,
>   adornments and garlands,
> And as masters of magical display.
> I become villagers, headmen and governors,
> And merchants, captains and landlords.
> I become kings, ministers, priests and messengers,
> Doctors learned in the rites of worldly treatises,
> And a vast oasis in a wilderness.
> I become unending treasures of medicine and
>   precious gems,
> The Wish-fulfilling Gem and the Tree which Brings
>   Forth Wishes;

And I reveal the path to those who deviate from the path.

Emanations According to the Great Perfection

According to one method of explaining the emanational body, that of the uncommon Great Perfection in particular, twelve teachers of the emanational body have emanated from the apparitional buddha-body of perfect rapture in twelve different realms, and have acted on behalf of living creatures by simultaneously manifesting the three great emanational teachings of buddha-body, speech and mind.[141]



Vajra on Lotus

In this world [Jambudvīpa], the actuality of the teaching of the body of reality is a hand-sized vajra produced from a hundred precious gems, which is naturally arisen through the blessing conferred by the Great Perfection. The actuality of the teaching of the body of perfect rapture is a four-inch book, proclaiming the natural sound of reality, produced from one hundred and one precious gems, which is naturally arisen through the blessing of the *Naturally Present Teaching like an Only Son* (*rang-byung-ba bstan-pa bu-gcig-pa*, NYZ vol. 7). The emanational body is the

physical form, equal in size to the body of a living being, naturally produced from one hundred and one precious gems, which naturally arises through the blessing of the twelve teachers. Since these three [actualities] are uncompounded, they are subject neither to creation nor destruction, and since they arise naturally through blessing, they have immeasurable miraculous abilities and enlightened attributes. Therefore, no matter who encounters them, they are the support which causes the teaching of the body, speech and mind of the emanational bodies of past and future buddhas to multiply in the world systems. They also embody the enlightened activities [of those emanations] which are seen, heard and felt, and which subsequently cause corporeal reality to vanish of its own accord.

As for the realms in which [these actualities] reside, while they are naturally expressed in a perpetual cycle, they reside in different realms according to the times for instruction through the teachings of buddha-body, speech and mind. The vajra, during the time for teaching through buddha-body, remains on an island in the country of Oḍḍiyāna and generates light, sound and countless emanational monks endowed with miraculous abilities. During the time for teaching through buddha-speech, the vajra is wielded by the yakṣa kings on Mount Malaya, the abode of Vajrapāṇi; and during the time for teaching through buddha-mind, it abides in space above the Vajrāsana.[142]

The book, during the time for teaching through buddha-body, is kept by the ḍākinīs in the sublime space five hundred *yojana* above the Vajrāsana; and during the time for teaching through buddha-speech, it remains with these same [ḍākinīs]. Then during the time for teaching through buddha-mind, the book remains in the Cave of the Most Wrathful Sage (*rab-tu khros-pa drang-srong-gi phug-pa*).

The physical form, during the time for teaching through buddha-body, abides as the actual bodies of the buddhas, along with their emanations and further emanations through the blessing [of the aforementioned twelve teachers], and manifests the maṇḍala of their visage. During the time for teaching through buddha-speech, the physical form roams indefinitely throughout Jambudvīpa and becomes a focus of worship for all extraordinary assemblies of gods and humans. On occasions when harm comes to the teaching, the physical form emits light from its bodies, the syllable HŪṂ from their mouths and the fire of pristine cognition from their eyes. Then during the time for teaching which instructs through buddha-mind, it performs prostrations to the great glorious [Samantabhadra] whose natural expression remains the same, in the highest storey of Vajrapāṇi's palace in the celestial heaven of the Thirty-three Gods (*Trayatriṃśa*), and it is the embodiment of oceanic miracles.

Simultaneously, the twelve teachers of the emanational body, too, appeared within their twelve realms. During the first aeon inhabited

by those who require training, in the place called Pagoda of Tuṣita (*dga'-ldan brtsegs-pa*), the teacher Acintyaprabhāsa [appeared] to a retinue of the Thousand Buddhas,[143] and revealed the *Penetration of Sound*, which is the basis of all teachings. It was compiled by the son of the gods Gaje Wangcuk assisted by the son of the gods Nyima Raptu Nangje during the period when sentient beings had a life-span of immeasurable years.

In the world system of Patient Endurance (*Sahalokadhātu*), the teacher Akṣobhyaprabha [appeared to] a retinue of two hundred thousand ḍākinīs, and revealed the teaching of the *Five Tantras of Buddha-body, Speech, Mind, Enlightened Attributes and Activities* (*sku-gsung-thugs yon-tan phrin-las-kyi rgyud lnga*) during the period when sentient beings had a life-span of ten million years.

In the realm of the Moisture Gathering Light Mass (*drod-gsher 'od-kyis spungs-pa*), the teacher Pel Jikpa Kyopei Yi [appeared to] a retinue of six hundred thousand bodhisattvas, and revealed the teaching of the tantras *Churner of Saṃsāra's Depths* (*'khor-ba dong-sprugs*), *Crossing the Peacock's Neck* (*rma-bya mjing-bsnol*, NGB Vol.2), and the *Glorious Tantra of the Cessation of the Four Elements* (*dpal 'byung-bzhi zad-pa'i rgyud*) during the period when the life-span was one hundred thousand years.

In the realm of Appearance in the Womb of Conception (*chags-'byung mngal-du snang-ba*), the teacher Zhönu Rölpa Nampar Tsewa [appeared to] a retinue of one thousand yakṣas and ogres (*rākṣasa*), and revealed the teaching of the *Five Basic Tantras and Six Branch Tantras of the Mental Class* (*sems-sde rtsa-ba'i rgyud-lnga-dang yan-lag-gi rgyud-drug*) during the period when the life-span was eighty thousand years.

In the realm of the Garden of Sustaining Youth (*'tsho-byed gzhon-nu'i ldum-ra*), the sixth teacher Vajradhara[144] appeared to a retinue including the Seven Generations of Buddhas, and revealed teachings such as the six transcendental perfections during the period when the life-span was seventy thousand years.

In the realm of the Blazing Fire Mountain Charnel Ground of Most Secret Display (*gsang-chen rol-pa dur-khrod me-ri 'bar-ba*), the teacher Kumāravīrabalin appeared to a retinue of seven including the bodhisattva Balāhaka, and revealed the doctrine of many tantrapiṭaka, including those of the Father Tantra (*pha-rgyud*) and Mother Tantra (*ma-rgyud*) during the period when the life-span was sixty thousand years.

In the realm of the Ogre Cave endowed with the Sound of the Rulu Mantra (*srin-phug ru-lu'i sgra-dang-ldan-pa*), the teacher Drangsong Trhöpei Gyelpo [appeared to] a retinue of ten million ogres, and revealed doctrines such as the *Ten Tantras on the Discipline of Coarse Defilements* (*rags-pa 'dul-ba'i rgyud-bcu*) during the period when the life-span was ten thousand years.

In the realm of Rājagṛha near Vulture Peak (*bya-rgod phung-po'i rgyal-po'i khab*), the teacher Arhat Suvarṇaprabhāsa (*gser-'od dam-pa*)

appeared to a retinue of immeasurable sublime pious attendants endowed with miraculous abilities and revealed immeasurable myriads of true doctrines on the Vinaya (*'dul-ba*) during the period when sentient beings had a life-span of five thousand years.

In the realm of the Turquoise Eyebrow in Mongolia (*sog-po gYu'i smin-ma-can*) near the victorious tree of enlightenment,[145] the teacher Tsewe Rölpei Lodrö [appeared to] a retinue of eighth level bodhisattvas[146] and revealed the *Seven Tantras of Subtle Meaning* (*phra-rgyud bdun-pa*) and so forth during the period when the life-span was one thousand years.

In the realm of Vulture Peak (*Gṛdhrakūṭa*), the teacher, the elder Kāśyapa, appeared to a retinue of seven long-living *ṛṣi* and revealed true doctrines which included the sūtras, the Kriyātantra, and eighty thousand doctrines of the Anuyoga transmission during the period when the life-span was five hundred years.

In the realm of Vajrāsana, near the forthcoming Tree of Enlightenment,[147] the teacher Yab Ngöndzok Gyelpo appeared to a retinue of the Lords of the Three Families and revealed only doctrines of definitive meaning during the period when the life-span was three hundred years.

Then in the realm of Anāthapiṇḍada's Pleasure Grove (*kun-dga' raba*), the teacher Śākyamuni [appeared to] a retinue of the four orders, and promulgated the doctrinal wheel of the four truths twelve times during the period when the life-span was one hundred years.

Since these events in the twelve realms are each connected with the five excellences [of place, teacher, retinue, doctrine and time], an enumeration of sixty doctrines emerges.

Concerning the approach [of the Great Perfection] to enlightened activities also, many special attributes have been explained. The twelve deeds of the body are as follows: In the twelve different realms, the Teacher himself appeared, emanated in twelve forms endowed with different colours and symbolic implements. He came forth in order to propagate the teaching of the body, relying on the charisma of the buddha-body which is said to perform twelve different deeds of immeasurable benefit to different gatherings of those requiring training who belong to twelve dissimilar classes or types (*gotra*).

Then, while [emanating] these bodies, he delivered twelve different doctrinal wheels of speech and so came forth in order to propagate the teaching of speech, which is said to perform deeds which liberate living beings from the twelve different fetters of speech. During the time of that same speech, through the twelve different intentions of his mind, he came forth in order to propagate the teaching of mind which is said to perform deeds which liberate the different classes of living beings from their twelve thought patterns. So it is that a single emanational body who establishes the teaching in this way requires an enumeration of ninety-six doctrines. One who possesses these doctrines is said to be

a master of the teaching, and if one does not possess them it is said that the partial teaching of the Buddha has appeared in the world; for these doctrines have emerged from the perfect generation of enlightened mind in the past.

It is said in the *Great Array*:

> Through nine aspects beginning with the outer,
> The details of his deeds must be distinguished.

Therefore, deeds are spoken of in many ways. For example, deeds of body, speech and mind are each classified into three outer and inner aspects and each of these is also classified into four. However, I shall not enlarge upon this here. They are all evident in one special area of [the Teacher's] intention, and the Sugata, learned in skilful means, manifests the buddha-body of form in ways which correspond to the number of atoms in the myriad fields of those requiring training, which are of oceanic extent.

Concerning the revelation of the buddhas' deeds, one should not think that there is a contradiction even if within one tradition there are differences. Since the emanational power of the buddhas is an inconceivable object, it is not even within the range of the intellect of great sublime [bodhisattvas], let alone ordinary persons. Since their times and those who require to be trained by them and so forth cannot be exactly enumerated, one should not, having seen one of their aspects, disparage the others. For this reason it is said in the *Sublime Sūtra which Genuinely Comprises the Entire Doctrine* (*Āryadharmasaṃgīti*, T 238):

> Sentient beings who will an aeon of dissolution to become an aeon of evolution can indeed transform an aeon of dissolution into an aeon of evolution; and they experience an aeon of evolution. Sentient beings who will an aeon of evolution to become an aeon of dissolution can indeed transform an aeon of evolution into an aeon of dissolution; and they experience an aeon of dissolution. But really the evolution and the dissolution do not change into one another; for it is the will which changes in this way. Similarly, sentient beings who will one aeon to become just one morning may experience one aeon in one morning. And sentient beings who will one morning to become one aeon may experience just that. This is called the miraculous ability born of the bodhisattva's will.

4 *The Five Buddha-bodies and Five Pristine Cognitions*

[60a.3-63a.5] When these three buddha-bodies [which have just been outlined] are classified according to the five buddha-bodies, there are two exegetical traditions. Scholars of the Zur tradition[148] claim that there are five buddha-bodies with the addition of the body of awakening (*abhisambodhikāya*), which derives from the distinct apparitional functions of the three bodies; and the body of indestructible reality (*vajrakāya*) which derives from the function of their indivisible essence. These scholars assert therefore that the three bodies of reality, perfect rapture and emanation are the characteristic nature of the buddha-body, while the other two are the conventional buddha-body because, among them, the former is determined by the function of the form of the three bodies and the latter by the function of their indivisible essence.

The all-knowing Longcenpa claims that the three bodies of reality, awakening and indestructible reality are the characteristic nature of the buddha-body that manifests in and of itself (*rang-snang*), while the bodies of perfect rapture and emanation are conventional because they are compounded by the external perception (*gzhan-snang*) of those who require training.

Though no contradiction is discerned whichever of these explanations one follows, none the less when the buddha-body is definitively ordered according to its characteristic nature, it is the original expanse, the naturally pure point of liberation, primordially pure, in which all buddhas are of a single expanse, the reality in which all paths are conclusively traversed, that is called the unchanging buddha-body of indestructible reality. This is because it is perpetual, stable, and uncompounded without changing or turning into all manner of forms. It is also called "natural purity" because it is taintless from the beginning, and "the buddha endowed with two purities" because it is utterly pure with respect to the two aspects of suddenly arisen obscuration. As the *Net of Pristine Cognition* (*ye-shes drva-ba*, NGB Vol.15) says:

The pure expanse is the body of indestructible reality.
It is unchanging, undecaying and beyond thought.

The buddha-body of awakening is so called because it possesses the attributes of knowledge, love and power such as the ten powers (*daśatathāgatabala*, Mvt. 119-29), the four fearlessnesses (*caturvaiśāradya*, Mvt. 130-34), the eighteen distinct attributes of the buddhas (*aṣṭadaśāveṇikabuddhadharma*, Mvt. 135-53) and great compassion (*mahākaruṇa*, Mvt. 154-86). It abides as the basis for the arising of all distinct doctrines and its attributes are free from obscuration owing to the unimpeded expression of [all-]knowing pristine cognition which is the apparitional aspect [of the above-mentioned body of indestructible reality] endowed with the two purities. As the above-cited [*Net of Pristine Cognition*] says:

Because it is taintless, it is pure.
Vast in attributes, it is consummate.
Permeated by non-duality, it is coalescent.
Such is called the body of awakening.

Then, when the buddha-body is definitively ordered according to pristine cognition, it is explained that the pristine cognition of the expanse of reality (*dharmadhātujñāna*) is the pristine cognition which qualitatively knows [the view, *ji-lta-ba mkhyen-pa'i ye-shes*], and the four subsequent pristine cognitions through their functions of supporting and depending on [the former] comprise the pristine cognition which quantitatively knows [phenomena, *ji-snyed-pa mkhyen-pa'i ye-shes*]. The great scholars who taught the definitive meaning during the later period of doctrinal propagation [in Tibet][149] meant the same when they explained the pristine cognition of the expanse of reality to refer to ultimate reality and the four subsequent pristine cognitions to be intermingled with various aspects of relative appearance.

Moreover, among those pristine cognitions, the former is held to be [the perception characterizing] the buddha-body of reality. As the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.2, v.38) says:

Without beginning, middle or end, and indivisible,
It is neither two, nor three, taintless and without thought.

The four subsequent pristine cognitions are respectively described in the following quotations from the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.9, vv.68-9):

The selfless mirror-like pristine cognition
Is completely unbroken and permanent.
Undeluded with regard to all [things] that are knowable,
It is never directed upon them.
Since it is the causal basis of all pristine cognitions,

As if the supreme source of pristine cognition,
It is the buddhahood of perfect rapture.

And (Ch.9, vv.70-1):

The pristine cognition of sameness
Is held to be purity of meditation
With respect to sentient beings.
That which abides dynamically and at peace
Is held to be the pristine cognition of sameness.
At all times endowed with loving kindness
And pure, consummate spirituality,
The buddha-body is definitively revealed
For all sentient beings in accord with their devotion.

And again (Ch.9, vv.72-3):

The pristine cognition of discernment,
Ever unimpeded with regard to all that is knowable,
Is solely like a treasure store
Of the contemplations and the dhāraṇīs.
In all the surrounding maṇḍalas,
As the revealer of all excellent attributes,
It causes a downpour of the supreme doctrine,
Cutting off all doubts.

Thus these three pristine cognitions refer to the buddha-body of perfect rapture.

Then, [the pristine cognition of accomplishment] refers to the emanational body. As the same text says (Ch.9, v.74):

The pristine cognition of accomplishment
Is diversified in all realms.
Through measureless, unthinkable emanations
It acts on behalf of all sentient beings.[150]

In this context, the great all-knowing Longcenpa has explained that the two pristine cognitions of the expanse of reality and sameness are the pristine cognition which qualitatively knows [the view] because their function is to perceive the abiding nature [of reality], while the other three pristine cognitions are the pristine cognition which quantitatively knows [phenomena] because their functions are respectively to be the ground for the arising [of all forms], to discern objects and to act on behalf of living beings. As it is said in the *Penetration of Sound*:

By the actuality of qualitatively knowing [the view]
The abiding nature of reality is known for one's own
sake.

By that of quantitatively knowing [phenomena]
The mental condition of those requiring training is known.
The body which instructs the different beings who require training
Is none other than the reflection of such compassion.

The sūtras speak of the rank of the great [emanations] who possess these three buddha-bodies and five pristine cognitions as [being attained when] the empowerment of great light rays is conferred by the myriad tathāgatas of the ten directions on a bodhisattva. This happens as the bodhisattva attains buddhahood, having relied on the unobstructed path at the end of the continuum, culminating the five paths and ten levels according to the causal phase of the greater vehicle. Thereby the two obscurations [covering] the bodhisattva's own level are purified. However, it is variously explained in the Unsurpassed Tantras of the way of mantras and their commentaries that there is no method of purifying the subtle propensities which transfer consciousness to the three appearances of the variable [desire realm], the blissful [form realm] and the experiential [formless realm] through [the union of] the white and red seminal points [sperm and ovum] and the vital energy without relying on the empowerment of supreme desire.[151] The *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī* (v.135cd) is of the same opinion when it says:

Attaining disillusionment through the three vehicles,
One abides in the result through the single vehicle.

Thus, the necessity of attaining the culmination of the causal vehicle by relying on the mantras can be known from the very names given to the causal and resultant vehicles.

One might then object that the definitive structure of the result which is taught in the causal phase of the greater vehicle would become meaningless; and yet there is no fault. Though that [structure] has been revealed to those dull persons who aspire through the causal vehicle, it is in the mantras that the culmination of the sūtras' definitive meaning abides. It does not follow that the buddhahood of the mantras does not refer to the buddhahood of the path of sūtras. After the result had been spoken of in the sūtras under such generalities as the absolute nature, inner radiance of reality and the true self,[152] then the most extensive abiding nature of reality and the complete means which realise it were revealed in the mantras. Just as, when the end of the long path encounters the short path, wherever they originated, they are both identical in their purpose.

Again, if one were to object that the path of the sūtras would then become a meaningless teaching apart from the mantras, that is not the

case. Just as none but a person of powerful physique and intelligence can set out on a path of deep ravines and precipices, even though the distance be very short, there are great risks for all those who require training through the mantras apart from those of highest acumen and most potent intelligence. Then, just as one feeble in body and intelligence sets out on a journey which, though long, is without the fear of deep ravines and the like, and so encounters few risks by proceeding slowly, such is the teaching of the long path of the sūtras. It is therefore a most essential point that one should know [the Teacher's] methods of teaching the doctrine to be unsurpassed; for the All-knowing One is learned in skilful means. If it were otherwise, the two vehicles of cause and result would deviate from his basic intention, they would not be gathered together in the single culminating vehicle, the definitive meaning would also be divided in two, and other great flaws such as these would exist. One must learn therefore that the Conqueror's enlightened activity is never to be wasted.

5 *Distinctive Attributes of the Buddha-bodies and Pristine Cognitions*

[63a.5-66b.2] As for the distinctive attributes of the buddha-bodies and pristine cognitions which are revealed in the causal and resultant vehicles: In order to classify intellectually the distinctive attributes of the causal and resultant vehicles, the great scholars of supreme discernment in the past have examined the distinctive attributes of the buddhas as assessed in the sūtra and the mantra texts in the following way.

The buddha-body of reality has three distinctive attributes of essence, characteristic and blessing, among which the first, the essence, is that the body of reality according to the vehicle of dialectics is sky-like unelaborate emptiness. As it is said in the *Introduction to the Madhyamaka* (Ch.11, v.16):

> When the dry brushwood of all that is knowable is
> burnt,
> The peace which results is the body of reality of the
> conquerors.
> At that time there is neither creation nor cessation,
> For the cessation of mind has been actualised by that body.

The buddha-body of reality according to the mantras, however, is the natural expression of the expanse [of reality] and pristine cognition, the coalescence of appearance and emptiness. As it is said in the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net*:

> In the world with its moving and motionless
> creatures,
> In the nature of all such appearances,
> There is no substantial existence.

Secondly, as for its characteristic: The body of reality according to the vehicle of dialectics has fallen into the extreme of emptiness, whereas the body of reality according to the mantras does not fall into extremes of eternalism and nihilism since there is no dichotomy between appearance and emptiness.

Third, the blessing which arises from the body of reality according to the vehicle of dialectics is nothing but the two buddha-bodies of form; but as for the body of reality according to the mantras, the five bodies and various other apparitions arise from its blessing, which is the expanse [of reality] and pristine cognition, the coalescence of appearance and emptiness.

The buddha-body of perfect rapture and the body of emanation similarly have their distinctive attributes, which are outlined as follows. The vehicle of dialectics holds that the two buddha-bodies of form are created by causes and conditions, while the body of form according to the mantras is not created by causes and conditions. As the above [*Extensive Magical Net*] says:

> For it does not depend on causes and conditions...

When classified, [the buddha-body of form] has two aspects, namely, the distinctive attributes of the body of perfect rapture and those of the emanational body.

The distinctive attributes of the buddha-body of perfect rapture are also twofold. Concerning the distinctive attributes of the rapture that is experienced, the body of perfect rapture according to the vehicle of dialectics experiences rapture in positive areas, but not in negative areas. The body of perfect rapture according to the mantras experiences rapture in both areas. Then there are distinctive attributes of the means of the experience. In the vehicle of dialectics there are no means of experiencing rapture in negative areas, whereas the mantras do have means of experiencing rapture in both positive and negative areas.

Then, the distinctive attributes of the emanational body are also twofold. The distinctive attribute of its object, the one who requires the training, is that, according to the vehicle of dialectics, the emanational body only instructs those requiring training who are positively disposed, but not those of a negative character; whereas the emanational body according to the mantras is impartial regarding the character of those requiring to be trained. The distinctive attributes of their methods of instruction are such that the emanational body in the vehicle of dialectics has no means of instructing those of negative disposition, whereas the emanational body of the mantras is endowed with the means of instructing those of both positive and negative dispositions who require training.

In addition, one should know that other distinctions also exist. For example, the body of reality is distinguished by utterly unchanging supreme bliss. The body of perfect rapture endowed with the five certainties is the apparitional aspect consisting of all the fields, teachers and retinues, which is spontaneously present in the great inner radiance of the ground, manifest in and of itself (*rang-snang*), but it is not compounded by external perception (*gzhan-snang*). The emanational body

has power to act on behalf of those who require training, having mastered the myriad ways that are suitable for the four kinds of enlightened activity to be applied by means of the four kinds of instruction.

Then, as for the actions performed on behalf of living beings by this [emanational] body: Whenever a tathāgata manifests his all-knowing level, the oceans of the myriad realms of the sentient beings who require training and all the distinctive attributes of the means of instruction, which are derived from his own essence, are nothing but the display of great compassion. All [those requiring training and the means of training] are of a common savour and are spontaneously present without effort, disregarding causes and conditions such as the provision of merit accumulated by those requiring training and distinctions of the Conqueror's aspiration. Therefore, the natural expression of the mind of all sentient beings, and the all-pervasive natural expression of reality, which is the pristine cognition of the buddhas and the nucleus of the sugata, are inseparable from each other, without coming and going, transferring and changing, as the oil that pervades the sesame seed. Enlightened activity is present therein, pervading the fundamental nature of reality, and its uncompounded essence is characteristically permanent, pervasive and spontaneous.

It says in the *Sūtra of the Introduction to the Development of the Power of Faith* (*Śraddhābalādhānāvatāramudrāsūtra*, T 201):

> Mañjuśrī, in all the myriad world systems of the ten directions, all the domains of the extremists and all the mundane and supramundane activities which occur originate through the spontaneously present pristine cognition of the Tathāgata. If you ask why it is so, it is because he possesses distinct attributes.

Commenting on the meaning of [the buddhas'] permanence, the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.4, v.12) says:

> Since he is disillusioned with dependence,
> Perceives himself and sentient beings equally,
> And has not completed his deeds,
> He does not cease to act for the duration of saṃsāra.

Then, commenting on the meaning of his pervasiveness and spontaneous presence, it says (Ch.1, v.76):

> Ever spontaneously present to living beings
> Throughout infinite space,
> Endowed with unimpeded intelligence,
> He genuinely proceeds to benefit sentient beings.

And in the *Hundred Parables on Deeds*:

> The ocean domain of sea monsters
> May well pass beyond time,
> But for the sake of his sons requiring training,
> The Buddha will not pass beyond time.

Accordingly, this spontaneously present enlightened activity has regard for the awakening of the different minds requiring training in accord with their fortune, but is non-conceptual with respect to the effort amassed by the continuum of nirvāṇa. It is an encounter between the expressive power of the nucleus of the tathāgata and the phenomena which suddenly arise in the manner of saṃsāra. As a result, those who have matured the sprout of enlightenment, those who are in the process of maturing it and the means which brings about maturation are the amazing play of the sugatas' enlightened activity and compassion. These are, respectively, the spiritual benefactors who reveal the path of liberation, the adherents of the path and the antidotes which purify the stains arising on the path.

It is said in the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net*:

> Through the blessing of his great compassion
> In all the worlds of the ten directions,
> As many as there are atoms,
> The enlightened activities on behalf of living beings are inconceivable.
> Through body, speech, mind, attributes
> And activities which are spontaneously present,
> Those requiring training, inexhaustible in extent,
> Are purified of evil existences and enlightened.
> The perfect provision of pristine cognition is everywhere revealed.

It is additionally maintained that [the buddhas], without moving from the pristine cognition of meditative equipoise, act on behalf of sentient beings during the aftermath of their meditation. As has been explained [in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.2, v.7cd]:

> Both the non-conceptualising state
> And its aftermath are held to be pristine cognition.

Then, concerning the claim that the benefit of living creatures is basically caused by the increase in positive attributes of those requiring training, and conditioned by the former aspiration of the buddhas, the *Introduction to the Madhyamaka* (Ch.11, v.17) says:

> The fields and bodies are radiant like the Wishing Tree,

> They are non-conceptualising in the manner of the
> Wish-fulfilling Gem;
> Ever remaining to guide the world until beings have
> been liberated,
> They appear to those who are free from elaboration.

Yet it is difficult to say that even these words reach the culmination of the definitive meaning, apart from their mere reference to a single aspect of the revelation [of buddha nature] for the sake of ordinary beings who require training.

This completes the anthology explaining the appearance of the Conqueror or Teacher endowed with the three buddha-bodies, the second part of this book, the *Feast in which Eloquence Appears*, which is a definitive ordering of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Three
Causal Vehicles of Dialectics

Introduction

[66b.2-66b.4] Having briefly described the appearance of the Conqueror as the teachers endowed with the three buddha-bodies in the world system of Patient Endurance, now, among the promulgations of the doctrinal wheel delivered by these teachers, I shall first explain the definitive structure of the three turnings of the doctrinal wheel according to the causal [vehicles]. This includes a statement of the overall meaning according to classifications and a recapitulation of the meaning subsumed in their particular sections.

1 *The Three Promulgations of the Doctrinal Wheel*

[66b.4-68b.1] At the outset, the doctrinal wheel of the causal vehicle was promulgated in three successive stages by [Śākyamuni], the supreme emanational buddha-body and sage. The first commenced with the four truths, the second concerned the absence of attributes, and the third the excellent analysis [of reality].

THE FIRST PROMULGATION

The first is as follows: After discerning the utterly impure realms of sentient beings, the Teacher who promulgated the first turning of the doctrinal wheel intended to encourage these beings by the disturbing topics of impermanence, impurity, suffering, selflessness, ugliness, and so forth, and then cause them to forsake the attitude which actually clings to saṃsāra. For in this way they would achieve appropriate insight into ultimate truth and adhere to the path of the greater vehicle.

At the Deer Park of Ṛṣipatana in the district of Vārāṇasī, he repeated the four [truths] of suffering, its origin, the path and cessation [of saṃsāra] three times to an assembly consisting of his five noble companions.

The modes of the doctrine revealed in this context include the *Four Transmissions of the Piṭaka* of the pious attendants and self-centred buddhas who belong to the lesser vehicle.

THE SECOND PROMULGATION

Concerning the second: The Tathāgata's perseverance was not interrupted merely by that first promulgation of the doctrinal wheel. Subsequently, the Teacher promulgated the intermediate turning of the doctrinal wheel, intending that the realisation of the ultimate truth, which is referred to by synonyms in order to bring about the partial

cessation of conceptual elaboration, should become the actual foundation for the path of the greater vehicle. In this way egotism would be averted once beings had comprehended the buddha nature through the extensive topics of emptiness, signlessness, and aspirationlessness in relation to all things.

In places such as Vulture Peak near Rājagṛha and chiefly to the communities of bodhisattvas, he revealed the Bodhisattvapiṭaka of the greater vehicle, which extensively teach the ineffable, unthinkable, inexpressible reality of just what is, whereby all things from form to omniscience are totally divorced from substantial existence.

The long versions [of these piṭaka] are the *Billion Lines on the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness* (**Śatakoṭiprajñāpāramitā*) and the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in One Hundred Thousand Lines*. The intermediate versions include the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Twenty-five Thousand Lines*, and the short versions include the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Eight Thousand Lines*; however, one should know there are an inconceivable number in addition to these.

THE THIRD PROMULGATION

Concerning the third: The Tathāgata's perseverance was not interrupted merely by that second promulgation of the doctrinal wheel. Subsequently the Teacher promulgated the final turning of the doctrinal wheel, directing his intention towards the nucleus of the path of the greater vehicle, and actually revealed the ultimate truth for which there is no synonym. This he did after opposing all bases for the views concerning being and non-being and the like by causing sentient beings to penetrate the objective range of the Buddha through the topics of that irreversible promulgation[153] and through topics concerning the utter purity of the three spheres [of subject, object and their interaction].

In places such as Mount Malaya, the Point of Enlightenment[154] and Vaiśālī, at indeterminate times and to the host of great bodhisattvas who required the essential training, he excellently analysed all things from form to omniscience in accord with the three essential natures of the imaginary (*parikalpita*), the dependent (*paratantra*) and the absolute (*pariniṣpanna*);[155] and having established the nature of the ground, path and result, he extensively revealed the abiding reality of the nucleus of the tathāgata.

Included in this promulgation are the *Billion Verses of the Great Collection of the Most Extensive Sūtras according to the Greater Vehicle* (**Mahāvaipulyamahāyānasūtrāntamahāsaṃgraha*), the *Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas*, the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā*, the *Sūtra of the Bounteous Array* (*Ghanavyūhasūtra*, T 110), the *Great Sūtra of Final*

Nirvāṇa and the *Sūtra which Decisively Reveals the Intention* (*Sandhinirmocanasūtra*, T 106).

The Vaibhāṣika hold that the doctrinal wheels in which these transmissions were given comprise exclusively the path of insight. The Sautrāntika hold that the three paths of insight, meditation and no-more-learning are comprised in the doctrinal wheels, while followers of the greater vehicle claim all five paths to be contained in the doctrinal wheels.

This causal vehicle, when classified according to its philosophical systems, has two divisions, namely, the lesser vehicle of the pious attendants and self-centred buddhas, and the greater vehicle of the bodhisattvas. The former also includes both the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika.

2 *The Lesser Vehicle*

VAIBHĀṢIKA

[68b.1-69a.6] The Vaibhāṣika, among the pious attendants, hold all that is knowable to be comprised in five categories. These are, namely, the basic category of apparent forms, the dominant mind, the concomitant mental events, the relational conditions and the uncompounded entities.

Of these five basic categories the first is as follows. Apparent forms are characterised as relatively true with reference to things, the idea of which can be lost when their gross material substance composed of indivisible atomic particles is destroyed, or when analysed by the intellect. They are characterised as ultimately true when the idea which apprehends them cannot be lost upon their destruction or analysis. As it is said in the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* (Ch.6, v.4):

> Whatever, on its destruction or intellectual analysis,
> Ceases to convey an idea, like a vase or water,
> Is relatively existent; all else is ultimately real.

The Vaibhāṣika hold that the relative truth, while not existing in an ultimate sense, is veridically existent; for they admit that all substances are exclusively veridical.

The second basic category, [that of the dominant mind], refers to the consciousnesses of the five senses, along with the mental faculty, which perceive external objects.

The third refers to all the fifty-one mental events, such as feeling and perception, which, together with the dominant consciousness, apprehend objects. When the sense organs regard their objects, [mind and mental events] are held to have the same reference, the same scrutiny, and to occur at the same time with the same sensory basis, and the same substance. In this way, the comprehension of objects by consiousness and the comprehension of the specific qualities of objects by mental events arise simultaneously with the objects which they

apprehend. Therefore, there is held to be no intrinsic awareness but only mind and mental events, which are both aware of external objects.

The fourth basic category is that of the disjunct conditions including the meditative absorptions and including nouns, words, and syllables, which are held to exist substantially throughout the three times. For example, a vase exists during the past time of the vase, yet it also exists during the future and the present times. It is held that any action, even when completed, has inexhaustible substantiality.



Vasubandhu

Fifth, the uncompounded entities are three in number – space, cessation [of corruption] due to individual scrutiny, and the cessation [of the future arising of any object] independent of individual scrutiny. It is held that, together with the truth of the path and its concomitants and the consciousness of the mental faculty with its concomitants, these are free from corruption, whereas all the remaining entities [mentioned above] are corrupt.

SAUTRĀNTIKA

[69a.6-70a.3] Most of the Sautrāntika tenets are identical to those of the Vaibhāṣika, the distinctions between them being that, while accepting, for example, the imperceptible forms which maintain [a behavioural pattern resulting from] an attitude of renunciation[156] – which are held by the Vaibhāṣika to be form – the Sautrāntika hold they are merely given the name form because they originate from form, and they deny that the three times have substantial existence. The sense organs are held to have consciousness as their possessor and the sense objects, too, are held to be the referential condition by which a sensum is transmitted to perception. The basic categories of mind and mental events, which are the consciousnesses of the five senses and their concomitant mental events, refer to objects such as form, yet external objects such as form and sound are not actually perceived, a sensum being transmitted in the manner of the reflection on a mirror. Accordingly, the sensum of an object such as form transmitted prior to the present moment is covertly transmitted so that the sensum corresponding to the object such as form arises at the present moment. After that moment, when the present transmitter of the sensum is transmitted in the subsequent moment, an external sensum is perceived to arise, and is then referred to as an object. The subject-object dichotomy thus becomes a subjective process and is called the comprehension of objects. As it is said in the *Ascertainment of Valid Cognition* (Ch.1):

> An object is said to be experienced
> When its resemblance is experienced.

The Sautrāntika maintain that, while appearances are essentially consciousness, they are deceptive because the sensa which are transmitted are not externally existing [objects]. However the intrinsic awareness which clearly experiences all perceptual objects is not erroneous. They deny that relational conditions have substance apart from being mere functions of form, mind and mental events, and they profess that the three uncompounded entities are insubstantial like the son of a barren woman.

PIOUS ATTENDANTS

[70a.3-70a.6] Now, those who definitely adhere to these patterns of the pious attendants observe in their conduct all the appropriate eight *prātimokṣa* vows. And by meditating on the four moments as they each apply to the four truths, beginning with impermanence,[157] the individual is realised to be divorced from [the concept] of a substantially existing independent self.

As a result of this experience, the two kinds of obscuration, [that is, those of the three poisons with their seeds and of ignorance apart from conflicting emotions] are destroyed on the culmination of the five paths through the vajra-like contemplation (*vajropamasamādhi*)[158] on the path of meditation. Obscuration is abandoned in such a way that it ceases to be acquired. Then, the result of an arhat with or without residual [impurity] is actualised.

SELF-CENTRED BUDDHAS

[70a.6-70b.6] The self-centred buddhas, on the other hand, in addition to [the moments] beginning with impermanence as they apply to the four truths, meditate on the twelve modes of dependent origination. While their progression on the path is generally identical to that of the pious attendants, [the difference between them is that] the pious attendants hold self with respect to the individual subject to be abandoned but the indivisible atomic matter of objects to continue in ultimate reality. The self-centred buddhas, however, hold all these objects to be fallacious and non-existent in ultimate reality apart from mere mental phenomena. And they are partially identical to the Mind Only (*Cittamātra*)[159] position in their opinion that the internal subjective consciousness genuinely does exist. As it is said in the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation* (Ch.2, v.8):

> Since they renounce the idea of objects
> And since they do not renounce the subject,
> One must know the path genuinely subsumed therein
> Is that of a rhinoceros-like[160] recipient.

Having meditated in this way on selflessness as far as the great path of provisions, every attainment from the feeling of warmth on the path of connection to the path of no-more-learning is actualised in a single sitting.

Thus, the two vehicles of the pious attendants and the self-centred buddhas are differentiated according to the degree of [their adherents'] acumen, and yet there is no great difference in their pattern of thought and realisation, for which reason they possess the same piṭaka.

3 *The Greater Vehicle*

The greater vehicle or the vehicle of the bodhisattvas has two divisions which are made also on the basis of its philosophical schools, namely, the Vijñānavāda and the Madhyamaka.

VIJÑĀNAVĀDA

[71a.1-72b.3] The Vijñānavādin merely confirms that objects are not perceived and indeed that substance is covert in accordance with the Sautrāntika refutation which, on analysis, did not find the temporal parts of consciousness and the spatial parts of atoms postulated by the Vaibhāṣika. For this reason the *Sūtra of the King of Contemplation* (*Samādhirājasūtra*, T 127) says:[161]

> O sons of the Conqueror, this threefold realm is only mind.

This philosophical school is therefore called the Vijñānavāda [proponents of consciousness] because it maintains all things to be merely the apparitional aspect of mind.

The Vijñānavādin also admits, in conformity with the transmission of the final turning of the doctrinal wheel, that all things are definitively ordered according to three [essential natures] of reality, namely, the imaginary, the dependent and the absolute.

Among these, the essential category of the imaginary is classified into the nominal imaginary and the imaginary of delimited characteristics. The former, since it indicates the conventional, includes the essential features of, or the particular names and symbols applied to, all things, which are exaggerated by the intellect despite being non-existent in reality. The latter is exemplified by the two [postulated] selves [of individuals and phenomena]. The essential nature of the dependent is also divided into both impure dependence and pure dependence. The former includes everything subsumed by the five basic

components which arouse corrupt states, in accordance with the quotation beginning:

> All things originate interdependently.
> They are compounded by the conditions of ignorance.

And continuing down to:

> Thus only this great mass of suffering has arisen.

The latter includes the buddha-bodies, pristine cognitions and fields of the utterly pure conquerors. The former are so called because they depend on extraneous conditions of deeds and propensities, and the latter because they originate from the condition of obscurationless power.

Then, the essential nature of the absolute is classified into both the unchanging and the incontrovertible. The former consists of the nucleus of inner radiance, the unchanging natural expression of the expanse of reality, or the truth which is the abiding nature. As the *Sūtra of the Bounteous Array* says:

> This nucleus is well defined
> As the ground-of-all.

Concerning the latter, when the end of the uncorrupted path has been reached, it is explained that this same nucleus is incontrovertibly actualised because the conflicting emotions which cover the genuine, resultant ground-of-all are entirely purified.

This philosophical system of Mind Only (*Cittamātra*) is classified into both those who hold sensa to be veridical (*Sākāravāda*) and those holding sensa to be false (*Nirākāravāda*). The former profess that, to the consciousness of the eye which apprehends the colour blue, the blue exists as blue, just as it appears. The latter are slightly superior to the former in holding that everything such as the appearance of blueness has no substantiality of either object or intellect, and that nothing material exists apart from consciousness, through which the propensities of ignorance are exaggerated and appearances then vitiated or enhanced by the ignorance of the intellect.

When further classified, [those holding sensa to be veridical] are differentiated according to the categories of objects and consciousness, so that there are those claiming perception has an equal number of objective and subjective factors, those claiming there is a diversity of sensa but not of consciousness, and those claiming that [sensa and consciousness] resemble the two halves of one egg.[162] Those holding sensa to be false, too, are divided between the maculate and the immaculate since they hold that the essence of mind is either vitiated or not by the stains of ignorant propensities. Among those claiming perception entails an equal number of objective and subjective factors, there are

adherents of the eight aggregates of consciousness, and adherents of the six aggregates of consciousness. And among those claiming there is diversity of sensa but not of consciousness, there are some who hold to the six aggregates of consciousness and others who hold to a single consciousness. Such classifications become limitless.

While this school is somewhat superior to the vehicles of the pious attendants and the self-centred buddhas, it does not correctly understand the nature of the absolute category which is the ultimate truth. This is because, although both those holding sensa to be veridical and those holding sensa to be false realise that the sensa of external objects are not true, they do admit the intrinsic awareness which is naturally radiant, non-dual perception to exist absolutely as the ultimate truth.[163]

MADHYAMAKA

Secondly, the Mādhyamika are divided into both adherents of the coarse, Outer Madhyamaka which claims there is no substantial existence, and the subtle, inner Great Madhyamaka of the definitive meaning. The former includes both the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka systems.

Outer Madhyamaka

Svātantrika-Madhyamaka

[72b.4-73b.4] The philosophical systems of the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika and Mind Only (*Cittamātra*) fall into the extreme of clinging to substantial existence, and so do not depart from conceptual elaboration, which is subjectively oriented. However, the Svātantrika system occupies the centre (*madhyama*) because therein all things are held to be of the nature of the middle way which does not fall into either of the two extremes.

Moreover, the tenet that all things exist in the perceptual aspect of the bewildered intellect of relative appearance, but are ultimately non-existent in the awareness of the unbewildered intellect is claimed by the Svātantrika-Mādhyamika.

When these [two truths] are classified, there is held to be both a correct relative (*tathyāsaṃvṛti*) in which appearances are causally effective, and an erroneous relative (*mithyāsaṃvṛti*) in which appearances are not causally effective. On the ultimate level, too, there is held to be an ultimate truth which is referred to by synonyms (*paryāyaparamārthasatya*) in order to cut through a single aspect of conceptual elaboration, such as the view that a shoot is not self-produced, and an ultimate truth without synonyms (*aparyāyaparamārthasatya*) which cuts through conceptual elaboration of the four extremes,

beginning with the view that a shoot is produced neither from itself, nor from another source and so on. Their characteristic nature is that the relative [truth] does not resist scrutiny inasmuch as it can be refuted by the scrutinising intellect, and the ultimate truth does resist scrutiny inasmuch as it cannot be refuted by the intellect.



Nāgārjuna

Accordingly, in order to realise that the relative or phenomenal appearances which cannot be denied are not [inherently] existent, one is made to perceive that they do not exist as veridical substances. The substances of external objects and of consciousness are held to be empty and only a pristine cognition undifferentiated into any of the exaggeration and depreciation of [views concerning] being and non-being is admitted. So it is that the *Short Commentary* (*Sphuṭārtha*, T 3793) begins:

> By the pristine cognition which is individual, intrinsic awareness...

The refutation of that which is to be refuted [i.e. the inherent existence of relative appearances] is also proven by reason and logical axioms, such as the Vajra Fragments (*rdo-rje'i gzegs-ma*) which scrutinises causes; the Refutation of Production from Entities or Non-Entities (*yod-med skye-'gog*) which scrutinises results; the Refutation of the Four

Limits of Production (*mu-bzhi skye-'gog*) which scutinises [both causes and results]; the Supreme Relativity (*rten-'brel chen-po*), arranged in syllogisms of implicitly affirmative negation (*ma-yin dgag*); and the Absence of the Singular and the Multiple (*gcig-dang du-bral*) arranged in syllogisms of explicit negation (*med-dgag*).[164]

As a result, illusion and so forth, which are the objects of proof [in this system], are not proven by means of implicitly affirmative negation which delimits their scope,[165] but they are adduced by means of explicit negation which excludes[166] through mere negation [the possibility of] genuine substantial existence. In this way, a hypothetically conceived unborn nature is claimed by the Svātantrika-Mādhyamika to be a characteristic of ultimate truth, unelaborate as the sky.

In addition, by proving that which does not ultimately exist to be relatively existent, this system continues the flaws of the eternalist-nihilist dichotomy. Their understanding of mere explicit negation, a hypothetically conceived freedom from conceptual elaboration, abides not in the definitive meaning, and even the intellectual reasoning which refutes conceptual elaboration does not transcend the details of conceptual elaboration.

Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka

[73b.5-77a.4.] Secondly, the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika demarcate the two truths by distinguishing between the bewildered intellect and the unbewildered intellect. The dichotomy between subjective consciousness and objective data never appears within the range of the meditative absorptions of sublime bodhisattvas and the all-knowing pristine cognition of the buddhas, just as dreams are not perceived when one is not asleep. As the master Nāgārjuna says:

> Just as, for example, on falling asleep,
> A man sees by the power of dreams
> His son, wife, mansion and lands,
> But sees them not upon awakening,
> So it is that when those who know relative
> appearance
> Open the eyes of intelligence,
> Part from the sleep of unknowing,
> And wake up, they no longer perceive it.

The subjective entry into pristine cognition is also called quiescence, and when all the conceptual elaborations of mind and mental events have been interrupted and obstructed, that which abides in the cessation of supreme quiescence, the expanse of reality free from all thoughts and expressions, is called the reality of unbewildered intelligence. As Candrakīrti has explained [in his *Introduction to the Madhyamaka*, Ch.11, v.13]:

Thus, because reality is uncreated,
Intellects too are uncreated.
Therefore the reality known within the contents
of these [intellects]
Is known conventionally, in the manner,
For example, of the mind
Which correctly cognises its object
On the emergence of objective sensa.



Āryadeva

And also [Ch. 11, v.16]:

When the dry brushwood of all that is knowable is
burnt,
The peace which results is the body of reality
of the conquerors.
At that time there is neither creation nor cessation,
For the cessation of mind has been actualised by that
body.

So it is that this state is called the realisation of ultimate truth, and the object of this [realisation] is the fundamental abiding nature, the naturally pure expanse of reality.

However, the bewildered intellect of false perception vitiates [this reality] through its propensities of common ignorance. In the manner of a person with a certain eye disease clinging to the truth of darkness and the vision of combed-out hairs, the sensa of the bewildering subject-object dichotomy which appear as the various realms of the six classes of beings along with their experiences of happiness and sorrow, high and low, and the different sensa which appear to sublime beings during the aftermath of meditation, that is, the world and its contents as they are generally known, are both assigned to the two aspects of relative appearance, according to whether they are the sensa of impaired or unimpaired faculties. As the *Introduction to Madhyamaka* (Ch.6, v.24) says:

> There are two kinds of false perception,
> One endowed with clear sense faculties,
> The other with impaired faculties.
> The perception of the impaired faculties
> Is deemed wrong observation by those of excellent
> faculties.

By virtue of this, all the things of saṃsāra, along with mind, the mental events and their objective sensations, are relative appearances. This also applies to the attainment of the [bodhisattva] levels associated with the impure forms[167] which are within the unimpeded range of mind and mental events and to other such apparitions among the six aggregates of consciousness. In short, all that is renounced or undertaken is amassed on the side of relative appearance and established as bewilderment. Relative appearances are also divided into the erroneous relative which appears to those of impaired faculties, and the correct relative which appears as the object of unimpaired faculties. The former includes the perception of two moons and dreams which are reputed to be untrue even when they appear within the range of mundane perception. The latter includes the perception of one moon which is reputed to be true when it appears within the range of mundane perception.

Now, that which diversely appears to the bewildered intellect, ostensibly true under the circumstances of the bewildered intellect which clings to duality, is never referred to in the meditative equipoise of sublime beings or in a buddha whose bewilderment has ceased and to whom bewildering appearances never appear, just as the vision of combed-out hairs experienced by one of impaired eyesight never appears to one of good eyesight. Accordingly it is said in the above [*Introduction to the Madhyamaka*, Ch.6, v.29]:

> Having investigated any erroneous objects
> Such as the vision of hairs in blindness,
> One should know the [relative truth] also to include
> Anything seen by anyone of pure vision.

And in the *Destruction of Bewilderment* by Nāgārjuna [*Madhyamakabhramaghāta* by Āryadeva, T 3850]:[168]

When genuine scholars have accordingly
Destroyed all the propensities of ignorance
By the sun of knowledge, without exception,
The objective mind and mental events are not seen.

In this way, the ultimate truth is characterised as the essence free from all conceptual elaborations of the subject-object dichotomy, in which all the stains of the mind and its mental events are quiescent in the expanse of reality, and which is not extraneously perceived because it is not discursive thought, or words, phrases and other such particular existents. Ultimate truth is also characterised as the abiding nature of reality which is beyond thought, free from all conceptual elaborations, and untouched by philosophical systems. As explained in the *Root Stanzas on the Madhyamaka entitled Discriminative Awareness* (cf. Ch.25, v.24):

It is characterised as quiescent
Without being extraneously perceived,
Unelaborated by conceptual elaborations,
And not different from non-conceptualisation.

To sum up: The expanse that is characterised as the profound, calm mind of the sublimest of buddhas free from all obscurations, the all-knowing pristine cognition which realises that [expanse], the essence of the pristine cognition of sublime bodhisattvas' meditative equipoise, and the sensations of higher insight which appear during the aftermath [of meditation] are all the ultimate truth.

Although the Prāsaṅgika also appraise things to have no independent existence through the five logical axioms, they do not, in the manner of the Svātantrika, alternately prove relative appearances to be false having once refuted them, or prove freedom from conceptual elaboration having once refuted conceptual elaboration with respect to ultimate reality and so forth. Rather, this unbewildered intention of the Prāsaṅgika dialectic escorts the inexpressible, inconceivable abiding reality, in which no things are differentiated according to theories of being, non-being, both being and non-being or neither being nor non-being. It has refuted all the philosophical systems which have been upheld. Accordingly, the *Refutation of Disputed Topics* (v.29) says:

If I were to possess some proposition,
I would at that time be at fault.
Since I am without propositions,
I am entirely without fault.

And in the *Four Hundred Verses* (*Catuḥśataka*, T 3846, Ch.16, v.25):

> One who adheres to no standpoint,
> Of being, non-being, both being and non-being,
> Or neither being nor non-being,
> Over a very long period cannot be censured.

And also in the *Jewel Lamp of the Madhyamaka* (*Madhyamakaratna-pradīpa*, T 3854):

> Substances which are postulated
> Do not even subtly exist.
> Since they have been uncreated from the beginning,
> They are as the son of a barren woman.

If it is objected that [in the Prāsaṅgika view] the very definitive structure of the two truths would become non-existent, it is the case that in the abiding nature of reality all dualistic doctrines such as the two truths are transcended. The Prāsaṅgika do label the apparitional world according to its mere exaggerated status, but they do not adhere to it in the manner of those philosophical systems which cling to it as [inherently] true. As it is said in the *Introduction to the Madhyamaka* (Ch.6 v.18ab):

> Just as you hold substances to have dependent
> existence,
> I have not admitted even relative existence.

And in the *Sūtra of the King of Contemplation*:

> As for the unwritten doctrines [of emptiness],
> Those which are heard and revealed
> Are indeed heard and revealed
> After the unchanging [reality] has been exaggerated.

Therefore, when the provision of pristine cognition has been accumulated through meditation which coalesces meditative equipoise in reality, or discriminative awareness, and the great compassion of skilful means, and when the provision of merit has been accumulated by perceiving all things as an apparition during the aftermath of meditation, finally the buddha-body of reality and the two bodies of form are obtained. As it is said in the *Jewel Garland* (*Ratnāvalī*, T 4158, Ch.3, v.12):

> This body of form of the buddhas
> Originated from the provision of merit.
> The body of reality, to be brief,
> Springs from the provision of kingly pristine
> cognition.

Thus the Madhyamaka of the ground refers to the two truths, the Madhyamaka of the path to the provisions, and the Madhyamaka of the result to the coalesence of the two buddha-bodies.

Great Madhyamaka

[77a.4-84a.4] Secondly, concerning the subtle, inner Great Madhyamaka of definitive meaning, it is stated in the *Jewel Lamp of the Madhyamaka* by the master Bhavya (*skal-ldan*):

> The Madhyamaka of the Prāsaṅgika and the Svātantrika is the coarse, Outer Madhyamaka. It should indeed be expressed by those who profess well-informed intelligence during debates with [extremist] Outsiders, during the composition of great treatises, and while establishing texts which concern supreme reasoning. However, when the subtle, inner Madhyamaka is experientially cultivated, one should meditate on the nature of Yogācāra-Madhyamaka.[169]



Asaṅga

In this way, two Madhyamaka are spoken of, one outer and coarse, the other inner and subtle.

Concerning the latter, the regent Ajita [Maitreya] has extensively analysed the meaningful intention of the topics of vast significance which revealed all things in terms of the three essential natures. This he did by means of discourses connected with the irreversible intention of the final turning of the doctrinal wheel and with the utter purity of the three spheres [of subject, object and their interaction].

Whereas in the aforementioned tradition of Mind Only, the dependent nature is the ground of emptiness and is explained to be the absolute, empty of imaginary objects of refutation, here it is the absolute reality (*chos-nyid yongs-grub*) that is claimed to be empty of imaginary objects of refutation. Accordingly, the components, psychophysical bases and activity fields, which are dependently conceived, are said to be a ground which is empty of the imaginary self and its properties; and the ground which is empty of that dependent ground of emptiness is absolute reality. This ground of emptiness never comes into existence because it is empty of the phenomena of saṃsāra, which are characterised as suddenly arisen and which are divided according to essential stains and substantial faults. However this ground is not empty of the amassed enlightened attributes of nirvāṇa which spontaneously abide from the beginning.

Accordingly, it is said in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.155):

> The seed which is empty of suddenly arisen
> phenomena
> Endowed with divisive characteristics
> Is not empty of the unsurpassed reality
> Endowed with indivisible characteristics.

And in the *Commentary* [*on the Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle, Mahāyānottaratantraśāstravyākhyā*, T 4025, p.76]:

> If one asks what is revealed by this passage, the reason for there being no basis of all-conflicting emotions requiring to be clarified in this naturally pure seed of the tathāgata is that it is naturally free from suddenly arisen stains. It contains nothing at all which can be established as a basis for purification, for its nature is reality, pure of divisive phenomena. So it is that the nucleus of the tathāgata is empty of divisions which may be removed and of the entire nest of conflicting emotions, but it is not empty of the inconceivable attributes of the buddhas which outnumber all the sands of the River Ganges and are non-divisive and inalienable.

Now it is also said that the imaginary implies that attributes are without

substantial existence, the dependent that creation is without substantial existence and the absolute that ultimate reality is without substantial existence. The first two of these [indicate] that the conceptual aspects of the subject-object dichotomy, which are suddenly arising fictions, are empty of their own essence, and the latter refers to emptiness as the naturally expressed, fundamental essence itself which has no substantiality. Since this [ultimate reality] is naturally pure, it abides, through its function of emptiness, as the enlightened attributes of the buddha-body of reality, and through its apparitional function as the ground on which the buddha-bodies, fields, celestial mansions and so forth arise. Through its function of awareness, it is spontaneously present from the beginning, free from causes and free from results, because it is the supporting ground of the ten powers, the four fearlessnesses and the like. This natural expression of the buddhas, which is called the nucleus of the sugata, does not abide as the seed of creation, destruction, transformation, change, increase or decrease, cause or condition, and so forth, and it is ever uncovered, without being an object of metaphor, thought or expression. It is said in the *Play of Mañjuśrī* (*Mañjuśrīvikrīḍitamahāyānasūtra*, T 96):

> Sister, although suddenly arising conflicting emotions do emerge in relation to the natural inner radiance, the natural inner radiance cannot be defiled by those suddenly arisen all-conflicting emotions.

And the regent Ajita has said [in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.1, v.5]:

> Uncompounded and spontaneously present,
> Unrealised through external conditions,
> Endowed with knowledge, love and power
> Is the buddhahood possessing the two benefits.

If one were otherwise to apprehend all things as being exclusively empty of their own essence, in the manner of the proponents of intrinsic emptiness (*rang-stong-pa*), then it is said that according to the same extreme [argument] the buddha-body of reality would also be empty of itself. The buddha-bodies, pristine cognitions, fields and so forth would be non-existent, the accumulation of the provisions and purification of obscurations, which depend upon these, would also be non-existent, and indeed the teachings through which the causal and resultant vehicles reveal all the means of purifying stains, whatever their basis or path, would be diminished. The ground of purification being non-existent, there would be no need to effect purification. Being empty of pristine cognition, there would be no work on behalf of others and no [enlightened] understanding. There being nothing existent, even with respect to the relative appearances of the impure dependent

nature, there would also be no enlightened attributes to transform these impurities into the pure dependent nature. There would be no self to become the ground of bondage and liberation, and there would be no doctrine to be realised by each one individually. Many such faults would persist and by nature give rise to the source of unbearable views. This can be known from quotations such as the following from the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with Kāśyapa from the Sublime Pagoda of Precious Jewels* (*Āryaratnakūṭakāśyapaparivartasūtra,* T 87):

> O Kāśyapa, whoever, referring to emptiness, relies upon emptiness deviates from this discourse of mine; theirs is said to be a great deviation. O Kāśyapa, it is better to abide in a view [which clings to] individual existence to the extent of Mount Sumeru, than with manifest egotism to adopt a view to emptiness. If you ask why, O Kāśyapa, I have explained that although that which arises from all views is emptiness, Kāśyapa, that which exclusively regards emptiness is untenable.

If one were, on the other hand, to object that this would not be emptiness, it is not the case, as the *Sublime Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* says:

> If you ask what is the emptiness which is the ultimate reality of all things, the great pristine cognition of the sublime beings, it is as follows. The attainment of the pristine cognition of the sublime beings, which is one's own intrinsic awareness, is empty of the propensities of all views and faults. This is called the emptiness which is the ultimate reality of all things, the great pristine cognition of sublime beings.

This ultimate reality that is empty of extraneous entities (*gzhan-stong*), is similarly found in sūtras belonging to the intermediate promulgation of the doctrinal wheel. It is said in the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Twenty-five Thousand Lines*:

> In this context, if you ask what is the emptiness of other substances, it applies whether the tathāgatas have appeared or not. As the abiding nature of reality, as reality itself, the expanse of reality, the faultlessness of reality, the nature of just what is, the unmistakable nature of just what is, the unalterable nature of just what is, and as the genuine goal, it abides as just what is. Therefore, this reality, which is empty of extraneous entities, is called the emptiness of other substances. Subhūti, this is the greater vehicle of the bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors.

And it is extensively mentioned in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, as cited above in the passage (Ch.1, v.155) which begins:

> The seed which is empty of suddenly arisen phenomena
> Endowed with divisive characteristics...

The nature of this expanse in the minds of sentient beings is like a treasure of precious gems within the earth, uncovered by stains in respect of its own essence, and yet it simultaneously assumes the suddenly arisen forms of saṃsāra, in the manner, for example, of water and ice. It says in the *Sūtra of the King of Contemplation*:

> Pure, clear and inwardly radiant,
> Undisturbed and uncompounded
> Is the nucleus of the sugata.
> It is the reality that abides from the beginning.

And in the master Nāgārjuna's *Eulogy to the Expanse of Reality* (v.23):

> The water that lies within the earth
> Remains immaculately pure.
> The pristine cognition within conflicting emotions, too,
> Remains similarly immaculate.

Such quotations maintain that the status of the nucleus [of the tathāgata] according to the definitive meaning is inconceivable.

This nucleus of the tathāgata, with respect to its own essence, is the same throughout saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, without good or evil. As it is said [in the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.9, v.37]:

> The nature of just what is, in all things, is undifferentiated.
> When purified, it is the nature of the tathāgata.
> Therefore all living beings possess that nucleus.

Such extensive quotations have an intention directed towards the absolute nature, which is unchanging reality. Therefore the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.51) says:

> Subsequently just as it was before
> Is the unchanging reality.

When beings are circumstantially classified in relation to the stains which suddenly arise, they fall into three categories. As it is explained in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.47):

> According to their respective order of being impure,
> Purifying that which is impure and being utterly pure,
> They are called sentient beings, bodhisattvas and tathāgatas.

And in the *Commentary* [*on the Supreme Continum of the Greater Vehicle*, p.40]:

> Therefore, those in the circumstance of being impure are called sentient beings, those in the circumstance of purifying that which is impure are called bodhisattvas and those in the circumstance of being utterly pure are called tathāgatas.

Similarly, everything appears according to distinctions such as the three vehicles, to differentiations based upon hierarchical classifications such as the ten levels and the five paths, and likewise to ethical hierarchies such as good and evil sentient beings, pious attendants and self-centred buddhas, and sublime bodhisattvas and buddhas. However, the natural inner radiance, which is the expanse of reality and the ultimate truth, pervades everything without [distinctions between] good and evil or decrease and increase, just as, for example, vases appear to be distinguished according to their quality, there being clay vases, wooden vases, vases of precious gems and so on, while the space within these vases is identical in that it is without qualities. Accordingly, the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, vv.49-50) says:

> Just as space is omnipresent,
> Having a thoughtless nature,
> So the natural expression of mind,
> The immaculate expanse, is all-pervasive.
> Its general characteristic pervades the limits
> Of negative and positive attributes,
> In the manner of the space
> Within inferior, mediocre and superior material forms.

If one then asks what exactly the three circumstances just mentioned are, beings are separated between saṃsāra and nirvāṇa according to the distinction of whether they are liberated or not liberated from the stains that obscure the nucleus. As the same text says:

> One covered by the net of conflicting emotions
> Is truly called a sentient being.
> On becoming free from conflicting emotions
> One is called a buddha.

Regarding this threefold circumstance, ordinary persons who are obscured by the great darkness of obscuration have nothing but a portion of enlightened attributes. By contrast, the arhats among the pious attendants and self-centred buddhas are more sublime than them in enlightened attributes since they have gradually reduced the stains covering the nucleus by the greater or lesser potency of the antidotes which have power to remove them. Then, the bodhisattvas appear to be even more sublime, having attained the levels, and surpassed those

who have not renounced all aspects of ignorance. Beyond that, the buddhas free from all obscurations appear yet more sublime.

Therefore, this ultimate truth which is the expanse [of reality] is not qualitatively perceived according to its abiding nature by the three lower kinds of sublime being, namely, the pious attendants, self-centred buddhas and bodhisattvas. It is not manifestly perceived by one who abides on the paths of provision and connection except as a mere volition of the scrutinising intellect. Again, although it is partially perceived on the paths of insight and meditation, the expanse cannot be perfectly perceived through these paths, apart from a mere proportion of its enlightened attributes, just as a small child does not perceive the all-encompassing sun apart from the mere glimpse of its rays through an aperture.

As has previously been cited [from the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.2, v.68]:

> Because it is not an object of speech,
> Is subsumed by ultimate reality,
> Is not within reason's domain,
> Is beyond exemplification,
> Is unsurpassed and is subsumed neither by existence
> nor quiescence,
> The objective range of the Conqueror is inconceivable
> Even to sublime beings.

It is on the buddha level that the natural expression [of reality] is directly and perfectly perceived. As explained in the *Commentary on the Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (p.77):

> Just as the sun in the sky appears
> Through an aperture in the clouds,
> In this situation you are not fully perceived
> Even by sublime beings endowed with pure eyes of
> Intelligence; for their intelligence is partial.
> However, Transcendent Lord, you who are the pure
> body of reality,
> Pervading the spacious expanse of limitless knowledge
> Are totally perceived by those whose intelligence is
> limitless.

Would it then be, one might object, that sentient beings become buddhas who have accumulated the two provisions and renounced the two obscurations by means of this naturally radiant expanse, which is effortlessly present in the nature of sentient beings? That is not so, because there are two kinds of renunciation, one that is naturally pure and the other that becomes free from the suddenly arisen stains. The former is the reality which, in respect of its own essence, abides without

changing in the fundamental nature of great primordial purity. It is said in the *Sūtra of the Adornment of Pristine Cognition's Appearance which Penetrates the Scope of All Buddhas* (*Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatāra-jñānālokālaṃkārasūtra*, T 100):

> Mañjuśrī, since the mind is naturally radiant, it is naturally undefiled by all-conflicting emotions, and is only [provisionally] defiled by all the subsidiary conflicting emotions which suddenly arise. That which is naturally radiant is the very absence of all-conflicting emotions. For one who is without all-conflicting emotions, there is no antidote through which all-conflicting emotions should be renounced.

And in the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Twenty-five Thousand Lines*:

> "Kauśika, what do you think of this? Are sentient beings created or do they expire?" He replied, "Venerable Subhūti, that is not the case. If you ask why, it is because sentient beings are pure from the beginning."

And also in the same text:

> Since form is naturally radiant, it is pure without all-conflicting emotions. Since feeling, perception, habitual tendencies and consciousness are naturally radiant, they are pure without all-conflicting emotions. Since all manifestations up to omniscience are naturally radiant, they are pure and without all-conflicting emotions.

According to such extensive quotations, natural renunciation is that which transcends the phenomena of consciousness and is a genuine liberation from all obscurations. It is complete from the beginning in ultimate truth because absolute reality is naturally pure.

The second kind of renunciation is the removal of the suddenly arising obscurations by an appropriate antidote. Although, as previously explained, the unactualised enlightened attributes which exist in the ground unrefined by the path are present in the situation of sentient beings, no defect is thereby introduced to this philosophical system because it is not claimed that sentient beings are buddhas free from all obscurations.

In the same way, there are also two kinds of realisation, namely, the naturally present pristine cognition realised through the intrinsic awareness of primordial reality, and the dependently produced pristine cognition realised through the power of meditating on the path. The former is characterised as supramundane, being the naturally present pristine cognition or discernment through individual intuitive awareness which

realises the ultimate reality. Thus [the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī*, v.155ab] says:

> It is awareness of itself, awareness of others,
> And awareness of all.
> It is the all-knowing sacred total awareness.

The two fundamental kinds of renunciation and realisation are complete in their own essence, which is the abiding nature of ultimate reality. As the venerable Maitreya [in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.1, v.154][170] says:

> Therein there is nothing to be clarified
> And nothing to be minutely established.
> Genuinely regarding that genuine reality,
> Genuinely perceiving it, one will be free.

The second kind of realisation is that pattern of realisation which is expanded by the power of meditating on the path. It is called the absolute which is incontrovertible because enlightened attributes of obscurationless power are actualised once the two provisions of pristine cognition have been accumulated through meditative equipoise and merit during the aftermath. As the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle Vehicle* (Ch.9, v.22abd) says:

> Though there is no distinction
> Between the former and the latter,
> It is the nature of just what is,
> Untainted by all obscurations,
> That is held to be the buddha.

4 *The Superiority of Great Madhyamaka to Mind Only*

[84a.4-92a.6] This system, according to which the relative is empty of its own essence and the ultimate empty of other entities, is variously revealed in both the intermediate and final promulgations. However, in particular, the presence of profound, radiant and non-dual pristine cognition, the nucleus of the sugata, as the ground of emptiness is extensively taught in the piṭaka of the final transmitted precepts, and in those which speak of all things as merely apparitional aspects of mind.

Derived from these [precepts], certain masters of the past have been obliged to admit that the mind is ultimately real and thereby originated the school of the Vijñānavāda [proponents of consciousness], which is one of those known at the present day as the four philosophical systems. While not reaching the genuine intention, that mind described as the mind of which all things are merely apparitional aspects partakes of two circumstances, one under which its intention is directed to the consciousness of the ground-of-all, and the other under which its intention is directed to the absolute reality (*chos-nyid yongs-grub*).

When the former is intended, it is said not to be the ultimate truth because it is impermanent, the bewildered subject and object being relative appearances. For example, the *Sūtra of the Adornment of Pristine Cognition's Appearance which Penetrates the Scope of All Buddhas* says:

> Śāradvatīputra, that which is called mind includes the consciousness of mind and intellect, the mental body, the faculty of the intellect and the base of the intellect. This is what is called the mind. If you ask how emptiness relates with it, Śāradvatīputra, the mind is empty of the mind. In it there is no actor. If there were some actor, then its actions would be experienced as such by others. The mind is not manifestly conditioned even by the mind.

Though it is taught that all things are merely apparitional aspects of mind, there is no occasion so to speak in connection with the ultimate truth, for the pristine cognition transcending mind, intellect and all

aspects of consciousness is revealed in the ultimate truth. Accordingly, it is said in the *Sublime Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā*:

> One who has become without mind, intellect, the consciousness of the intellect, conceptualising thoughts and perception, will become receptive to the uncreated doctrine. O Mahāmati, since the doctrine which is apparitionless and divorced from conceptualising thoughts is revealed, this ultimate reality is without order or orderly intervals.



Maitreya

And also [Ch.3, vv.40-1]:

> Having renounced the mind and intellect,
> Consciousness, perception and thoughts,
> The pious attendants who have obtained the
>   conceptualising doctrine
> Become the sons of the Conqueror.
> Through the distinctions of [buddha-]field
>   and [bodhisattvas'] receptiveness,
> [They gain] the virtuous pristine cognition of the Tathāgata.

There are, in addition, proponents of the Mind Only philosophical system who hold that consciousness is not transcended in the ultimate truth. But this is simply a subjective perception of saṃsāra, unable to sublimate the world. The ultimate truth is characterised as the uncorrupted expanse, and as the obscurationless pristine cognition which realises it, namely, the supramundane, individual, intuitive awareness of the sublime beings.

The distinction between these two [views] has been extensively taught in passages such as the following from that [same] sūtra of the greater vehicle [*Descent to Laṅkā*, p.64]:

> In this context, Mahāmati, pristine cognition is of three kinds: mundane, supramundane and most supramundane. Of these, that which having been created is destroyed is consciousness; and that which is neither created nor destroyed is pristine cognition. Moreover, Mahāmati, that which falls into the dichotomy of being symbolic or non-symbolic, that which falls into the dichotomy of being and non-being, and that which is created from causes of diverse character, is consciousness; whereas that which is characterised as utterly transcending the dichotomy of symbolic and non-symbolic is pristine cognition. And yet again Mahāmati, that which is characterised as accumulating them is consciousness, and that which is characterised as diminishing them is pristine cognition.
>
> Now these three kinds [of pristine cognition respectively] generate the realisation of individual and general characteristics, the realisation of that which is created and destroyed and the realisation of that which is neither created nor ceases. The mundane pristine cognition is that of the extremists who manifestly cling to theses of being or non-being and of all ordinary childish persons. The supramundane pristine cognition is that of all pious attendants and self-centred buddhas who openly cling to thoughts which fall into individual and general characteristics. The most supramundane pristine cognition is the analytical insight of the buddhas and bodhisattvas into apparitionless reality. It is seen to be without creation or cessation, for they comprehend the selfless level of the Tathāgata who is free from theses concerning being and non-being.
>
> Furthermore, Mahāmati, that which is characterised as unattached is pristine cognition, and that which is characteristically attached to various objects is consciousness. And again, Mahāmati, that which is characterised as being produced from the triple combination [of subject, object and

their interaction][171] is consciousness and that characterised as the essential nature which is not so produced is pristine cognition. Then again, Mahāmati, that which is characterised as not to be attained is pristine cognition, since each one's own sublime pristine cognition does not emerge as a perceptual object of realisation, [but is present] in the manner of the moon's reflection in water. On this it must be said [Ch.3, vv.38-9]:

The mind accrues deeds and so forth,
But pristine cognition breaks them down;
By discriminative awareness, too, the apparitionless
Reality and powers are well obtained.
It is the mind which objectifies.

And similarly it is said in the *Sublime Sūtra of Clouds of Precious Jewels* (*Āryaratnameghasūtra*, T 231):

This doctrine genuinely transcends all written and spoken words. It genuinely transcends the entire range of expressions. It genuinely transcends all verbalisation. It is free from all conceptual elaboration and free from all that is accepted or rejected. It is free from all opening and closing, and free from all sophistry. It is not to be analysed and is not within the range of sophistry. It genuinely transcends the range of sophistry. It is non-symbolic, free from symbolism and genuinely transcends the range of symbolism. It genuinely transcends the range of the childish. It genuinely transcends the range of all demons, and genuinely transcends the range of all conflicting emotions. It genuinely transcends the range of consciousness. It does, however, lie within the range of the indeterminate, dynamic, quiescent and sublime pristine cognition. The individual, intrinsic awareness of these attributes is a topic which is taintless, uncovered, pure, bountiful, supreme, sacred, perfect, permanent, firm, enduring and imperishable. Whether the tathāgatas have appeared or not, this expanse of reality is exclusively present.

The inconceivability of the ultimate, sublime pristine cognition, extensively revealed by such quotations, does not lie within the path [followed] by the proponents of the Mind Only system. It is admitted that this naturally radiant, intuitive awareness, the perception free from the subject-object dichotomy, is itself the true basis of buddhahood, and it is held that the subject is dependently real. It is therefore difficult for anyone holding consciousness to exist substantially in ultimate reality to understand literally the selflessness of phenomena. In the same vein the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.10, vv.359 and 358) also says:

Being mind only, it is apparitionless.
Being apparitionless, it is uncreated.
These middle paths
Have been explained by myself, and others too.
Realising that there is only mind,
External substances are clarified.
By reversing the pattern of conceptualising thought,
That path becomes the middle one.

So it is that this intention of the final transmitted precepts, abiding in the Great Madhyamaka of definitive meaning, is clearly revealed in the commentaries of great bodhisattvas[172] and in the compositions of the two promulgators who were masters of the greater vehicle [Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga] along with their followers. Although certain masters may well have developed other systems and tenets elsewhere out of necessity, it is difficult to estimate whether they are ordinary or sublime beings. There may well be occasion to speak in the manner [of these masters] owing to various basic intentions once one has reached the level of the sublime ones, but childish persons like ourselves should understand the importance of not accumulating evil deeds which renounce the doctrine, having clung to a single extreme [view].

If this system [of Great Madhyamaka] were also to be described as Mind Only because the three essential natures are taught therein, then the three essential natures are extensively revealed, too, in the intermediate transmitted precepts such as the *Intermediate Mother*:

> Maitreya, regard any imaginary form as not substantially existent. One might regard any conceptualised form as substantially existent because thoughts exist substantially, but do not confer independent status upon it. Then you should regard the very form of reality as being disclosed by ultimate reality, for it is neither substantially existent nor not substantially existent.

And again in the *Epitome of the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Eight Thousand Lines* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāpiṇḍārtha*, T 3809, vv.27-9):

The transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness
Genuinely depends on three teachings:
The imaginary, dependent and absolute alone.
By negative expressions and the like
All that is imaginary is refuted.
By apparition and other such similes
The dependent is correctly revealed.
Through the fourfold purification[173]
The absolute is well known.

Other than the transcendental perfection
Of discriminative awareness,
The buddhas have no teaching.

Similarly, in the master Nāgamitra's *Introduction to the Three Bodies* (*Kāyatrayāvatāramukha*, T 3890), the three essential natures are also summarised as the causal basis for the attainment of the three buddha-bodies, and in the *Commentary* [*on the Introduction to the Three Bodies, Kāyatrayavṛtti*, T 3891] composed by the proponent of the Great Madhyamaka, Jñānacandra, the same point is explained. Despite all the definitive structures of the three essential natures which have been set forth in all such texts of Great Madhyamaka, those who propound that they belong not to the Madhyamaka tradition but just to that of Mind Only have not even seen these relevant texts. As the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.10, vv.256-7) says:

One who relies on Mind Only,
Does not discern external objects.
Relying on the apparitionless,
Mind Only should be transcended.
Relying on the genuine object of reference,
The apparitionless should be transcended.
A yogin who abides in the apparitionless
Does not perceive the greater vehicle.

Accordingly, after Mind Only has been provisionally taught and then genuinely transcended, the apparitionless Madhyamaka is taught; and when that too has been transcended, the apparitional Madhyamaka is revealed. If that is not reached, it is said that the profound meaning of the greater vehicle is not perceived. It is, in general, erroneous to describe everything expressed by the word *mind* as the Mind Only doctrine; for there are occasions when the abiding nature free from all extremes, [known] inclusively as the nature of just what is, the genuine goal, the natural nirvāṇa, the expanse of reality, the mind of inner radiance, and the intellect of Samantabhadra, is indicated by the word *mind*. The *Long Mother* says:

Subhūti, that mind is not the mind.
The nature of that mind is inner radiance.

One should not therefore mistake that which is spoken of as mind-as-such, the inner radiance transcending the mind of saṃsāra and its mental events, for the Mind Only system which does not transcend consciousness. The latter is characterised in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.3, v.32 and Ch.10, v.486) as follows:

Connected with propensities of conceptualising thought,
The diversity which arises from the mind

And appears externally to mankind,
Is the mundane Mind Only [view].

There is indeed a distinction between the mundane and the supramundane Mind Only which is identical in meaning to the distinction between consciousness and pristine cognition, as previously explained. Similarly, those terms revealed in the most profound [sūtras] of the greater vehicle which are synonyms of mind should be likewise known. It would indeed be a grave error to equate the tenets of mundane Mind Only with the Great Sage's buddha-body of reality and the mass of its inseparable enlightened attributes, exceeding all the sands of the River Ganges, which are inclusively known as the uncorrupted expanse, the inconceivable expanse, ultimate virtue, unchanging and firm reality, truth in the ultimate abiding nature of reality, the primordially liberated buddha-body, freedom from all conceptual elaborations of the four extremes, and renunciation of the two concepts of selfhood. These are spontaneously present, utterly transcending the phenomena of consciousness.

In general, those whose intelligence is authoritative, without falling into prejudice, do not differentiate between the two modes of emptiness [*rang-stong* and *gzhan-stong*] when abiding in the Madhyamaka [view], which is the summit of the four philosophical systems dependent on different traditions of promulgation which have been precisely enumerated. This is clearly understood through the respective treatises of the two great masters, Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, whom the Conqueror had prophetically declared would comment on the intention of the definitive meaning; and in conformity with them, it has been similarly explained by the all-knowing dialectician Ratnākaraśānti, the venerable Bhavya, the Guru of Suvarṇadvīpa,[174] the lord Atiśa and others. Even the master Haribhadra gives confirmation of it because, when explaining the intention of the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation* [in his *Mirror Commentary*, T 3791], he resolves that this non-dual pristine cognition alone is the genuinely existing essence. He then asserts this resolution to be made through the sequence of [discriminative awareness] produced by reflection, or through the yoga produced by the meditation of a yogin on the third level.[175] And he additionally confirms this by explaining the recognition of just what is to be pristine cognition, and by explaining, in his commentary on the essential buddha-body, that the remaining three buddha-bodies, through which it abides, are reality.

In this way, the emptiness directly revealed through the intermediate promulgation is claimed to have the definitive meaning of outright explicit negation in order that it might cut through the egotism that is co-emergent with intellect in corporeal beings; as well as through the view of self, which is newly postulated by the philosophical systems of the eternalistic extremists; and through the subjective, conceptual elabora-

tions of those of our own [Buddhist] philosophical systems which propound substantial existence.[176] Since [this intermediate promulgation] teaches that one meditates on emptiness when meditating on nothing at all, and realises just what is when nothing at all is perceived, that [reality] and its significance are indeed perceived. The view of this [promulgation] is therefore in the range of understanding or proper realisation of selflessness.

It is difficult to destroy attachment to superficial characteristics (*mtshan-'dzin*).[177] However, in order for the discriminative awareness born of study and thought to refute it, the Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika reasoning which cuts through conceptual elaboration is sharp. But when the experiences of meditation are established, it is this tradition of the Great Madhyamaka, as taught in the third promulgation, which is supremely profound and vast. This naturally present pristine cognition, the ultimate truth of the naturally pure expanse, is the original abiding nature of all things, and it is the pristine cognition to be experienced by individual intuitive awareness. As it is said in Rāhula's *Praise of the Mother* [*yum-la bstod-pa*, T 1127, attributed to Nāgārjuna]:

> Homage to the Mother of the conquerors of the three
> times,
> Who is the ineffable, unthinkable, inexpressible
> Transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness,
> Essential nature uncreated and unceasing as the sky,
> Within range of the individual intuitive awareness
> That is pristine cognition.

And [in the *Sūtra of Extensive Play*, Ch.25, v.1]:

> I have found a nectar-like doctrine
> Profound, calm, unelaborate, radiant and uncompounded.

By such quotations, the inconceivable pristine cognition has been illustrated, and through the vision of its nature the ultimate truth is perceived. It is wrong to refer to the mere emptiness, which is nothing at all, as the ultimate truth.

Thus, absolute reality is the pristine cognition of the non-dual nature of just what is. It is indicated by the words buddha-body of reality or essential buddha-body which genuinely transcends the phenomena of consciousness. Yet, also comprised within this doctrine, which is misrepresented as the philosophical system known as the Mind Only, are: the definitive order of the three continua as taught in the way of secret mantra;[178] the definitive order of the ground, path and result of purification and so forth which are adhered to by followers of the greater vehicle in both its causal and resultant aspects, and which include [the terminology] of deities, mantras, embodiments of indestructible reality, supreme bliss, emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects, the im-

perishable seminal point which is the fundamental support of body, speech and mind; and also the uncommon definitive order of the ground, path and result.

One should know that the intention of the final promulgation, even though not within the path upheld by the proponents of intrinsic emptiness (*rang-stong-pa*), is without contradiction by examining, one by one, the commentaries of the great lords of the tenth level and the teachings belonging to the tantrapiṭaka of the way of secret mantra.

Therefore, while the intention of the final transmitted precepts is not the same as that of the mundane Mind Only system in any of its forms, the purposes of the lower phases of the vehicle are gradually gathered within the higher, so that [Mind Only and the like] are not contradictory apart from their vindication of an extreme position. Indeed, one must truly comprehend that the great distinction of the higher over the lower phases is a feature of the precious teaching of the sublime Sugata. Otherwise, after one had been given teaching on suffering, selflessness, impurity and impermanence according to the first promulgation and everything had been established as emptiness according to the intermediate transmitted precepts, if one were then to grasp literally the meaningful intention revealed according to the final transmitted precepts concerning bliss, purity, permanence and true self,[179] without knowing how to accept them with an attitude confident in the four kinds of reliance, one would engage in conceptualising thoughts which would confuse those who require training and wrongly scrutinise the teaching.

With an intention directed toward this, the *Commentary on the Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (p.74) says accordingly:

> To sum up, there are four kinds of individuals who do not possess the eye which perceives the nucleus of the tathāgata. If you ask who these four are, they are as follows: ordinary persons, pious attendants, self-centred buddhas and bodhisattvas who have newly entered the vehicle. As it has been said,[180] "O Transcendent Lord, this nucleus of the tathāgata is not within the range of those who fall into views concerning worldly existence, who openly delight in deception and whose minds waver towards emptiness."

This same point can also be proven thoroughly from all the transmitted precepts and treatises, but here one will suffice.

5 *The Provisional and Definitive Meaning of the Transmitted Precepts*

[92a.6-95b.6] When these teachings are allocated between the provisional meaning (*drang-don*) and the definitive meaning (*nges-don*), the three successive promulgations of the doctrinal wheel have the same common purpose, that is, to purify the stains covering the single nucleus of the tathāgata. They differ only in the greatness of their means which respectively purify the gross, subtle and very subtle stains that suddenly arise to obscure it. Thus, by teachings such as impermanence, the first promulgation arouses the mind from saṃsāra and causes it to approach nirvāṇa. In the second, the three approaches to liberation become an antidote to attachment to superficial characteristics, which include the mundane view of self; and the third intends that the extensive way of the sugatas be comprehended through the topics of that irreversible promulgation. This is extensively mentioned in passages such as the following from the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with King Dhāraṇīśvara* (*Dhāraṇīśvaraparipṛcchāsūtra*, T 147):

> Son of the enlightened family, it is in the same way as, for example, a skilled jeweller, who knows well how gems are refined, takes an impure stone from a species of precious gemstones and, after wetting it in dirty salt water, has it cleaned with goats' hair, and similarly after then wetting it in a beverage has it cleaned with a woollen cloth, and afterwards, in the very same way, wets it in a herbal solution and has it cleaned with fine clean linen; when it is well refined, the stainless gem is said to be "a great gemstone of the species beryl". Likewise, when a sentient being has first been induced to enter the Vinaya by the disturbing topics such as suffering and impermanence, and has then been made to realise the way of the tathāgatas by means of the three approaches to liberation, he subsequently is made to enter the objective range of the tathāgatas by the topics of the irreversible promulgation. To enter in this

> way and realise reality is to become an unsurpassed object of offering.

Thus, the three successive [promulgations] of transmitted precepts are classified into those of provisional meaning and those of definitive meaning. It says in the *Sūtra which Decisively Reveals the Intention* (*Sandhinirmocanasūtra*, T 106):

> The first promulgation of the doctrinal wheel by the Transcendent Lord, through which the four sublime truths were taught to those who enter the vehicle of the pious attendants, is surpassed, circumstantial, of provisional meaning and continues to be a basis for debate. Then, beginning with the Transcendent Lord's teaching that things have no essence, the second promulgation of the doctrinal wheel which teaches emptiness to those who correctly enter the greater vehicle is surpassed, circumstantial, of provisional meaning and continues to be a basis for debate. And then, beginning with the Transcendent Lord's teaching that things have no essence, the third promulgation of the wheel of the exceedingly wondrous and amazing doctrine, which is well distinguished, was revealed to those correctly entering the entire vehicle. That promulgation of the doctrinal wheel is unsurpassed, not circumstantial, of definitive meaning and does not become a basis for debate.

The allocation of provisional and definitive meaning is determined in ways such as these.

The intermediate promulgation has accordingly been allocated provisional meaning because in this turning of the doctrinal wheel the enlightened attributes of ultimate reality, such as the powers of the sugatas, are mostly revealed to be empty of their own essence (*rang-stong*), though they are not actually empty of their own essence, and because it does not teach that these attributes are well distinguished and without inherent contradiction. For such reasons it is said to be surpassed and so on. Definitive meaning, on the other hand, is allocated to the third promulgation because [therein] things of relative appearance are empty of their own essence and the ultimate reality is empty of extraneous entities, so that the nature of these [attributes] is qualitatively well distinguished and then revealed.

If there are those who say that definitive meaning is contained in the intermediate promulgation because it teaches the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness, but that the final promulgation has an intention of provisional meaning because it teaches the contrary, then they have not made an accurate examination. The attributes, such as uncreated and unceasing original quiescence, which are terms relating

to the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness, are most extensively revealed in the final promulgation and very profoundly revealed in the vehicle of indestructible reality.

However, there is no distinction in the essence of the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness, which is said to be distinguished as surpassed or unsurpassed depending on whether it is unclearly, clearly or very clearly revealed; for all the limitless [attributes] which are revealed by names such as the nucleus of the sugata, the expanse of reality, the mind of inner radiance, the naturally pure enlightened family, the genuine goal and the emptiness which is the essential nature devoid of substantiality, are identical in the naturally present, non-dual pristine cognition. This same [pristine cognition] is the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness. Therefore the master Dignāga [in his *Epitome of the Transcendental Perfection of Discrminative Awareness*, v.1] has said:

> Being the transcendental perfection of
> Discriminative awareness,
> This non-dual pristine cognition is the Tathāgata.
> Since it possesses the meaning
> Which is to be accomplished,
> This term applies to the central texts and path.[181]

The final transmitted precepts are conclusively proven to be the definitive meaning by all [scriptural] transmissions and [logical] reasoning. The Conqueror himself made the classification of provisional and definitive meaning, and moreover, in his own words said:

> A monk who is called Asaṅga
> Learned in the meaning of these treatises,
> Will differentiate in many categories
> The sūtras of provisional and definitive meaning.

The final [transmitted precepts] were accordingly allocated conclusive definitive meaning by this sublime [Asaṅga], whom the Conqueror had prophetically declared would differentiate the provisonal and definitive meanings.

There are, on the other hand, no authoritative passages declaring the intermediate [transmitted precepts] to have definitive meaning and the final [transmitted precepts] provisional meaning. Indeed, even if the proponents of the Vijñānavāda could have composed these final transmitted precepts as such, they would have mistaken the correct sequence revealed by the above simile of the refinement of gemstones and by other similes which refer to the medical treatment of ill-health and the study of letters.[182] There would be no need even for the definitive order made by the Conqueror himself and the sublime [Asaṅga], and there would be limitless other such faults. In addition, after first teaching

the provisional meaning and intermediately the definitive meaning to those who require training, the provisional meaning would then be repeated, so that one would be obliged to consider just what is the Buddha's intention *vis-à-vis* the teaching. It should be known that by proceeding in this way, there would be all kinds of unbearable evils, such as allocating the conclusive definitive meaning to philosophical systems which propound substantial existence, slandering the buddhas and great bodhisattvas as holders of a relative teaching, and abandoning this doctrine of the nucleus.

Furthermore, since the three vehicles have reference to the definitive meaning gathered in the final promulgation, the definitive meaning is conclusively proven. This is extensively mentioned in passages such as the following from the *Sūtra of the Irreversible Wheel* (*Avaivartacakra-sūtra*, T 240):

> Then, in reverence to the Transcendent Lord, the great bodhisattva Madhuranirghoṣa arose from his lotus posture and asked, "Transcendent Lord, what is the dimension of this world system of Patient Endurance?"
>
> He replied, "Son of the enlightened family, in the western direction of this world system there is a world system which outnumbers the sands of the River Ganges."
>
> Then he asked, "Transcendent Lord, in that world system which Transcendent Lord teaches the doctrine?"
>
> "He is called the Tathāgata Śākyamuni."
>
> "What manner of doctrine does he teach?"
>
> "He begins from the three vehicles."
>
> "What are the three vehicles?"
>
> "He reveals the doctrine beginning with the three vehicles, which are the vehicle of the pious attendants, the vehicle of the self-centred buddhas and the greater vehicle."
>
> "Do these conform to the doctrine revealed by the Transcendent Lord Buddha?"
>
> "Son of the enlightened family, the doctrines revealed by the [different] Transcendent Lord Buddhas do conform."
>
> "Just in what respect do the doctrines revealed by the Transcendent Lord Buddhas conform?"
>
> And he replied, "The doctrines revealed by the Transcendent Lord Buddhas conform to the irreversible promulgation."

6 *The Enlightened or Buddha Family*

[95b.6-106b.4] When this buddha family of the unsurpassed greater vehicle is classified, the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.149) says:

> One should know this enlightened family to be twofold:
> One similar to treasure and the other to a fruit tree.
> The [first] is that which naturally abides from the beginning,
> And the [second] is supreme through having been genuinely nurtured.

So there is both an enlightened family which naturally abides and an enlightened family which is nurtured. Concerning the former, the *Sūtra of Final Nirvāṇa* says:

> Son of the enlightened family, the reality of the mind which is natural, inner radiance, and naturally without essence is not differentiated by the naturally pure mind as it appears, decorated with the enlightened attributes of blazing major and minor marks, but it is differentiated by its nature of appearance and emptiness.[183]

Therefore, when this enlightened family is classified, it is threefold owing to its function of being the ground in which the culminating three buddha-bodies of the result arise. It consists of [firstly] the enlightened family in which reality naturally abides, which resembles an image made of precious gems in that it is the spontaneously present causal basis or ground separating (*bral-rgyu*) the essential buddha-body (*svābhāvikakāya*) or the uncorrupted expanse [from obscuration]; [secondly] the enlightened family in which the apparition of this reality naturally abides, which resembles a universal emperor in that it is the causal basis separating the buddha-body of perfect rapture from obscuration; and [thirdly] its apparitional reflection, which resembles a golden image in that it is the causal basis separating the emanational

body from obscuration. In actuality, however, the reality in which these three are of an inseparable essence is the great, naturally present, uncompounded buddha-body of reality, the pristine cognition of supreme sameness, coalescing appearance and emptiness without conceptual elaboration. Since it is the great, indivisible reality in which the ground differentiating appearance and emptiness has ceased, it is exemplified by the nature of the Tathāgata. As the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.146) says:

> Since it is supramundane, in the world
> There are no examples to which it may be referred.
> Therefore the nature of the Tathāgata
> Is revealed to be similar to the seed [of buddhahood].

When this enlightened family is actualised without obscuration, the conclusive truth of cessation according to the greater vehicle is the essential buddha-body endowed with two purities.

The [second] enlightened family, the one in which [reality] is nurtured, includes those who awaken to the [aforementioned] twofold family, in which the expanse, or reality, and pristine cognition, or [reality's] apparition, naturally abide, and those who consequently study to integrate the two provisions of skilful means and discriminative awareness. These two provisions in turn are subsumed by the provisional path of learning (*śaikṣamārga*)[184] which includes the generation of enlightened mind, in order that the suddenly arisen stains covering [the nucleus] might be removed. The *Sūtra of the Arrayed Bouquet* says:

> Sons of the Conqueror, this which is called the enlightened family is devoted to the expanse of reality. It is one in which, having seen the natural, inner radiance vast as the sky, studies are pursued in furtherance of the great provisions of merit and pristine cognition.

So the former enlightened family is the ground of separation from obscuration and the latter is the path which removes the stains covering [the nucleus]. It is said that though the truth of the path depends on the ground-of-all and is subsumed in the causal basis of separation from obscurations, it does bring about the basis of unchanging authentic liberation. This is because its function of attainment which effects the result of separation [from obscurations] depends on the enlightened family or the nucleus.

For anyone to know that this enlightened family, which naturally abides, does exist, it is inferred to exist through the signs [visible in those who] awaken to it, just as one, in general, infers fire from smoke. The signs that one has awakened to the natural enlightened family of the buddha-body of reality are indicated in the *Introduction to the Madhyamaka* (Ch.6, vv.4-5c):

One who, having heard about emptiness even as an
ordinary person,
Experiences within, sheer delight again and again,
And who, owing to this delight, is brought to tears,
And whose body-hair stands erect,
Has the seed of intelligence which attains to perfect
buddhahood.
That one is a vessel for this very instruction,
To whom the ultimate truth should be revealed.

The signs that one has awakened to the enlightened family of the buddha-body of form, which is the apparition of reality, are indicated in the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.3, v.5):

Even prior to practice,
Correct conduct with respect to compassion,
Volition, patience and virtue,
Is truly explained to be a sign of that family.

Then, the benefits which result when one awakens to that enlightened family are mentioned, too, in the same text (Ch.3, v.8):

Though a long time has been passed in evil existences,
Liberation will swiftly be attained;
There, too, less suffering will be experienced,
And being disillusioned, one will mature sentient beings.

As long as one has once awakened to this enlightened family, one will not be born in evil existences, and even if one is so born, one will be liberated in merely the time it takes to bounce a ball of yarn. There, too, suffering will diminish, and through strong disillusionment [with saṃsāra], one will indeed bring sentient beings to maturity. In this way it is said that when the Teacher himself [Śākyamuni] became the strongest of charioteers in the hells, he was instantly liberated by awakening to that enlightened family which embodies great compassion, and was born as a god in Trayatriṃśa.[185] He subsequently became the boy Bhāskara, the son of a potter, in Jambudvīpa and aspired to enlightenment in the presence of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni.[186] Similar things are said about the series of his [ordinary] lives in which he took birth as the daughter of a friend and so on.

If living beings were without this enlightened family, those who experience suffering would not even feel regret. It would be reasonable for some not to think that saṃsāra should be rejected and nirvāṇa acquired, and even the desire for liberation would not arise in their minds. However, untaught by anyone, some persons feel compassion when others experience suffering, and are disturbed by the experience of suffering. One should know such phenomena to be the virtuous

power of the seed of beginningless reality. It says in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, vv.40-1):

> Without the seed of buddhahood,
> One would not feel regret for suffering;
> One would have neither the desire,
> Nor the prayer, nor the aspiration for nirvāṇa.
> This perception of suffering as a negative
> And happiness as a positive attribute,
> In relation to existence and nirvāṇa,
> Is present owing to the existence of the enlightened family;
> For it is not found in those lacking that family.

Passages which speak of beings belonging to no family or to a cut-off family are rhetorical devices which indicate through negation the baseness in those who have not awakened to the enlightened family. Indeed, there are no living beings who do not belong to the enlightened family which naturally abides. The *Sūtra of the Nucleus of the Tathāgata* (*Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, T 258) says:

> Son of the enlightened family, this is the reality of all things. Whether the tathāgatas have appeared or not, these sentient beings always possess the nucleus of the tathāgata.

And in the *Sūtra of Queen Śrīmālā* (*Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādasūtra*, T 92):

> The nucleus of the sugata
> Completely pervades living beings.

Therefore, the mind is developed in the enlightened attitude of the greater vehicle consequent on awakening into the [first] enlightened family, which has two aspects and is the causal basis. Subsequently, the stains which obscure the buddha-body of reality are removed by experiencing, above all, the non-conceptualising pristine cognition during meditative equipoise; and the stains obscuring the two buddha-bodies of form are skilfully removed by conduct that is relevant to the two provisions with the assistance of illusion-like compassion during the aftermath [of that meditation].

Then, there is obtained the culminating result of this separation from obscuration (*bral-'bras*), the essential buddha-body. It is defined as an expanse encompassed by inconceivable, uncorrupted, enlightened attributes, or the ground in which the buddha-body of form that appears to others is reflected like the moon in the sky. It naturally manifests as pristine cognition itself, without being extraneously sought, and is endowed with the three bodies of the buddhas manifest in and of themselves. The *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.2, v.3) says:

That which is called natural inner radiance is as the sky.
It is unobscured by the dense clouds
Of suddenly arisen conflicting emotions
And ignorance of the knowable.
This buddhahood endowed with all enlightened
attributes of the taintless Buddha,
Constant, steadfast and eternal, is attained
Dependent on the pristine cognition which discerns
things non-conceptually.

And [Ch.2, vv.38-9]:

Without beginning, middle, or end and indivisible,
Neither two, nor three, taintless and non-
conceptualising,
That realisation, which is the natural expanse of
reality,
Is perceived by the yogin during meditative
equipoise.
Endowed with enlightened attributes that are
immeasurable,
That outnumber the sands of the Ganges, limitless
and without peer,
This taintless expanse of the Tathāgata
Has renounced the entire range of faults, along with
their propensities.

Arising from that [essential body], the two buddha-bodies of form have the same uncorrupted pristine cognition. They become naturally present through a co-emergent cause, consisting of the basis of the pure vessel of the beings requiring training, as well as the conditions of their former aspirations and their experience of the two provisions. The maturing result (*smin-'bras*) of these bodies of form is then established through their function of teaching in forms manifest to others who require training, in the manner, for example, of the moon reflected in water. As the above [*Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.2, vv.40-1] says:

With a buddha-body which manifests the diverse rays of the
true doctrine,
Persevering so that the liberation of living beings be
achieved,
Their deeds, like the king of wish-fulfilling gems,
Are without inherent existence despite their diverse forms.
All their forms which cause [beings]
To enter into, ripen and prophetically declare the path
by which the world is pacified

Also constantly abide therein,
Just as form occupies space.

And as Nāgārjuna [in the *Eulogy to the Expanse of Reality*, v.101] says:

Since within the taintless body of reality
An ocean of pristine cognition abides,
The benefit of sentient beings emerges therefrom
In the manner of diverse gemstones.

In short, as [Longcenpa has said] in the *Great Chariot* (*shing-rta chen-mo*):

> In this context, one should know that, among the three buddha-bodies, the body of reality, which is an expanse invisible to those requiring training outside the range of the Buddha alone, is present as subtle pristine cognition, the inner expanse that is unique and of a single savour. The two buddha-bodies of form endowed with pure enlightened activity, which are the pristine cognition that manifests to others, outwardly radiate through its blessing and the aspiration of those requiring training. They appear in the manner of the moon in the sky [body of perfect rapture] and the moon in water [body of emanation].

And in the *Treasury of Philosophical Systems*:

> Since the three buddha-bodies are primordially present as the twofold enlightened family, the apparitional aspect of the buddha level or [the enlightened family] of inner growth is the body of perfect rapture and its empty aspect or [the enlightened family] which naturally abides is the body of reality. From the indivisible blessing of these two, the emanational body gives teaching in form manifest to others who require training, and is exemplified as the reflection of a universal emperor (*cakravartin*) shining on a golden mountain.

One who, without knowing this, is attracted to the concept that a single uncompounded emptiness of explicit negation is the enlightened family which naturally abides, and that the enlightened family of inner growth is exclusively compounded and newly produced by the path, is found to interrupt the realisation which belongs to the paths of learning as a conclusive result and so to adhere to the cessation of the pious attendants' tradition, which resembles an expired butter lamp in that it establishes no order of buddha-body, pristine cognition and so forth. If one were to take this view, one would not even savour the fragrance of the truth of cessation according to the greater vehicle. In the ground, one would fall into the extreme of conceptual elaboration.

On the path, one would not require the two provisions of the greater vehicle. In the result, one would not distinguish between the nirvāṇa of the three vehicles; and as a conclusive result, one could not cross beyond the abyss of nihilism. The refuge of ultimate reality would never be found.

It was with an intention directed toward this mode [of the nucleus] that the all-knowing doctrinal master [Longcenpa] said in the *Precious Wish-fulfilling Treasury* (*yid-bzhin rin-po-che'i mdzod*):

> One who without knowing this mode [of the nucleus] determines emptiness verbally
> As free from extremes of being and non-being
> Harbours the view of the summit of existence,
> Ignorant of the causal basis of separation from obscuration.
> Since he is outside this teaching,
> He may as well cover himself with ashes,
> Like those who hold the mind to emerge from space.[187]

Such a wrong view is gathered within [the nihilism of] the Followers of Bṛhaspati [Bārhaspatya]. The *Dohā* also says:

> The Archer[188] says:
> "Those who hold the mind to emerge from space
> Never attain to liberation."

If one were to think that on the paths of learning one develops anew, by the two causal provisions, what was previously non-existent, then the body of reality, or essential body of the buddha, and the body of perfect rapture would be compounded and impermanent. If one were to hold this view, it is said one would harbour the immeasurable defects of looking upon the continuum [of enlightened mind] as an ephemeral compound; the suffering of change as something unrenounceable; the possession of the body of indestructible reality, which is pristine cognition vast as the sky, as non-existent; and the body of indestructible reality itself as impermanent. Because of such limitless faults, one would deviate from the meaning of the greater vehicle.

So, rather than merely differentiate the twofold enlightened family as being the apparitional and emptiness aspects of a single expanse, it is the flawless intention of the all-knowing doctrinal master [Longcenpa] to establish it to be this supreme essence or natural expression which is indivisible, uncorrupted and uncompounded. In the *Great Chariot* he says:

> There are nine similes which reveal as spontaneously present the enlightened attributes of the Buddha's body of form, deriving from the naturally radiant apparitional aspect of the taintless mind-as-such, the naturally pure essence, the mind in which the genuine pristine cognition of the Buddha ori-

> ginally abides. And the comparison of its emptiness aspect, the enlightened attributes of the body of reality, with the sky is explained in all the sūtras and tantras. However, these two are inseparable in the virtuous seed of beginningless reality. This [seed] firstly is called the enlightened family which naturally abides because it is unchanging, and secondly is called the enlightened family of inner growth because enlightened attributes are extensively manifest after the stains have been purified. Yet its root is inner radiance, the pristine cognition which is intuitive awareness.

Similarly, in the *Extensive Sūtra of the Commitments (dam-tshig mdo-rgyas)*, a teaching of the all-seeing Rongzompa, the naturally present pristine cognition in which the ground, path and result are inseparable, is said to be the mind or family of enlightenment:

> That which is imperishable like a vajra is the mind of Samantabhadra, unchanging like a vajra, because it naturally contains no distinction between [firstly] the enlightened mind of beginningless time [i.e. the ground], [secondly] the provisional mind which is the causal situation [of the path extending] from the development of enlightened mind to the attainment of the vajra-like contemplation, and [thirdly] the mind of the body of reality along with its actions which is the essence of the result, similar to the Wish-granting Tree and the precious Wish-fulfilling Gem.

These quotations serve to illustrate that all the paṇḍitas and accomplished masters of the Ancient Translation School, including the king of the doctrine Terdak Lingpa[189] and his brother, have affirmed the same system exclusively. This can be known in detail from the *Lecture Notes on the Nucleus of the Sugata* (*bde-gshegs snying-po'i stong-thun*), the *Lion's Roar in Affirmation of Extrinsic Emptiness* (*gzhan-stong khas-len seng-ge'i nga-ro*) and the *Proof of Mind in its Natural State* (*gnyug-sems sgrub-pa*) along with its branches, which are all teachings of the all-knowing Mipham Jampel Gyepa.[190]

The lord of living beings Atiśa,[191] too, has determined in conformity with them that the uncompounded expanse of reality, the coalescence of appearance and emptiness, which is empty of imaginary deeds and defilements, and inseparable from the uncorrupted enlightened attributes is the enlightened family [or the nucleus of the tathāgata]. In his *Song with a View to the Expanse of Reality* (*Dharmadhātudarśanagīti*, T 2314) he says:

> Just as the son of a pregnant woman is within her womb
> But is not perceived,
> So, covered by conflicting emotions,

The expanse of reality is also unperceived.
Since the expanse of reality is not a self,
It [resembles] neither woman nor man;
One should examine just how one clings subjectively
To that which is liberated from all objects.
When the mind is purified by all three actions,
Namely, [the meditations on] impurity, impermanence
  and suffering,
The sūtras which point out emptiness
Are accordingly spoken by the Conqueror.
Conflicting emotions are reversed by all these topics,
But this seed [of reality] is not diminished.

And also:

The natural expression of reality's expanse,
Like space is without cause or condition:
Without birth, old age, duration and destruction,
Without being compounded,
The inseparable attributes of the Buddha
And, similarly, the attainment of this enlightened family
Are not false, deceptive or harmful.
They are the original, natural quiescence.

Then, among the esoteric instructions of the ḍākinī entitled *Valid Cognition of the Transmitted Precepts* (*Ājñāsamyakpramāṇa*, T 2331) which were introduced from Akaniṣṭha by Tilopā,[192] it is said:

Just as a butter lamp within a vase
Does not appear outside,
But if the vase is broken,
The lamplight is visible thereafter,
So is one's own body like the vase
And inner radiance like the butter lamp:
When well broken by the guru's instruction,
The pristine cognition of the buddhas becomes radiant.

And in the *Ganges Great Seal* (*phyag-chen gaṅgā-ma*, T 2303) which Tilopā imparted to Nāropā:[193]

Just as, for example, the nature of space transcends
  colour and form,
And is uncovered and unchanged by positive and
  negative values,
So does the nucleus of one's own mind transcend
  colour and form,
And is uncovered by positive and negative doctrines
  of virtue and sin.

As the nucleus of the sun, for example, radiant and clear,
Is not obscured by the darkness of a thousand aeons,
So the inner radiance of the nucleus which is one's own
mind
Cannot be obscured by the saṃsāra of aeons.

Then, in the *Teaching Cycle of Lord Maitripā* (*mnga'-bdag mai-tri-pa'i gdams-skor*) there is the *Ten Verses on the Real* (*Tattvadaśaka*, T 2236) composed by master Advayavajra,[194] which says:

Since you desire to know, the nature of just what is
Is neither represented nor representationless;
Unadorned by the guru's speech,
Even the Madhyamaka is mediocre.

The great brahman [Saraha][195] in his *Song of Instruction Given to Lord Marpa*[196] (*mnga'-bdag mar-pa-la gdams-pa'i mgur*, DZ Vol. 5) has also said:

Emptiness and compassion are indivisible.
The uninterrupted mind in its natural state
Is the original purity of just what is:
Space is seen in union with space.

The venerable Milarepa[197] has also revealed this in general in *Illuminating the Substance of the Aural Lineage* (*snyan-brgyud dngos-po gsal-byed*, DZ Vol.5, pp.443-55) which he gave to Nyiwa Rincen [Gampopa]:[198]

In every corporeal being
This truth of the nucleus originally abides.
Through it sentient beings have the basis of buddhahood.
When one arrives at the result from the cause,
It is reached primordially, not just presently.

Then, particularly in his *Song of Indestructible Reality in Answer to Questions Posed in a Trilogy by the Goddess of Longevity, which is the Root of the Aural Lineage of Ngamdzong* (*ngams-rdzong snyan-brgyud rtsa-ba tshe-ring skor-gsum-gyi zhus-lan rdo-rje'i mgur*, *mgur-'bum*, Ch.29),[199] he differentiates between the two truths, which provisionally have synonyms, beginning as follows:

With reference to the ultimate truth,
Due to negation there is not even buddhahood...

And:

With reference to the relative truth,
The Sage has said everything exists,
Both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa.

He then conclusively evokes the expressive power of ultimate reality for which there are no synonyms as follows:

Since appearances in the form of existing substances
And reality which is non-existing emptiness
Are essentially inseparable and of a single savour,
There is not just intrinsic awareness or extrinsic
awareness,
But a vast coalescence of everything.

And finally, he literally reveals the way in which the taintless, sublime, pristine cognition is directly perceived in the following verses:

So, one skilled in realisation
Perceives not consciousness but pristine cognition,
Perceives not the apparition of reality, but reality itself,
And thence the force of compassion emerges.
The enlightened attributes of the buddhas,
Including power, fearlessness and retention,
Emerge in the manner of a precious gemstone.
They are the measure of my realisation as a yogin.

Zhang Rinpoche[200] in his *Culmination of the Supreme Path* (*lam-mchog mthar-thug*, DZ Vol.5, pp.744-77) has said:

The buddha-body of reality, or the nucleus
Which is the culmination of definitive meaning,
Is the essentially pure expanse of inner radiance.
Whether the conquerors of the three times appear or not,
Whether it is realised by the sublime assembly or not,
Whether it is spoken of by the sages or not,
Whether it is delivered by learned commentators or
not,
This reality which is pure unelaborate inner radiance,
Abides from the beginning, spontaneously present,
Without increase or decrease.
Though the skies have been ravaged over many
immeasurable aeons
By the conflagrations, whirlwinds and the like
Which create and destroy the world,
The sky is unharmed, without increase or decrease.
Similarly, the radiant sunlight obscured by clouds
Ostensibly varies in the intensity of its radiance
When the thick darkness and cloud mass dissolve,
And yet the nucleus of the sun neither increases nor
decreases.

This unchanging buddha-body of reality, which so abides,
Is nothing other than one's own mind.
The diversity of saṃsāra without exception arises from the mind.
When one's own mind is not realised,
The suffering of the world of saṃsāra and its contents increases
Through the confusion [caused] by erroneous, bewildered appearances.
When one's own mind is genuinely realised,
The limitless pristine cognition of nirvāṇa arises as supreme bliss.
Thus, everything without exception issues from one's own mind-as-such.
If one knows reality in relation to oneself,
One will know reality in relation to all sentient beings.
One who knows that knows all things including nirvāṇa.
One who knows all things completely transcends the three realms.
If that one thing is known, one becomes learned in all things.

The Lord of Conquerors, the venerable Karmapa [III], Rangjung Dorje,[201] has additionally given an extensive explanation of the classification of the enlightened family in accordance with the transmissions of the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* and the *Collection of the Greater Vehcle* in his autocommentary on the *Profound Inner Meaning* (*zab-mo nang-don*). Therein he says that the enlightened family of inner growth is not to be regarded as newly arising, as is the opinion of some. In such ways he clearly reveals [the family] to comprise both the expanse [of reality] and pristine cognition. That is, the expanse of reality is the enlightened family which naturally abides, and the pristine cognition, pure in respect of the eight aggregates [of consciousness], is the enlightened family of inner growth. Indeed, he proves both of these to be naturally pure in accord with the transmission of the *Analysis of the Middle and Extremes* (Ch.1, v.17) which he quotes as follows:

Just as water, gold and the sky are pure,
So are [these families] held to be pure.

The same point is also clearly revealed in his *Two Short Treatises* (*gzhung-chung gnyis*).

The venerable Karmapa VII [Chödrak Gyamtso][202] asserts, too, that the expanse or emptiness in which the sixty-four enlightened attributes are inseparable is the emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects. These and the statements made by the All-Knowing Situ [VIII, Dharmākara][203] and others are renowned among the Kagyüpa traditions.

Again, in the *Commentary on the Eulogy* [entitled *Taintless Gem Rosary*, i.e. *bstod-'grel*, SK Vol.5][204] which is his culminating personal statement, Sakya Paṇḍita first establishes the way in which the character of the mind is obscured by suddenly arisen stains despite the mind's naturally pure reality. He then establishes the ways in which the stains can be purified since they are suddenly arisen and buddhahood attained by their removal. At this point, he sets forth the intention of the *Collection of Madhyamaka Reasoning* (*Yuktikāya,* T 3824-8) that, with reference to reality, there is no transformation at this moment [of buddhahood], and the intention of the *Collection of Eulogies* (*Stavakāya*, T 1118-36) which is that, with reference to the apparitional mode of enlightened attributes, there is transformation [of consciousness into pristine cognition]. Then, after setting forth the viewpoints, one of which holds that these two [intentions] are essentially not contradictory and the other of which holds that there is no pristine cognition in buddhahood, he offers his personal statement, refuting the assertions that there is neither the pristine cognition nor the body of buddhahood, and says that these two [intentions] are inseparable.

Furthermore, in his *Answers to the Questions of Nyemo Gomchen* (*snyi-mo sgom-chen-gyi dris-lan*, SK Vol.5)[205] it is said by way of illustration:

> When the mind is realised to be empty, it cannot be estimated according to [the standards set in] the three piṭaka and the four tantrapiṭaka, for that is equivalent to the cessation of the pious attendants; but when it is realised to be coalescence, such an estimation can be made. In the exclusively empty aspect of mind, the Three Precious Jewels are incomplete. In the coalescence of awareness and emptiness, the seed [of buddhahood] is complete, and if the meaning of that coalescence is well realised, [buddhahood] is actualised completely.

He then states that:

> After freedom from conceptual elaboration has been established, the coalescence is experientially cultivated.

And also that:

> The view assumed during the causal phase is
> poisonous,
> The view assumed during the resultant phase is
> poisonless...

Regarding this passage, he claims that the former refers merely to freedom from conceptual elaboration, or the emptiness which is analytically appraised by study and thought. The latter, having no use for that, is identical in essence to the pristine cognition of the buddha level, which arises from the empowerment and the two stages [of creation and perfection] and results in the coalescence of bliss and emptiness, and of awareness and emptiness. Such statements are renowned among the glorious Sakyapa.

Again, in the *Three Emphases of the Path* (*lam-gyi gtso-bo rnam-gsum*, P 6087) of the great being Tsongkapa,[206] the expressive power of ultimate reality without synonyms, in which appearances and emptiness are coalesced, is brought into relief as follows:

> Whoever perceives the cause and result
> Of all things of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa,
> To be always infallible,
> And destroys all their referential bases,
> At that time enters the path pleasing to the buddhas.
> As long as one continues to differentiate
> Between the two understandings of
> Appearances which are infallibly interdependent
> And emptiness which is free from assertions,
> One will not yet realise the Sage's intention.
> But when [these understandings] are simultaneous,
> without alternation,
> And if, having merely seen interdependence to be
> infallible,
> True conviction has destroyed all postures of
> objective clinging,
> At that time, the scrutiny of the view is perfected.

Similar passages are found in the all-knowing Tölpo Sangye's[207] *Ocean of Definitive Meaning on Retreat Practice* (*ri-chos nges-don rgya-mtsho*), and in other works.

Despite the mere subtle distinctions provisionally asserted in these [various] philosophical systems, such as concern the degree to which appearances and emptiness are respectively emphasised, and the different delineations of the two truths, in actuality the secret activities[208] which are the intention of great sublime beings who perceive the truth of reality are of a common savour. They are inseparable like water and salt; for, within the space of the supreme pristine cognition, the conclusive ultimate reality which is without synonyms and free from the intellect, the two truths have a common savour. Therefore, [their systems] are not objects to be appraised by the childish intellects of inhibited perception.

The lord Atiśa has said:

> Since, in the manner of an ocean,
> Its depths and other shores are not found
> By words, examples and the intellect,
> It is the great, profound reality.

And also:

> Do not be critical of the doctrine;
> One should aspire to what one reveres.

Remembering this, as well as the points expressed in the *Short Tantra of Cakrasaṃvara* (*Tantrarājaśrīlaghusaṃvara*, T 368), the *Texts of Maitreya*, the *Jewel Garland*, and other sources, it is clearly of extreme importance that one personally preserve this [understanding].

7 *The Two Truths according to Great Madhyamaka*

[106b.4-116b.1] Nothing that is explained in accordance with the lexical, general, concealed or conclusive [exegetical styles, see pp. 292-3] is erroneous. Yet when the crucial meaning is briefly expressed: In the situation of the coarse, Outer Madhyamaka of the Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika, one establishes, in accord with the provisional emphasis revealed in the intermediate promulgation, that there is no contradiction between all things being without independent existence and the modes of relative appearance, which are dependently originated; and then one is united in the conclusive ultimate reality for which there is no synonym. During the subtle, inner Madhyamaka, however, the only distinction made over and above this same basic structure is that the objective expanse of reality, established by the view revealed and realised in the final promulgation, is not merely the bare emptiness of one-sided explicit negation, but is the naturally present, uncorrupted, uncompounded [abiding nature] which is not differentiated from the appearances adorned by the buddha-body and pristine cognition. During meditative absorption, when balanced in the expanse of reality without conditions to be clarified or established, both modes of Madhyamaka make no distinction regarding the cessation of all elaborate signs of the subject-object dichotomy therein. However, during the aftermath of meditative absorption, they are distinguished between the former [Outer Madhyamaka] which classifies the two truths, allocating emptiness to the ultimate and appearances to the relative, and the latter [Great Madhyamaka] which determines the two truths to be [respectively] the harmony and disharmony of the abiding and apparitional natures (*gnas-snang mthun mi-mthun*).

None the less, since the reality of the latter cannot be established unless the former has been established, the conclusive ultimate reality without synonyms is to be established at the outset in accordance with the Prāsaṅgika intention of the *Collection of Madhyamaka Reasoning*. This reality lies within the range of the coalescent, sublime, pristine cognition, and in it things are uncreated, unimpeded, peaceful from the start and naturally beyond sorrow [i.e. in nirvāṇa].

Once this has been determined, then in accordance with the intention of the *Texts of Maitreya*, the *Collection of Eulogies*, and other works, there is no longer reason to deny that the uncorrupted appearances, including the buddha-body and pristine cognition, are naturally present and uncompounded, because they do not essentially differ from the expanse of reality.

This conclusive reasoning, which scrutinises the two truths, proves that the expanse of reality is the coalescence of appearance and emptiness without contradiction. If it were otherwise, the Prāsaṅgika view itself would be disproved. Therefore it is proven, according to the logic of conventional truth, that the actual appearance of this reality is invisible to sentient beings at the present but visible on the buddha level, and the manifestation of this bewildering apparition of present propensities is visible to sentient beings but invisible to buddhas. The former is similar to that which appears respectively when one is asleep and when one is not asleep, and the latter resembles the dreams which respectively occur when one is not awake and do not occur when one is awake. As such, this subsequent delineation of the two truths can easily be known.

One should know that because this allocation of truth and falsehood and so forth is made conventionally, it is not proven to have veridical existence when the truth is investigated according to the essential view of the apologists for extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan-stong-pa*).

This system also holds that the ultimate reality without synonyms, the expanse of reality in which appearances and emptiness are coalesced, is the ground attained in the single, conclusive vehicle. Therefore it is spoken of in the mantra texts as E-VAṂ, the continuum of the basis, the embodiment of indestructible reality, the great seal, the emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects, the mind in its natural state, the naturally present pristine cognition and so forth. If known as such, no one can contradict that this reality is the conclusive definitive meaning.

This mode [of ultimate reality] is identical in meaning to those modes mentioned in the outer tantras of the way of mantras, namely, one's own real nature (*bdag-gi de-kho-na-nyid*), the blessing which is the ultimate truth without symbols (*don-dam mtshan-ma med-pa'i byin-rlabs*) and the deity of the expanse of indestructible reality (*rdo-rje dbyings-kyi lha*).[209] It is also identical to those modes of the inner tantras, namely, the indivisible truth free from the range of the intellect according to Mahāyoga, the indivisible pristine cognition and expanse of reality according to Anuyoga, and the original ground in which primordial purity and spontaneous presence are coalesced according to the conclusive Great Perfection (*rdzogs-pa chen-po*).

If, at the outset, this mode of ultimate reality is not established, these subsequent modes will not become established. But if this mode is well understood, one acquires the power to discern that the later modes are

gradually established without difficulty. Therefore, it is important to know this mode [of ultimate reality] by whatever means.

If a thorough examination is made in this way, the character of the two truths is well distinguished by relying on the coarse Outer Madhyamaka, which is the basis of discriminative awareness. Then, once the meaning of the two kinds of selflessness has been ascertained, and if a certainty free from the darkness of doubt is developed, one is gradually united with and experiences the truth of the great non-dual pristine cognition of the subtle inner Madhyamaka, which is the result of coalescence, during periods of meditative equipoise. Thus, there is not the slightest disharmony between the two kinds of Madhyamaka of definitive meaning with respect to the conclusive intention [of the buddhas].

The Prāsaṅgika do not claim that the ultimate reality referred to by synonyms, which lies within the range of the dualising intellect or consciousness, is conclusive other than as a provisional introduction. They do, however, say that the coalescent ultimate reality without synonyms, which is within the range of the genuine pristine cognition of individual intuitive awareness, is the unique ultimate truth, characterised as the ineffable, unthinkable and inexpressible perfection of discriminative awareness.

The proponents of extrinsic emptiness, in the same way, conventionally assign consciousness and its objects to the deceptive, false, relative appearance, making them as false on the conventional level as lightning and clouds. Yet they assign pristine cognition and its objects to the ultimate truth by virtue of their infallible conclusive reality, which is free from conditions to be clarified and established because it is permanent, steadfast and unchanging.

Therefore, when one meditates [according to these two kinds of Madhyamaka], they are found to make the same essential point. When the pristine cognition or ultimate reality experienced during sublime meditative equipoise according to the greater vehicle, which the all-knowing great Longcenpa expressed within our own [Nyingma] tradition, is objectified, it is impossible for conceptual elaborations such as the postures of clinging to explicit negation and implicitly affirmative negation to exist therein, regardless of the concepts of being and non-being upheld by philosophical systems.

There is no philosophical system to be upheld during this great sameness, which is a coalescence free from conceptual activity. However, when the aftermath of that meditative equipoise is conventionally objectified, the structure of the ground, path and result and so forth is differentiated in accordance with quotations from the authentic literary transmissions.

This essential point which is indubitably upheld is not contradicted in either of the two kinds of Madhyamaka [for the following two reasons]. Firstly, both of them refute all signs and ideas of conceptual

elaboration, including being and non-being, in relation to the experience of meditative equipoise or the investigation of the truth, and afterwards are determined and balanced in a great sameness free from conceptual elaborations, without conditions to be clarified or established. Secondly, they both differentiate and uphold the two truths professed according to their respective philosophical systems in the situation of the relative or conventional truth during the aftermath of that meditative absorption. One should not, therefore, be exhausted by the conceptual elaboration of refutation and proof, pursuing mere words instead of relying on their meaning.

One who is attracted and adheres to any agreeable standpoint concerning appearances and emptiness cannot reverse the evil view of clinging to extremes. This is why the expanse of reality, the conclusive ultimate truth without synonyms in which appearances and emptiness are coalesced, should be well established as sameness throughout the extent of existence and quiescence.

The mode of establishing this [sameness] is also taught in the eighteenth chapter of [Longcenpa's] *Wish-fulfilling Treasury*. Accordingly, though all relative things that conventionally appear are non-existent in fact, bewildering apparitions appear by the power of the bewilderment of propensities, without past, without future, without existence during the present interval between them. However, these are empty forms which have never existed in reality, like the combed-out hairs that appear to the vision of one drugged by datura. Appearances and emptiness are not differentiated because the ground that differentiates between appearances and emptiness has ceased to exist, and attributes such as the naturally radiant buddha-body and pristine cognition of ultimate reality are free from the flux of the three times. For they are an uncorrupted expanse and original sameness, neither different nor distinct by nature.

One should know that even the two truths designated by the intellect are of a supremely pure, indivisible sameness, throughout the extent of existence and quiescence, because they are merely names and words, not existing independently in reality. As the text [*Wish-fulfilling Treasury*] says:

> Since it is beyond the interrupted and classified
>   objects of relative appearance,
> And transcends the two designated truths,
> All elaboration is pacified.
> The indivisible truth is neither proven nor
>   disproven;
> Since, in the expanse, appearances and emptiness
>   are naturally without duality,
> This truth is also said to be indivisible.

And when the two truths are allocated through their abiding and apparitional natures, which depend on the universal logic of conventions, the text says:

> Thus all things of saṃsāra which are bewildering
> appearances
> Are the relative truth because they are false and
> fallacious.
> The reality of nirvāṇa which is profound, calm inner
> radiance,
> Is held to be the ultimate truth of unchanging
> natural expression.

So it is that, after precedence has been given to the establishment of the two truths as an indivisible great sameness without conceptual elaborations, as described above, the objects and subjects, in which the abiding and apparitional modes are in total harmony, are then both allocated to the ultimate reality, and the objects and subjects in which the abiding and apparitional modes are in a state of disharmony, are both allocated to relative appearances. This determination should be made according to their infallibility in conventional terms; otherwise, the whole structure of conventional truth would be deranged, because one would not know whether the apprehension of a conch-shell as white or yellow would be veracious.

It is appropriate, therefore, that all things of nirvāṇa attained through the power of the abiding and apparitional modes in harmony be assigned to the ultimate reality, and all things of saṃsāra which originate through the power of their disharmony, to the relative appearance. If scrutinised according to conventional analysis, all the apparitions of buddha-body and pristine cognition are uncreated by the bewilderment of deeds and defilements, and are proven to be true and not fallacious because they originate from the power of genuine pristine cognition, and are unpolluted by obscurations. The things of saṃsāra, on the other hand, are said not to be true because they are the opposite. Their respective truth and falsehood is proven by the logic which conventionally analyses them to be fallacious or not. In this respect, the subject in which the abiding and apparitional modes are in harmony is called pristine cognition because it is without the dichotomy of apprehending subject and apprehended object. The subject which apprehends them as disharmony is called consciousness because it is endowed with the dichotomy of subject and object. The object of which the abiding and apparitional modes are in harmony is reliable because it is never reversed by revelations of invalid cognition. To give a mundane example: It resembles the intellect which apprehends a rope as a rope. The object of which the abiding and apparitional modes are disharmonious, on the other hand, is not reliable because, like the intellect which apprehends a rope

as a snake, it is reversed on being perceived as an invalid cognition. This is the point expressed in the *Sūtra Revealed by Akṣayamati* (*Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*, T 175) when it says:

Pristine cognition is permanent
And consciousness is impermanent.

In this way, this expanse and non-dual pristine cognition are permanent because they are no different from reality. The *Sūtra of the Arrayed Bouquet* says:

Though a multitude of world systems,
Inconceivable in number, have been incinerated,
The sky remains undestroyed:
Such is the naturally present pristine cognition.

And in the *Tantra of the Supreme Radiance of Truth without Conceptual Elaborations* (*spros-bral don-gsal chen-po'i rgyud*, NGB Vol.6):

In all the tantras and transmissions I have revealed,
When the words "unchanging" and "uncompounded"
And "like indestructible reality" are expressed,
They are explanations of the naturally present, pure,
pristine cognition.

And in the *Commentary on the Nucleus of Indestructible Reality* [*rdo-rje snying-'grel*, T2515; or the *Commentary (on Hevajra) by Vajragarbha*, T1180]:

Just as, though a vase has been destroyed,
The space [within] remains undamaged,
Similarly, though the mind has been destroyed,
Pristine cognition remains undamaged.

Then, [in the *Eulogy to the Expanse of Reality*, vv.20-1] the sublime Nāgārjuna has said:

As cloth that may be purified by fire,
When soiled with various stains,
Is placed in the midst of fire,
The stains are burnt, but not the cloth,
So, too, when the mind that is inner radiance
Possesses stains such as attachment,
These stains are burnt by the fire of pristine cognition,
But not so its inner radiance.[210]

With reference to this apparition of reality, though creation and cessation are indeed ostensible, they cannot harm the ultimate, unbewildered, fundamental nature which is reality itself, because they are apparitional modes in relation to the bewildered consciousness. For example, though space ostensibly expands and contracts depending on the [size of the] vessel, it cannot be proven that space is compounded

and impermanent. In its own essence, this reality or pristine cognition possesses four enlightened attributes of hidden meaning beyond the range of the childish intellects of inhibited perception. Namely, it is pure because it is originally uncovered by minute blemishes, permanent because it is naturally without change, blissful because it is never oppressed by suffering, and true self because it pervades all saṃsāra and nirvāṇa and pacifies elaborate concepts of self and selflessness. The lord Maitreya has said in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.35):

> Owing to its purity, self, bliss and permanence,
> The transcendental perfection of enlightened attributes
> is the result.

And in the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī* (v.46) accordingly:

> Purest of the pure by nature,
> It is beginninglessly
> The self free from elaborations.

Furthermore, all the outer and inner phenomena subsumed by the components, psychophysical bases and activity fields are apparitions which arise from reality, and yet, by the power of its natural purity, with reference to the conclusive abiding mode, they do not stray from the natural sameness of the Original Buddha [Samantabhadra] and are of the nature of the buddha-body and pristine cognition. They are seen as such by the conclusive buddha-eye which is free from all obscurations. Therefore it says in the *Sūtra of the Arrayed Bouquet:*

> Those who well abide in natural sameness
> With respect to self and sentient beings,
> And are dynamic and non-acquisitive,
> Are said to be the sugatas.
> With purity of form and feeling,
> Of perception, consciousness and attention,
> The countless tathāgatas
> Become the supreme sages.

And in the *Kālacakra Tantra*:

> Sentient beings are buddhas.
> There are no other great buddhas
> In this world system.

And in the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (Ch.2, v.4):

> Emaho! The chiliocosms of the ten directions are originally
> void.
> The three spheres of existence are pure buddha-fields.
> The reality of the five impurities is the blissful abode.

The reality of the five components is the perfect Buddha.
Since he possesses the nucleus of all that is supreme,
The Conqueror does not search elsewhere for the doctrine.
A doctrine which is said to be other than that,
Though searched for, is not found by the Conqueror.

If one were, on the other hand, to think that the Buddha would not even speak of the characteristic bases of suffering and its origin, such as the components, he does, by dint of necessity. As Maitreya says:[211]

Self is revealed,
And selflessness is also taught.
The conquerors reveal both self
And the total absence of self.

Accordingly, while buddhas have no thought of self, it is not contradictory, as known in the greater vehicle as a whole, for them to enter into the mundane consensus that speaks of an ego and its possessions, or to perceive that a personal self, though not really existing, appears as such to the childish. Although they perceive phenomenal existence as buddha-body and pristine cognition, it is not contradictory for them to teach in that way having seen that ostensible suffering and its origin are unimpeded in the face of the impure bewilderment of sentient beings.

It is similarly not proven that, if sentient beings are buddhas, a buddha implicitly suffers when a sentient being suffers in the hells and so forth. There is no flaw because ultimately saṃsāra does not exist, and one who is born therein, in the relative apparitional mode, not being a buddha whose obscurations have been purified, experiences bewildering dream-like appearances by the power of obscuration which inheres in one's own mind. In the abiding mode, on the other hand, suffering and so forth do not exist. It says in the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net*:

If there is no understanding of intrinsic awareness or genuine
perception,
The field of Sukhāvatī[212] is even seen as a state of
evil existence.
If the truth which is equivalent to the supreme of
vehicles is realised,
Even states of evil existence are Akaniṣṭha and Tuṣita.

One should know that these two [modes] are proven exclusively by the logic of convention, since all the appearances of impure saṃsāra are bewildering appearances which do not correspond to [the buddhas'] perception, and all the appearances of pure nirvāṇa such as the buddha-body and pristine cognition are unbewildered.

Now, concerning all these appearances of impure saṃsāra, including the hells which appear to one's own bewildered perception by the power of having an evil mind, it is said in the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva* (Ch.5, vv.7-8):

> Who made the [hellish] core of molten iron?
> Whence originated these infernos?
> The Sage has said that all these
> Are [products of] an evil mind.

The intentions of the sūtras and the tantras agree that the pure array of the buddhas' fields and bodies and so forth appears through the purity of one's own mind. This can also be known from the debate between Brahmā Śikhin and Śāriputra concerning the purity of this field [which contains our own world].[213]

It is said particularly in the tantrapiṭaka of the unsurpassed way of mantras that [the buddha-bodies and fields] originate through the purity of the internal structure of the energy channels, currents and seminal points and of mind-as-such. Therefore, while all things are not truly existent apart from being mere labels designated by the ideas of one's own mind, the infallibility with which these very objects designated by thought appear in circumstances dependent on different intellects, is called proof by the logic of convention. Not one of us at the present time, who has gathered the appropriate deeds and awakened to the appropriate propensities, can contradict in the case of fire, for example, the statement that fire is hot, since it is validly proven that the nature of fire does appear to be hot; and the same would appear to be true for virtue, evil and the like. Ultimately, however, no such one-sided determination can be made. This is known because fire does not appear to be hot to the creature Agniśuci[214] and so forth, and because empowered beings can display various emanations and transformations of substances.

It is said [in the *Collection of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.8, para.20, v.a]:

> Since a single substance is differentiated by minds,
> It appears to be non-existent in reality.

Therefore, on thorough scrutiny, when this, one's own unique body, is observed by the organisms within it, by vultures without, by those who desire it and those who do not, by oneself and others, and by many such enemies and friends, it is said to be seen and apprehended in different ways – as a dwelling place, as food, as purity or impurity, as the possession of oneself or of another, as ugliness, beauty or an object of indifference and so on. If it is perceived by sublime beings the body is said to be without independent existence and so forth, and on the conclusive buddha level it is said that the pure physical component is the essence of Vairocana. Statements of this kind are not contradictory.

Then, if scrutinised even further, when one searches for that which is called the body, it can be known by penetrating analysis even now that it is not an object of reference and that it does not inherently exist even to the extent of the minutest atomic particle. Therefore, when this [analysis] is applied to all outer and inner phenomena, including the bodies of others, they can be established to be without independent existence. In ultimate reality, all things should be known as the great sameness of reality, naturally without divisions and [the need for] clarifications. Conventionally, however, one ought to ascertain that the phenomena which appear to ordinary sentient beings at the present time are false in comparison with those which appear in the face of that [ultimate reality], because they are impure, bewildered appearances. One also ought to ascertain that even the appearances [discerned by] bodhisattvas on the path are impotent in the face of that [ultimate reality], because there is a pure basis for perception which is progressively higher than theirs. The abiding mode is conclusively proven because nothing is to be gained beyond the perception of the conclusive buddha level. In short, the goal of that which is expressed is inexpressible, the goal of ideas is non-conceptualising, the goal of consciousness is pristine cognition, and the goal of the apparition of reality is reality itself. Therefore, the inconceivable pristine cognition that is reality is a great purity of natural expression, transcending the symbolic range of the subject-object dichotomy.

However, if one were to object that there would then be no point in meditating on the path, this is not the case. Since sentient beings meditate on the path in order to purify these bewildering appearances which arise suddenly as in a dream through their lack of realisation, and the propensities of the bewildering thoughts which cling to them, there need be no clinging to the idea that the doctrines of the path and result are truly existent. It is as when a sorceror removes fears on the path by an army of his emanations, or when a phlegmatic eye disease is cured.

Therefore, with reference to the conclusion that is to be realised, all things subsumed by the relative and ultimate truths should be established as naturally indivisible, in the great pure sameness free from conceptual elaborations, the original natural expression of the buddhas. Yet one should not be attracted to or fall into any elaborate viewpoint regarding dualistic concepts such as being and non-being, appearance and emptiness, or purity and impurity, as are partially appraised by childish intellects of inhibited vision.

To sum up, the Transcendent Lord has said:

> Rely not upon individuals but upon the doctrine,
> Rely not upon words but upon their meaning,
> Rely not upon the provisional but the definitive meaning,

> Rely not upon consciousness but upon pristine cognition.

This is why, in the context of the abiding mode of the two truths which are to be known, the result is incontrovertibly appraised by the logic of scriptural authority, reason and esoteric instructions. One should know that the entire intention of the sūtras and the tantras, which are the scriptures of the Tathāgata, is subsumed in a single nucleus, just as butter is condensed from milk, and cream from butter, so that the climax of the philosophical systems, according to the causal vehicle of dialectics, is this Great Madhyamaka, supreme among vehicles. Its meaning is revealed in the texts of Maitreya, such as the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, and in the sublime Nāgārjuna's *Collection of Eulogies*, which subsume the essence of the definitive meaning of both the intermediate and final promulgations of the transmitted precepts.

It says in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.6, v.5):

> In the five doctrines and three essential natures,
> In the eight aggregates of consciousness
> And in the two kinds of selflessness,
> The entire greater vehicle is subsumed.[215]

And in the *Intermediate Mother*:

> Maitreya, regard any imaginary form as not substantially existent. One might regard any conceptualised form as substantially existent because thoughts exist substantially, but do not confer independent status upon it. Then you should regard the very form of reality as being disclosed by ultimate reality, for it is neither substantially existent nor non-existent.

8 *Key to the Appraisal of Causal Vehicle Texts*

[116b.3] Having distinguished between the relative truth or apparitional nature, and the ultimate truth or abiding nature, the definitive order of the precious treasure store of the true doctrine that is to be appraised has been established. The precious key to its appraisal is structured in two parts, of which the first concerns the provisional and definitive meanings.

THE PROVISIONAL AND DEFINITIVE MEANING OF THE TRUE DOCTRINE

[116b.3-118a.2] The reality of all things, the expanse of just what is, the inner radiant intention of mind-as-such, which is of the essence of space, naturally pure and unchanging, beyond creation, cessation and duration, is the definitive meaning; and all the transmitted precepts and treatises which reveal it are subsumed within the definitive meaning. All the apparitions of reality that appear, dream-like and manifesting as the diverse, successive forms such as those of creation, cessation, coming and going, purity and impurity, components, psychophysical bases and activity fields, which are all appraised and exaggeratedly indicated by a succession of words, thoughts and expressions, are called the provisional meaning; and all the transmitted precepts and treatises which reveal them are subsumed within the relative truth. For example, those which boast in word, expression and thought that mind-as-such resembles space are relative, whereas the fundamental nature of ultimate reality, being the definitive meaning, is genuine. Such is said in the *Eulogy to the Inconceivable Madhyamaka* (*Madhyamakācintyastava*, T 1128, vv.56c-57c):

> The emptiness of all things
> Is indeed revealed as the definitive meaning.
> That in which creation, cessation and so on,

> And living beings, life itself and so on are revealed,
> Is the relative truth of provisional meaning.

The *Sublime Sūtra of the King of Contemplation* says:

> As spoken by the Teacher, the Sugata,
> Know the details of the sūtras of definitive meaning;
> All doctrines which teach of sentient beings,
> Individuals[216] or creatures
> Should be known as the provisional meaning.

And in the *Sublime Sūtra Revealed by Akṣayamati*:

> If one asks what are the sūtras of definitive meaning and what are the sūtras of provisional meaning, those sūtras which are taught in order that one might enter the path are called the provisional meaning, and those sūtras which are taught in order that one might enter the result are called the definitive meaning. Those sūtras which teach of self, sentient beings, life itself, creatures, individuals, personalities, personal selves, actors, subjects of sensation, explanations according to diverse terms, and of that which is not a possessor as a possessor, are called the provisional meaning. The sūtras which teach of emptiness, of that which is signless, aspirationless, not manifestly conditioned, uncreated, unoriginated, insubstantial, without self, without sentient beings, without life itself, without individuals, without a possessor and without any properties even as far as the approach to liberation, are called the definitive meaning. This text is said to rely on the sūtras of definitive meaning, but not to rely on the sūtras of provisional meaning.

In short, the fundamental abiding nature and the sūtras which reveal it are said to be the definitive meaning and its sūtras, while all those doctrines which guide the intellect of sentient beings by many methods to the means of entering that fundamental nature, and reveal the impure bewilderment, its classifications and so on, are called the provisional meaning and the doctrine of the provisional meaning.

THE INTENTION AND COVERT INTENTION OF THE TRUE DOCTRINE

[118a.2-121a.4] The second part concerns the [buddhas'] intention (*dgongs-pa*, Skt. *abhiprāya*) and covert intention (*ldem-dgongs*, Skt. *abhisandhi*). The former, intention, applies to those teachings which are included within slightly exaggerated explanations and reveal indirect

methods and purposes. The *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.12, v.18) says:

> Passages directed towards sameness and other
> meanings,
> And similarly towards other times,
> And towards the thoughts of individuals
> Should be known as the four kinds of intention.

Accordingly, the [buddhas'] intention is directed towards sameness, as is exemplified in the following words spoken with an intention directed towards the sameness of the body of reality:

> At that time, I became the Tathāgata Vipaśyin.

When this intention is directed towards other meanings it is exemplified by the following words which were spoken with an intention directed towards the three essenceless natures:

> All things are without essence.

Now, the imaginary is without essence in respect of attributes, because in truth it definitely does not exist. The dependent is without essence in respect of creation, because creation from the four alternative limits does not exist: Things are not created from themselves because both that which was created and creation itself consist of instantaneous time moments, which renders them mutually exclusive substances. Nor are things created from something else, because the specific characteristics of that something else do not, on analysis, exist. Then, things are not created from both [themselves and other causes], because they are mutually exclusive substances; and, [finally], without a cause, creation is impossible. The creation of whatever is apparitional and so forth instantly appears inasmuch as it is dependently originated, in the manner of a mere dream or illusion. Such is said in the *Sūtra of the Adornment of Pristine Cognition's Appearance* from:

> Mañjuśrī, dreams appear but do not exist. Similarly all things, too, appear but do not exist.

down to:

> They are illusory, like a mirage, a castle in the sky, the moon in water, a reflected image and an emanation.

Then, the absolute is without essence in respect of ultimate reality because therein [the views that] ultimate reality exists, or that the self is impure, and other such conceptual elaborations are essenceless. Such is said in the *Sūtra which Decisively Reveals the Intention*:

> With an intention directed towards essencelessness of attri-

> butes, essencelessness of creation and essencelessness of ultimate reality, I reveal all things to be without essence.

The [buddhas'] intention is also directed towards other times, as exem- exemplified in the words:

> By merely grasping the name of the Tathāgata Vimalacandraprabha, you will attain buddhahood.

Although buddhahood is not attained by that alone, [the intention is that] one who has accumulated many provisions in the past will at some time become a buddha.

The intention directed towards the thoughts of individuals is exemplified by [the buddhas'] downgrading of moral discipline and praise of liberality in the presence of certain individuals who are conceited with respect to their own moral discipline.

Secondly, concerning the covert intention: It is explained that in order to induce another party, who delights in any view whatsoever, to enter into the correct path or meaning, [the buddhas] adopt a style conforming to the needs of that person by relying somewhat on that one's vocabulary and mannerisms, but their meaning does not so conform. It is said in the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehcle* (Ch.12, vv.16-17):

> The covert intention in respect of entry,
> And, in addition, the covert intention in respect of
> attributes,
> The covert intention in respect of antidotes,
> And the covert intention in respect of interpretation,
> Directed respectively towards pious attendants
> and the essence,
> And similarly towards the discipline of faults,
> And towards profundity of expression,
> Are the four kinds of covert intention.

The covert intention in respect of entry is illustrated as follows. In order that certain members of the family of the pious attendants who have not entered the greater vehicle out of fear of emptiness may so enter, [the buddhas] would say that form does exist therein, and thereby the listener would enter assuming that [form] really exists, while the speakers [the buddhas] would intend that all appearance is like a dream.

The covert intention in respect of attributes is exemplified as follows. In order that the essenceless abiding nature [of reality] may be known, [the buddhas] reveal all things to be essenceless. The three essenceless natures, namely, the imaginary, the dependent and the absolute, have previously been explained.

The covert intention in respect of antidotes is exemplified by the following words which were spoken with an intention directed towards those beings who would think that, "Śākyamuni is inferior to other teachers because he is smaller in body, shorter in life-span and so on":

> At that time, I [Śākyamuni] became the Tathāgata Vairocana.

In this way, the listener understands their buddha-bodies of form to be the same, while the speaker [Śākyamuni] intends that their provisions are equally perfect, that their attainments of the body of reality are equal, and that their deeds on behalf of living beings are equal. As it is said in the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* (Ch.7, v.34):

> All buddhas are identical in their provisions,
> Their body of reality and their conduct
> On behalf of beings,
> But not so in their life-span,
> Race and physical stature.

The covert intention with respect to interpretation refers to teachings given in a form which is extremely difficult to understand in order to pacify the faults of those who think:

> This doctrine is inferior to others
> Because it is easy to understand.

For example, it is said in the *Collection of Meaningful Expressions* (Ch.33, v.62):

> He should kill his father and mother,
> And if he destroys the king and the two purities,
> The country and its surroundings,
> This man will become pure in nature.

Now, the father and mother are lust and acquisition because they compound saṃsāra. The king is the ground-of-all because this becomes the support or ground of diverse propensities. The two purities are the Brāhmaṇa view of mundane aggregates,[217] and the view of those who are conceited with respect to virtuous moral discipline and ascetic discipline. The country and its surroundings are the eight aggregates of consciousness, along with the subject-object dichotomy of the inner activity fields. If all these are destroyed and purified, one becomes a buddha.

The various kinds of intention and covert intention [of the scriptures] are identical in essence. Yet they do differ in details. On the distinction between the two, the translator [Ngok] Loden Sherap[218] claims that intention implies that another meaning apart from the meaning thought by the speaker is understood by the listener from the speaker's words, and covert intention implies that the very meaning thought by the

speaker is [subsequently] understood by the listener. And it is said in the *Exegetical Commentary on the Collection of the Greater Vehicle* (*Mahāyānasaṃgrahopanibandhana*, T 4051):

> Intention is not held to refer to apprehension by another party, but only to a determination in the mind. Covert intention does refer to apprehension by another party.

These two are indeed known to be without contradiction. That which is partially explained with reference to something is intention, disregarding whether it is apprehended by another or not; and it is called intention because at times when it is questioned by others all incompletely [understood] meanings still remain in the ground of the intention. That which is revealed in order to benefit others, relying somewhat on intimation, and in conformity with the perception of other persons is called [the buddhas'] covert intention, because they understand the words of the speaker and, by entering thereafter [into the greater vehicle], now at last become receptive to the perfect understanding of other meanings and never turn to falsehood.

Such are the keys through which the scriptures are viewed. Since the profound texts possess many situations of word, meaning, intention and purpose, it is extremely important to know that they are disclosed in this manner.

9 *A Recapitulation of the Causal Vehicles*

[121a.4-121b.1] Having outlined the overall meaning [of the causal vehicles], I shall recapitulate the meaning that is subsumed in their particular sections. It is said in the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (Ch.13, v.2):

> There are those of only partial realisation
> And those who do not [fully] realise genuine reality.

Accordingly, the lesser vehicle confers only partial realisation of the approach to the truth of liberation; and the bodhisattva vehicle, while acting in accord with the approach to inconceivable liberation, does not [fully] confer realisation of the genuine reality because the meaning of the vehicle of indestructible reality (*Vajrayāna*) is not understood therein. The former [the lesser vehicle or Hīnayāna] includes both the pious attendants and the self-centred buddhas.

VEHICLE OF PIOUS ATTENDANTS

[121b.1-124a.6] Firstly, the vehicle of pious attendants is explained under the three headings of essence, verbal definition and classifications. The essence is that with an intellect desirous of liberating itself from saṃsāra one resorts to the means of realising selflessness with reference to the individual.

The verbal definition is that the [Sanskrit] *śrāvaka* is rendered [in Tibetan] as *nyan-thos* or pious attendant because it means both to listen (*nyan-pa*) and to hear attentively (*thos-pa*), while in one respect, it is also rendered as *thos-sgrogs* [or preacher of what has been attentively heard] because, having attentively heard (*thos-pa*) one object [i.e. the teacher], the pious attendant preaches (*sgrogs*) to another.

Thirdly, [the vehicle of pious attendants] is classified according to six topics, namely, its entrance, view, moral discipline, meditation, conduct and result. Concerning the entrance: The pious attendants,

being disillusioned by the suffering of saṃsāra, enter through the four truths with the thought of aspiring towards their own peace and happiness. As it is said in the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness*:

> Concerning the entrance, the four truths
> Are the entrance for pious attendants in general.

Now the truth of suffering resembles a disease, the truth of its origination resembles the cause of a disease, the truth of cessation resembles the happiness when one is freed from a disease, and the truth of the path resembles the medicine which is the antidote for a disease. Therefore:

> Suffering is to be known,
> Its origin is to be renounced,
> Cessation is to be obtained,
> And the path is to be relied on.

Therefore, the pious attendants enter by renouncing and accepting the causes and results to which the four truths refer.

Secondly, concerning the view: Selflessness with reference to the individual is realised [firstly] because the apprehended object which appears as coarse substances can be broken down and destroyed by an antidote or the intellect, [secondly] because the continuity of the apprehending subject which is the mind can be broken down by the three temporal dimensions, and [thirdly] because this coarse subject-object dichotomy has no independent existence apart from its mere relative appearance.

However, [the concept of] self with reference to phenomenal things is not understood because they hold that the substratum of indivisible atomic particles, which compose the objective appearance of coarse substances, cannot be destroyed by an antidote or by the intellect, and that the subjective mind is inseparable[219] from the series of indivisible time moments. The subtle subject-object dichotomy is therefore held to be ultimately real. As it is said in the *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions*:

> All things are considered imaginary since they are exaggerated and depreciated by eternalistic extremists and the like. The nihilist view of no origin and the views concerning permanence and so forth are [considered] as non-existent as the snake which is perceived in place of a rope. Yet the indivisible atomic particles of the four gross elements, including the components, psychophysical bases and activity fields, and consciousness also, are viewed to have ultimate reality.

When [this view of the pious attendants] is classified, it is as Kawa Peltsek says in his *Seventeenfold Appearance of the Sequence of the View*:

The pious attendants who consider merely phenomena
Are both the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika.
They dispute the nature of external atoms
And agree that consciousness appears
As a series of time moments.

The Vaibhāṣika hold that though this coarse relative truth appears as a single aggregate in the manner of an alpine meadow, ultimately it consists of minute particles because indivisible atomic particles are surrounded without intervening spaces. In his *Turquoise Display*, Nāgārjuna says:[220]

Concerning the relative, the Vaibhāṣikas' central tenet is
That these material substances composing the world
Are an association of atomic particles,
But that [undivided] they appear in the manner of an
alpine meadow.

[These coarse substances] are held to be compounded by the force or power of the active vital energy of sentient beings. Then:

Concerning the ultimate, consciousness is held
To exist as a series of distinct time moments.

The Sautrāntika, on the other hand, hold that indivisible atomic particles are without cohesion but have no intervening spaces between them, in the manner of a heap of grain. As the above text [the *Turquoise Display*] says:

Sautrāntikas, concerning the atoms of relative appearance,
Hold them to form a single, compounded sensum.
And they claim that ultimate reality is agreement of
consciousness [with its object].

Thus they are superior to the Vaibhāṣika because they realise that the conglomerate composed of atoms is indeed partless, and so are similar to those who do not admit the existence of atoms on the grounds that they are not actually visible.[221]

In short, one is a pious attendant if one views the subject-object dichotomy in relation to the self of phenomenal things to be ultimately real, and adheres to the rejection and acceptance of causes and results comprised by the four truths which refer to saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. As it is said in the *Sequence of the Path*:

If, without realising non-duality,
Everything is viewed to exist substantially
In terms of the four truths,
And one resorts to renunciation and non-renunciation,
This is the level of the pious attendants.

Thirdly, concerning moral discipline, one should rely on the eight classes of *prātimokṣa* vows, or particularly the supreme vows of a monk, because training which follows [the example of] the Buddha is essential. It says in the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* (Ch.4, vv.14-15):

The eight classes [of vow] called *prātimokṣa*
Substantially refer to the four orders.
Since their titles vary, depending on the [adherent's] sex,[222]
It is no error to differentiate [the four into eight].
Dependent on the vows which renounce
Respectively five, eight, ten and all things that are to be renounced [223]
Are the lay vows (*upāsaka*) and the vows of the purificatory fast (*upavāsa*),
The novitiate (*śrāmaṇera*) and the actual vows of a monk (*bhikṣu*).

Fourthly, concerning meditation, the same text says (Ch.6, v.5ab):

One who abides in moral discipline
And has studied and pondered
Should properly undertake meditation.

Relying in this way on the pure basis of moral discipline, one is required to study the piṭaka of the pious attendants under [the guidance] of a spiritual benefactor. Then, the meaning that has been studied should be pondered, and the meaning that has been pondered should be meditated upon.

Now, meditation initially requires that one makes the mind capable of action through tranquillity, which begins with meditation on ugliness as an antidote for attachment; and subsequently, one meditates with higher insight on the sixteen minor truths, four of which are differentiated in each of the four truths.

On this basis, one begins with renunciation by perceiving the conflicting emotions of the three realms, and then the mode of renunciation is effected in a succession of sixteen moments of pristine cognition. The sixteen minor truths are the four which are aspects of the truth of suffering, namely, impermanence, suffering, emptiness and selflessness; the four which are aspects of the truth of origination, namely, causal basis, origin, production and condition; the four which are aspects of the truth of cessation, namely, cessation, quiescence, excellence and disillusionment with saṃāra; and the four which are aspects of the truth of the path, namely, the path, reason, attainment and the act of becoming disillusioned with saṃsāra; sixteen in all. Then, the sixteen moments of pristine cognition are the perception of the doctrine (*dharmajñāna*), receptiveness to the perception of the doctrine (*dharma-*

jñānakṣānti), the after-effect of this perception (*anvayajñāna*) and receptiveness to the after-effect of this perception (*anvayajñānakṣānti*), as they apply to each of the four truths, making sixteen in all.

Fifth, concerning their conduct: Pious attendants perform acts which emphasise their own benefit by abiding in the twelve ascetic virtues. It says in the *Turquoise Display*:

> Their conduct is exclusively for their own benefit.

Sixth, as for the result: Pious attendants obtain the provisional results of entering the stream [to nirvāṇa], of being tied to a single rebirth and of not returning [to saṃsāra]. And then, as the culmination, they become arhats either with or without a residue, who are endowed with the twofold pristine cognition, which perceives the cessation [of corruption] and perceives that it is not recreated.

There is also an enumeration of eight results when each of these four is distinguished according to those who enter it and those who are firmly established in it. It is said that there are four pairs of sacred beings with reference to the ground of this classification, and eight kinds of individual [pious attendant] with reference to the properties so classified. Of these, the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net* says:

> One who is well pacified by training
> In the sixteen-faceted pristine cognition,
> Which understands the meaning,
> And is well renounced in respect of the four truths,
> And who has been trained through the succession of
>   [results],
> Such as entering the stream,
> Proceeds to the level on which the enemy,
> Conflicting emotion, is pacified.

VEHICLE OF SELF-CENTRED BUDDHAS

[124a.6-127a.2] Secondly, the vehicle of self-centred buddhas is also classified under three headings of essence, verbal definition and classification. The essence is that, without relying on a master, during one's final life in the world, one meditates on the path of dependent origination as a means for attaining manifest enlightenment, through the realisation of one-and-a-half parts of [the concept of] selflessness.[224]

Secondly, the verbal definition: The [Sanskrit] *pratyekabuddha* is rendered as self-centred buddha [Tib. *rang-rgyal*] because it implies that one's own enlightenment is realised by oneself. The enlightenment is attained individually, that is, for oneself alone.

Thirdly, there are six classifications as above, of which the first is the entrance. The *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

The entrance is through the twelvefold dependent origination.

In this way, a self-centred buddha enters through the twelve modes of dependent origination. As for dependent origination, it says in the *Heruka Galpo*:

The doctrine of self-centred buddhas,
In order to purify the intellect,
Includes the doctrines of outer and inner
Dependent origination.

Accordingly, the twelve modes of dependent origination are both outward and inward.

If one were to ask in what way these [twelve] revolve, the outward dependent origination [of physical elements] revolves quantitatively, and the inward dependent origination revolves as propensities in non-corporeal beings and concretely in respect of corporeal beings.

Concerning the procedure for entering therein: In general a self-centred buddha of the highest acumen, in the [solitary] manner of a rhinoceros, has accumulated the path of provisions over a period of one hundred aeons. One of mediocre acumen and great conduct in respect of the provisions has accumulated the provisions as far as the middling degree of receptiveness (*bzod-'bring*)[225] over a hundred human lives. And one who is of inferior acumen and low in conduct relating to the provisions has accumulated the provisions subsumed by the fifteenth moment [of pristine cognition] on the path of insight over thirteen human lives. Knowing that there is no chance of attaining enlightenment on this basis [alone], with prayers of aspiration they take birth in a world which is entirely unoccupied by buddhas and pious attendants. As the *Root Stanzas on the Madhyamaka* (Ch.18, v.12) says:

If buddhas do not emerge
And pious attendants have ceased to be,
The pristine cognition of the self-centred buddha
Is well developed without support.

On this basis and without preceptor or master, [the would-be self-centred buddhas] become natural monks. Going to a charnel ground, they become disillusioned with saṃsāra immediately after seeing the bones, and when they investigate the source from which these bones originated, it is realised that they originated from old age and death, that these in turn originated from birth, and in this way it is gradually realised that the root of saṃsāra is ignorance. Then, wondering how to attain liberation from this, they enter by realising the trend in which dependent origination is reversed, namely, that if ignorance is

abolished, habitual tendencies cease and so on down to the cessation of old age and death.

Secondly, in their view [the self-centred buddhas] are similar to the pious attendants who realise selflessness with reference to the individual, but in addition they realise that the indivisible atomic particles which are the objective aspect of selfhood as it relates to phenomena do not independently exist. However, since they still regard the time moments forming the subjective mind to be ultimately real, and hold that the cause and result of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are found in dependent origination, they are said to be realised in one-and-a-half parts of what is implied by selflessness. It says in the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation* (Ch.2, v.8):

> Since they renounce the idea of objects,
> And since they do not renounce the subject,
> One must know the path genuinely subsumed therein
> Is that of a rhinoceros-like recipient.

And in the *Sequence of the View*:

> Similarly, the vehicle of the self-centred buddhas
> Concerns the mere illusion of the twelve outer
> [links of dependent origination];
> It is superior in holding atoms not to exist
> In any spatial dimension,[226]
> But agrees that consciousness
> Is a series of time moments.

So also in the *Sequence of the Path*:

> If one does not perceive deeds and all the conflicting
> emotions
> To be in fact sameness,
> And entirely clings to the cause and result of
> dependent origination,
> This is the level of the self-centred buddhas.

Then this, one might object, contradicts the passage from the *Thirty Verses* (*Triṃśikākārikā*, T 4055, v.28d) which says:

> If there is no object, there is no subject.

There is, however, no flaw. This passage explains that, if that which is apprehended by direct perception is realised to have no independent existence, the subject is also necessarily understood [in the same way]. In this [vehicle], on the other hand, it is said that the object is realised to have no independent existence because objects which conceptually appear to the intellect are realised to be without independent existence, and because during such realisation, the ignorance which has become the root of the three poisons is reversed.[227]

Thirdly, in moral discipline, [the self-centred buddhas] are similar to the pious attendants. It says in the *Miraculous Key of Further Discernment* (*yang-'byed-'phrul-gyi lde-mig*, NGB Vol.2):

> The limits which pious attendants
> And self-centred buddhas sustain
> Are the two hundred and fifty disciplines of the Vinaya.

Fourth, on meditation, the *Yogācāra Level* says:

> It should be known to be just like that of the pious attendants,
> Because these two are similar in the nature of their paths.

Despite this claim that the [self-centred buddhas] meditate on the path referring to the piṭaka of the pious attendants, masters of the past have said that in the *Sūtra which Dispels the Grief of Ajātaśatru* (*Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanasūtra*, T 216) the piṭaka of the self-centred buddhas are briefly and distinctly explained in contrast to the piṭaka of the pious attendants. Also, in other texts, such as the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation* and its commentaries [*Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti*, etc. T 3787-9, 3791, 3793-6], their path is claimed to differ from that of the pious attendants. This is because, over and above the sixteen moments beginning with impermanence such as apply to the four truths, [the self-centred buddhas] obstruct the trend in which dependent origination arises and meditate in the correct order on the twelve [antidotes], that is, the emptinesses belonging to the trend in which it is reversed.

Fifth, in conduct, [the self-centred buddhas] communicate with those who require training through symbolic gestures, which are performed through the miraculous abilities of their bodies, and without teaching the doctrine by their speech. It says in the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation* (Ch.2, v.7):

> To those respective persons
> Who require training,
> Whatever they wish to hear,
> The respective meanings just appear,
> Without even a sound being uttered.

And in the *Turquoise Display*:

> By conduct that is the miraculous ability of their bodies,
> They variously act on behalf of others.

Sixth, as for the result, the self-centred buddha of sharp acumen who remains in solitude like a rhinoceros, after perfecting the five paths in a single sitting, becomes manifest, through the supreme bliss of his

purpose, as an arhat who is conscious that the cessation [of corruption] has come about and that it will not be recreated. The *Treasury of the Abhidharma* (Ch.6, v.24) says:

> The Teacher and the self-centred buddha, similar to a
> rhinoceros,
> Become entirely enlightened on the sole basis of the final
> contemplation,
> And, before that, they are in accord with liberation.

Those of greater and lesser conduct with respect to the provisions, who flock together in the manner of parrots, respectively make manifest the first four and the first three paths.[228]

Again, on the subject of these self-centred buddhas, the *Extensive Magical Net* says:

> Knowing outer and inner dependent origination
> [To be] in the manner of an illusion and a mirage,
> They thoroughly penetrate substantial forms
> without impediment,
> They become realised through intrinsic awareness,
> untaught by a spiritual benefactor,
> And, with supreme bliss of purpose, proceed to an
> enlightened level.

VEHICLE OF BODHISATTVAS

[127a.2-131b.2] The latter of the causal vehicles, the vehicle of bodhisattvas, is explained under two headings: its superiority over the lesser vehicle and the particular nature of this sublime vehicle. First, [the bodhisattva] is superior through an ability to realise the two kinds of selflessness as the fundamental nature by means of great discriminative awareness, and an ability to act exclusively on behalf of others by means of great compassion. This is because these qualities are absent in the lesser vehicle. As stated in the *Tantra of the Array of Pristine Cognition* (*ye-shes rnam-par bkod-pa'i rgyud*):

> That which refers to sentient beings with compassion
> And pervades the expanse of reality with discriminative
> awareness
> Is explained to be the greater vehicle.
> The others are its opposite.

And the master Aro [Yeshe Jungne][229] has said:

> The distinguishing features of the vehicles are
> Exclusively discriminative awareness and compassion;

The distinction between the vehicles is made
In accordance with their greater or lesser extent.

And in the *Verse Summation of the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness*:

One who has no skilful means
And is without discriminative awareness
Falls into the position of the pious attendants.

Secondly, the vehicle of bodhisattvas endowed with this particularly superior doctrine is explained under the three headings of essence, verbal definition and classification. The essence is that one realises all things to be without self and then firmly resorts to the means of performing great benefits on behalf of others through great compassion.

As to the verbal definition, a bodhisattva [spiritual warrior set on enlightenment][230] is so called because the [Sanskrit] *bodhisattva* indicates one who is totally unafraid to attain the unsurpassed enlightenment by means of great mental power.

Thirdly, among the six aforementioned classifications, first the entrance is effected through the two truths. The *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

The vehicle of the bodhisattvas
Is entered through the two truths.

According to the texts of the Mādhyamika, after the intellect, which perceives unanalysed and unexamined appearances to be without real essence in the manner of an illusion despite their appearance, has been grasped by the enlightened mind of loving kindness and compassion, [a bodhisattva] enters the relative truth by inducing virtue and opposing non-virtue. But when the abiding nature of ultimate, fundamental reality is known to be free from conceptual elaborations, the bodhisattva enters by means of the coalescence [of the two truths].

Concerning the two truths, the *Heruka Galpo* says:

The doctrine revealed by the buddhas
Is genuinely gathered in the two truths.

Now, the extent of the knowable which forms the ground of this classification is polarised between the apparitional mode or relative truth, and the abiding mode or ultimate truth. Therefore, the same text says:

In the appearances which form the knowable alone,
The scope of the two truths indeed exists.

Of these, the relative truth refers to the symbolic apparition of reality which is the object perceived by the intellect. As [the *Heruka Galpo*] again says:

Deception and objectification of the intellect
Are the general characteristics of relative appearances.

Then, when classified, there is the correct relative which is causally effective in terms of phenomenal appearance, as when a man appears as a man, and the erroneous relative which is causally ineffective in terms of phenomenal appearance, as when a cairn of stones appears as a man. From the same text:

The divisions of relative appearance
Are called the correct and the erroneous relative.
The characteristics of each should be well explained:
The erroneous one is causally ineffective
In terms of what appears,
And the correct one is causally effective
In terms of what appears.

And also from the *Analysis of the Two Truths* (*Satyadvayavibhaṅgakārikā*, T 3881, v.12):

Since they are similarly apparent
And since they are respectively
Causally effective and ineffective,
The classification of the correct and erroneous
Relative has been made.

The ultimate truth, on the other hand, is free from all conceptual elaborations, as it is said in the *Heruka Galpo*:

Ultimate reality is characteristically
Free from all conceptual elaborations.

And in Jetāri's *Analysis of the Sugata's Texts* (*Sugatamatavibhaṅgakārikā*, T 3899):

Neither is it being, non-being,
Or neither being nor non-being,
Nor indeed an embodiment of them both,
But it is genuinely liberated from the four extremes.

When classified, there is the ultimate truth with synonyms which is partially free from conceptual elaboration, and the ultimate truth without synonyms which is free from all conceptual elaboration. As the *Heruka Galpo* says:

Its classifications are the ultimate truth with synonyms,
And that without synonyms which is free from the eight extremes.

Then, one might ask, are these two truths the same or different? They

are identical in their nature but different in their aspects, conventionally similar to the moon and the reflections of the moon in water, respectively. It says in the *Commentary on Enlightened Mind* (*Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa*, T 1800, v.57):

> Just as molasses is naturally sweet
> And fire is naturally hot,
> The nature of all things
> Similarly abides in emptiness.

Yet the ultimate reality can be expressed as neither an identity nor a difference. The *Dialogue with Maitreya* (*Maitreyaparipṛcchā*, T 85-6) says:

> The expanse, which cannot be expressed through the symbolic forms of habitual tendencies, is not this at all, and it is not anything else.

Although the Mādhyamika do not differ in their methods of determining the ultimate reality, with reference to the relative truth there are the Svātantrika who hold appearances to exist as a mere illusion, and the Prāsaṅgika who maintain that from the very moment of appearance there is freedom from conceptual elaborations.

The Mind Only (*Cittamātra*) system holds the objects and subjects which are dualistic appearances of the subject-object dichotomy to be the relative truth, and the intrinsic awareness, intrinsic radiance, or the consciousness which is without duality, to be the ultimate truth. When they are classified, there are those holding sensa to be veridical, who hold the sensa through which external objects are perceived to be veridical, and those holding sensa to be false, who claim that the status of appearances is exaggerated by consciousness.

Secondly, the view [of the bodhisattva vehicle] is the incontrovertible realisation of the two kinds of selflessness. Although relatively all things appear in the manner of [the reflection of] the moon in water, ultimately the abiding nature of the two truths is realised by understanding the quiescence of all conceptual elaborations. It says in the *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions*:

> Ultimately all things, including all-conflicting emotions and pure [phenomena], are without independent existence, but relatively the attributes of each exist distinctly in the manner of an illusion.

And in the *Sequence of the Path*:

> Without knowing the meaning of sameness,
> The relative and ultimate truths are polarised;
> But if there is no self with respect to individuals,
> or phenomena,

This is the level of enlightenment.

Thirdly, on the subject of moral discipline, there are three aspects: the moral discipline of gathering the virtuous doctrine; that of acting on behalf of sentient beings; and that of controlling malpractices. The first refers to the attainment of the virtuous provisions of excellent conduct which are subsumed by the two provisions and six transcendental perfections; the second implies that all one's aspirations and applications are acted upon for the benefit of sentient beings. As for the third, though in the Madhyamaka tradition the necessity of holding *prātimokṣa* vows as a support for the cultivation of enlightened mind is uncertain, the moral discipline which controls malpractices on the level of the bodhisattvas includes the mind which aspires towards enlightenment, and the mind which enters into union with the provisions and necessary actions for that enlightenment, in addition to a basis in which training according to the seven classes of *prātimokṣa* vows[231] is established.

These aspects of [moral discipline] are adopted by the proponents of Madhyamaka and Mind Only in their rites, and training in them is pursued. Mind Only holds that there are four root downfalls. As the *Twenty Verses on the Bodhisattva Vow* says:

> These are to praise oneself and disparage others
> Out of attachment to profit and fame;
> Not to give the spiritual wealth of the doctrine, out of
> avarice,
> To one who suffers without protection;
> To find fault with others out of anger,
> Without heeding the repentance of others;
> And to renounce the greater vehicle
> And teach an imitation of the true doctrine.

According to the Mādhyamika, on the other hand, nineteen or twenty precepts are upheld. It is explained in the *Compendium of Lessons* that according to the *Sūtra of Ākāśagarbha* (*Ākāśagarbhasūtra*, T 260) there are nineteen root downfalls, namely, five which are certain for kings, five which are certain for ministers, eight which are certain for common people, and [the nineteenth] to abandon the mind of enlightened aspiration which is common to all. It is then said in the *Pagoda of Precious Jewels* that they number twenty when, in addition to these, the enlightened mind of engagement is abandoned and virtue not applied.

Concerning these bodhisattvas, too, the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva* (Ch.5, v.23) says:

> I fold my hands in the prayer
> That those wishing to protect the mind

May guard mindfulness and awareness of the present
Even at the cost of their lives.

Thus, a bodhisattva untiringly endeavours, with undiminished mindfulness and awareness of the present, to sustain [the precepts] by renouncing the four negative doctrines, accepting the four positive doctrines and so forth.

Fourth, in meditation, a bodhisattva generally meditates on the thirty-seven aspects of enlightenment during the four paths of learning. That is, he meditates on the four essential recollections during the lesser path of provisions, upon the four correct trainings during the middling [path of provisions], on the four supports for miraculous ability during the greater [path of provisions], on the five faculties during the feeling of warmth and its climax on the path of connection, on the five powers during the feeling of receptiveness and the supreme phenomenon [on the path of connection],[232] on the seven branches of enlightenment during the path of insight, and on the sublime eightfold path as far as the ninth level[233] during the path of meditation.

In particular, with reference to experiential cultivation from the beginning [of the path], as it is revealed in the sūtras of definitive meaning which belong to the final promulgation: When [a bodhisattva] has comprehended the nature of the nucleus of the tathāgata, and developed his mind in supreme enlightenment, being of the enlightened family, he meditates by combining tranquillity and higher insight. These are, namely, the tranquillity born of contemplation in which subjective thoughts concerned with unimpeded objective appearances are pacified, and the higher insight which views appearances according to the eight similes of illusion. This higher insight determines both the subtle and coarse subject-object dichotomies to be empty and then inspects reality as emptiness itself. It also includes meditative equipoise and absorption in the meaning of the Madhyamaka, free from extremes. As the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva* (Ch.8, v.4) also says:

One should know that conflicting emotions are subdued
By higher insight excellently endowed with tranquillity.

Fifth, in conduct, a bodhisattva acts on behalf of sentient beings, regarding others as more dear than himself during the aftermath [of meditation]. As the natural expression of his conduct, he acts according to the six or ten transcendental perfections in the manner of a mere illusion. The enumeration of six [transcendental perfections] which begins with liberality, and the enumeration of ten which adds skilful means, power, aspiration and pristine cognition, are all gathered within the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness (*prajñāpāramitā*).

Sixth, concerning the result, when a bodhisattva has gradually traversed the ten levels and five paths, on the eleventh level of Universal Light (*Samantaprabhā*) during the path of no-more-learning, he is liberated for his own sake in the buddha-body of reality, and relying on the two buddha-bodies of form for the sake of others, he acts on behalf of sentient beings until saṃsāra has been emptied.

Furthermore, on this topic the *Extensive Magical Net* says:

> The yogin who has perfected the transcendental
> perfections,
> Who has realised the two kinds of selflessness,
> And who has gradually traversed the ten levels,
> Will excellently attain, by means of the two truths,
> The path through which the buddha level is reached
> And its status is attained.

This completes the anthology which explains the definitive order of the causal vehicles of dialectics, the third part of this book, the *Feast in which Eloquence Appears*, which is a definitive ordering of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Four
Resultant Vehicles of Secret Mantra

Introduction

[131b.2-131b.4] Having briefly described the structure of the causal vehicles of dialectics, now the definitive order of the piṭaka of the resultant secret mantra (*gsang-sngags*), the vehicles of indestructible reality, shall be expounded in two parts: the superiority [of the secret mantra] over the causal vehicles and an explanation of the nature of these extraordinary vehicles.

1 *The Superiority of Secret Mantra*

[131b.4-143a.6] This [vehicle] which makes the result into the path is superior to the vehicle of the transcendental perfections[234] which makes the cause into the path. There are adherents of the dialectical vehicle who object that, "When you proponents of the way of secret mantra make the result your path, it must either be a mature [result] which is made into the path, or an immature result which is made into the path. In the first case, this would lead to infinite regress because even after maturation, [the result] would be made into the path. You have accepted this logical entailment and it is proven that [the present instance] must be included therein, just as, for example, last year's fruit becomes the present's seed. So if this view is held, it is implied that the way of secret mantra is itself a long path. In the second case, it is not the result which is made into the path because this is immature. If this view were held, your own assertion would be refuted, and it is consistently proven that anything immature is not a conclusive result; witness for example a shoot and a stem."

If this argument were raised, the reply would be that, from the standpoint of being, the genuine essence which is to be obtained abides intrinsically, and yet, because it is not understood from the standpoint of realisation, it is merely the means of realising it which is said to be made into the path. As it is said in the *Sequence of the Path*:

> In this way, the pristine cognition
> Which intrinsically ábides
> Is the essence of all the paths and results.
> In order that the connection with it may be purified,
> The supreme means which make it manifest
> emerge intrinsically.

If it is said that when the intrinsically abiding result is manifested by the path, it must either have been produced on the basis of a previous result or not, then with reference to the essence, there is nothing to be produced. This is just as when a prince who wanders among the

populace is recognised as a prince his status does not essentially improve. Yet with reference to the manifest clarity [of the essence], it *has* been produced, just as when [the identity of] the prince has been confirmed he can hold sway over the populace. This vehicle of secret mantra should be known as such. It says in the *Heruka Galpo*:

> Through the causal vehicle of dialectics
> Mind-as-such is perceived as the cause of buddhahood.
> Through the resultant vehicle of mantras
> Mind-as-such is meditated upon as buddhahood.
> So, too, one should know well the tendency
> Of any cause or result.

Therefore, in the vehicle of dialectics mind-as-such is merely perceived as the causal basis of buddhahood. Since it is held that buddhahood is obtained under the condition whereby the two provisions increasingly multiply, and since the purifying doctrines which form the causal basis of nirvāṇa are made into the path, it is called the causal vehicle (*rgyu'i theg-pa*). Therein, a sequence in which cause precedes result is admitted.

According to the vehicle of mantras, on the other hand, mind-as-such abides primordially and intrinsically as the essence of the result, identified in the buddha-bodies and pristine cognitions. Mind-as-such is thereby established as the ground which exists within oneself from the present moment as the object to be attained. It is then established as the path through its functions of bringing about recognition and removing the provisional stains which suddenly arise by means of inducing the perception of just what is, and it is established as the result through its function of actualising this very ground. Since a sequence in which cause precedes result is not really distinguished therein, it is called the resultant vehicle (*'bras-bu'i theg-pa*) and the vehicle of indestructible reality (*rdo-rje theg-pa*). It is said in the *Secret Nucleus* (Ch.12, v.14):

> From any of the four times and ten directions
> The perfect Buddha will not be found.
> Mind-as-such is the perfect Buddha.
> Do not search for the Buddha elsewhere.

And (Ch.13, v.19):

> The result, definitive and most secret,
> Has been turned into the path.

And also (Ch.9, v.29):

> This wondrous, marvellous, amazing reality
> Does not come into existence from elsewhere.
> But it emerges in those dispositions
> Which have the nature of discriminative awareness,
> Steadfast in skilful means.

Then, in the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net* it is said:

> Since cause and result are primordially without
> sequence,
> When the result has been turned into the path,
> They are simultaneously united.

Similarly, with reference to the outer tantras, the *Sequence of the Path* says:

> Through discriminative awareness
> And all branches of ritual
> According to the tradition of Kriyātantra,
> The Sugata made the result into the path.

And with reference to the inner tantras, the same text says accordingly:

> Other than this there is nothing to be obtained.
> When everything indeed has been ripened,
> There is nothing to be reached.
> This reality is the essence of the path.

Our predecessors, too, have claimed that there exists a distinction between [the resultant vehicle] which can make the relative appearances into the path and [the causal vehicle] which cannot. Through the transcendental perfections, the ultimate reality is to be attained and the relative appearances are to be renounced, but through the mantras relative appearances are also made into the path without being renounced, since sameness with respect to all things is experienced. Therefore, the mantra vehicles are superior because they do not fall into biased tendencies with respect to the two truths. The *Sequence of the Path* says:

> Within the unsurpassed vehicle, there are those
> Holding ultimate reality to be indivisible
> And relative appearances to include everything,
> Both the pure and the impure.
> The great vehicle of skilful means, however,
> Does not divide even relative appearances
> According to purity and suffering.
> The higher and lower views are just so.[235]

According to this system [i.e. the vehicle of skilful means] also, the result is made into the path because the essence of the result, in which all things are indivisible, is regarded as the buddha-body of reality in which appearances and emptiness are coalesced, and experienced by skilful means. It says in the *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net*:

In the nature of appearances,
Including the animate and inanimate world,
There is no inherent essence.
This itself is the great body of reality.

The way of secret mantra is verbally defined as that which makes the result into the path and as the vehicle of indestructible reality because, through the outer mantras, one meditates with reference to the body, speech and mind of the deity and, according to the inner mantras, all things are realised and then experienced as the natural expression of the maṇḍalas of buddha-body, speech and mind. The *Miraculous Key to the Storehouse* says:

Concerning the resultant vehicle of indestructible reality:
When the maṇḍala of the seals[236] has been made into the path,
The result itself is then carried on the path.
One's own body, speech and mind
Are united in the indestructible reality of
Buddha-body, speech and mind.
Such is indicative of the vehicle of indestructible reality.

Yet [the way of secret mantra] also has other distinctive features, as it is said in the *Lamp of the Three Modes* (*Nayatrayapradīpa*, T 3707):

Though they are identical in purpose,
The vehicle of the mantras is superior;
For it is unobscured and endowed with many means,
It is without difficulty
And refers to those of highest acumen.

Although both the causal and resultant phases of the greater vehicle are identical in their purpose of seeking enlightenment with the aim of benefitting sentient beings, the mantras are superior through four distinctive features. [First,] they are unobscured in the area of skilful means which includes meditation on the deity and the recitation of mantras. [Second,] they are manifold because there are limitless approaches among the tantrapiṭaka, beginning with the Kriyātantra and Caryātantra, which correspond to the degrees of acumen [in those who require training], without being confined to a single methodical approach. [Third,] they are without difficulty because they are easily accomplished without requiring that three "countless" aeons and the like be arduously passed as in the causal path. [Fourth,] they are taught with an intention directed towards those of highest acumen who actually require training through the vehicle of these very mantras. So the mantras are superior in these four ways.

Moreover, if a somewhat detailed explanation is given according to the intention of the uncommon, inner tantras in this [Nyingma tradition]: When the profound and vast abiding nature of inconceivable reality[237] is appraised according to the dialectical vehicle, ultimate truth is established through the valid cognition of inference by means of perceptive judgements made according to logical syllogisms, and so is an intellectually created ground. Tranquillity is then secured by means of efforts directed to the birth of intellectual certainty, and it is the ideas and scrutiny in relation to that [ground] which are merely labelled as higher insight. The mere profundity [of this dialectical vehicle] refers to the result as that which lies in the direction of attainment through causes compounded of countless provisions over a long period of time, and its vastness comprises the components, psychophysical bases and activity fields. All of these, having been established as the relative truth, are nothing but the rigid ensnarement of the perception which accepts and rejects.

The mantra [vehicle], on the other hand, does not refer to logical syllogisms and the intellectually contrived discriminative awareness produced by thought. Pristine cognition uncreated by the intellect is established as the non-conceptualising reality or nucleus of the buddha-body of reality by the third empowerment,[238] by the irresistible descent of pristine cognition,[239] and by incisively applying oneself to [practices associated with] the energy channels, currents and seminal points which depend on the body of indestructible reality. Then enlightenment is actualised in one lifetime, and so forth, after the ultimate truth has been realised by the intellect abiding naturally in this state.

In this way, the continuum of the ground (*gzhi'i rgyud*) is established both through that actual development of profundity and also through the vastness which is the expanse [of reality], primordially abiding as a maṇḍala of inner radiance. Subsequently, it is revealed that the continua of the path (*lam-kyi rgyud-rnams*) are to be experientially cultivated by realising that the entire world and its contents, along with the components, psychophysical bases and activity fields, which are the ostensible relative appearances dependent on that [ground], are an array of deities, celestial mansions and buddha-fields free from acceptance and rejection. And the continuum of the result (*'bras-bu'i rgyud*) is thereby established, including the eight common accomplishments and the uncommon accomplishments which extend from the path of insight as far as the path of no-more-learning. Therefore, [the way of mantras] is unobscured with respect to profound and vast meaning.

In other respects also, the mantras are superior through their swiftness, bliss and skilful means. If one inquires into the quality of their swiftness, it is that enlightenment is attained through them within this life, sixteen rebirths, three aeons or eight aeons. And if one inquires into the reasons for their swiftness, it is that the mantras possess merit

which originates from total enjoyment because, through their special rites, the offerings which are made are actually accepted by the deities; it is that by the power of mantras even a single drop of water is multiplied to the extent of the sands of the River Ganges and gives rise to as many merits; and it is that the contemplation of purifying [lands into] buddha-fields in which impure appearances have ceased is actualised by a novice. Moreover, through each particular quality of the mantras and contemplations, those extraordinary causes which bring sentient beings to maturity exist even in one who has just entered this vehicle, and through their range of contemplation, [the mantras] possess, from first to last, the discriminative awareness which refers to form as an aspect of the result in terms of the two truths.

If one inquires into the quality of their bliss, it is the absence of coarse physical and mental sensations. And if one inquires into the reasons for their bliss, it is that in this [vehicle] even a body which endures for six aeons may be achieved, that many miraculous abilities and contemplations are obtained, that through the power of the mantras the buddhas become actually present, and that through the application of the mantras and the tantras all the wishes of sentient beings are attained.

Then, if one inquires into the nature of their skilful means, [the mantras] include the training in moral disciplines such as the unchanging bliss, the training in contemplations which are both symbolic and non-symbolic, the training in discriminative awareness through which the two truths are realised to be primordially of indivisible nature, and they include all else that enters the range of experience.

Moreover, it is revealed in the *Tantra of the Inconceivable Rali Cakrasaṃvara*:

> In the lesser vehicle which includes the pious attendants,
> There are no esoteric instructions.
> The vehicle of the awareness-holders is superior
> Through fifteen distinctive features:
> The distinctions of its view, conduct and mind control,
> Of its cause, result, path and level,
> Of its time, rapture and yoga,
> Of its self- and other-oriented benefits, and its intention,
> Its renunciation of laborious extremes, and its ease,
> And its accumulation of the provisions.

Concerning superiority [of the mantras] through the view, mind-as-such is essentially and spontaneously present from the beginning as the ultimate truth, which has seven aspects of spiritual wealth, as follows. Through its function of being the naturally pure essence, it is the ultimate truth of the expanse. Through its function of abiding as the ground in which all things of nirvāṇa arise, clear and radiant without all obscurations and veils, it is the ultimate truth of pristine cognition.

Then, it is the ultimate truth of the result, which unimpededly abides, whatever enlightened attributes of buddha-body and pristine cognition arise. The resultant doctrines which are the great mystery of the buddha's fivefold body, speech, mind, enlightened attributes and activities, being spontaneously present within the latter, are the ultimate truth of natural, original cessation.[240]

The expressive power of this ultimate reality which is mind-as-such, otherwise [known as] the apparitional array of the world and its contents which, to childish persons, are ostensible relative appearances, is manifest in and of itself as a great maṇḍala of buddha-body and pristine cognition. Thus, the relative truth is perfect in that sameness where saṃsāra and nirvāṇa or good and evil are not distinguished. It is the great, superior body of reality wherein the truth is indivisible, and in which these two truths [both ultimate and relative] abide from the beginning as the identity of a single essence, coalesced in the manner of gold and the colour gold, or of a butter lamp and the light of a butter lamp, without alternating between acceptance and rejection. Only in conventional terms is [this body of reality] called the indivisible truth, transcending thought and expression. Indeed, it genuinely transcends the thoughts and expressions which apprehend it. It is neither improved by buddhas, nor worsened by sentient beings, because this doctrine of primordial origin, not being a contrived doctrine which suddenly arises, abides in the fundamental, natural state of mind-as-such. It is said in the *Sequence of the Path* by Buddhaguhya:

> Since it is neither created nor contrived
> By the conquerors or living beings,
> Its natural expression is intrinsically indivisible,
> And in order to loosen attachment to its descriptions
> It is unthinkable and inexpressible
> Within the two conventional truths.

Although this abiding mode of the two truths is the superior view of the mantras, certain scholars of Tibet hold that, in general, there is no distinction between the view of the vehicle of transcendental perfections and that of the way of secret mantra. In particular, they disapprove of relative appearances being held within the view, and profess instead that [the pure divine appearances] are similar to meditations on loving kindness, compassion, enlightened mind and so forth because they are the conceptual aspects of meditation [performed] by a subject with reference to a relative object. This, however, is the prattle of minds which are disinclined to the spiritual and philosophical systems of the vehicle of indestructible reality. It is of crucial importance that the above explanation be known as the view of the mantras, and it is also exceedingly important to meditate on it. This is because, concerning the view, when the meaning of the view appears to the unbewildered

pristine cognition of sublime beings, through the eye of discriminative awareness which accords with the primordial abiding nature of all things, it is the abiding nature of all things, the measure of the ultimate truth. This is also because the things which appear as the objects of consciousness, which is the bewildered intellect of sentient beings, are false in that they are the apparitional nature or relative truth. For example, the six classes of living beings perceive the same water in many apparitional modes, but to the buddhas it appears as the expanse of the consort Māmakī.[241]

The abiding nature [of reality] is also exclusively free from the conceptual elaboration of any objective referent. If it is said in this context that there is no difference between the views of the sūtras and mantra texts because the dialectics explained in the sūtras are not erroneous, they are similar in the sense that it is the aspect of the buddha-body of reality, derived from the expanse free from all conceptual elaborations, which is made into the path according to the explanations in the causal phase of the greater vehicle. However, in that freedom from conceptual elaborations, which is exclusively one of explicit negation, the emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects, the ground in which all uncorrupted things arise, and also the enlightened attributes of supreme bliss distinguished by the way of mantras, are incomplete. Therefore it says in the *Taintless Light*:

> The emptiness of all aspects in space and the things which are uncreated are genuinely perceived in the manner of images on a mirror. This is remote from the emptiness of empty nihilism which scrutinises the properties of the self, comprising the aggregate of atomic particles, in order to equate the conceptual elaborations manifested by one's own mind with dreams. The inner bliss, a phenomenon of which one is intrinsically aware, is passionately adhered to, and the blissful phenomena of which one is aware through the external sense organs are totally abandoned.

And so it is explained in the *Brief Teaching on the Tenets of the View* (*Pradarśanānumatoddeśaparīkṣā*, P 4610):

> The emptiness which scrutinises the components,
> Coreless as a plantain tree,
> Is dissimilar[242] to this emptiness
> Which is endowed with all supreme aspects.
> Uncreated and unceasing,
> The knowable appearances discerned therein
> Are emptiness in the sense that they are substantially
> empty,
> And not in the sense of a scrutiny of the components.

The proponent of dialectics, apart from merely establishing that the characteristics of relative appearance are non-existent, does not know the essence which abides from the beginning as great purity and sameness; and by not knowing that, he does not know the meditation which makes the precise aspects of the auspicious coincidence of the two buddha-bodies of form into the path.[243] By not knowing that, in turn, he does not know the means of accumulating the extraordinary provisions through which the desired qualities[244] are rapturously experienced, so that, being bound by the antidote of renunciation, he is obliged to aspire to a goal within three "countless" aeons. In the way of mantras, however, this utterly pure, original abiding nature of reality, in which the truest of results – that of the non-dual essence of the expanse and pristine cognition, the coalescence of bliss and emptiness – is spontaneously present from the beginning, is known as the object of the view. And thereafter meditation is the training which relates to this real disposition or enters into the experience of it. In this way, the intellect is purified by making that reality and its aspects into the path during the illusion-like creation stage (*utpattikrama*) and during the extraordinary perfection stage (*sampannakrama*) in which [practices associated with] the energy channels, currents and seminal points are incisively applied.

When all the apparitional modes of suddenly arisen deluded thoughts, originating from impure dependence – including the world, its contents, components, psychophysical bases and activity fields – have gradually vanished, the essence is present, in which the primordial abiding nature is actualised as a maṇḍala of utterly pure buddha-body and pristine cognition. So, it is because the view and meditation of the mantras are superior that it is proven to be the resultant vehicle. As it is said in the *Lotus Peak* (*Padmaśekhara*):

> Concerning the natural expression of the taintless expanse,
> Along with the three bodies and four kinds of pristine cognition:
> When, in that pure state,
> An image of actualised intrinsic radiance
> Is made into the path,
> It is correctly called the resultant vehicle.

As for the meditations of loving kindness, compassion and enlightened mind: There is no occasion to identify them with the uncommon view and meditation of the mantras because the subjective consciousness by which they refer to their appropriate appearances is a suddenly arisen, impure fiction. It can be simply realised even by childish intellects that these [meditations] are details concerning the development of enlightened mind according to the relative truth, which is taught in the sūtra texts. Therefore, as previously cited, the *Sequence of the Path of the Magical Net* says:

Within the unsurpassed vehicle, there are those
Holding ultimate reality to be perfect in sameness[245]
And relative appearances to include everything,
Both the pure and the impure.
The great vehicle of skilful means, however,
Does not divide even relative appearances
According to purity and suffering.
The higher and lower views are just so.

Still greater than that is the distinction between the following two kinds of view. First, there is the view that pristine cognition, the great intrinsic abiding reality which is the naturally pure inner radiance of the expanse, remains incontrovertibly as the abiding nature of immaculate awareness, transcending the three times and free from all conceptual elaborations, present as a naturally occurring fundamental nature, liberated from the bondage of created doctrines, and pure from the start without requiring to be artificially contrived by an intellectually applied analysis. The second view is laboriously created, adhering to extremes which accept or reject the mind and its mental events since, through the intellect and analysis, it claims to clarify eternalist and nihilist extremes. The distinction between these two views is similar to that between heaven and earth, and with reference to the abiding nature of the view, the former would appear to be genuine and the latter conventional.

Therefore, when a deity is observed [through the mantra vehicles]: according to the Kriyātantra, a deity of pure reality is realised; according to the Yogatantra, a deity blessed with great dynamic pristine cognition is additionally realised; and according to the Unsurpassed Yogatantra, in addition to both of these, [the deity] is realised within the spontaneously present maṇḍala. Otherwise, there would be no basis for purification in the abiding nature of the ground, there would be no need for the coincidence of the object of purification and of the act of purification, and one would instead cling to that which does not exist as if it did. It would be equivalent to meditation on the horns of a hare.

Now this refers to the distinction of the view [in the way of mantras]. Yet the master Indrabhūti has also explained that:

> There is a distinction of guru, a distinction of vessel, a distinction of ritual, a distinction of ritual action, a distinction of commitment, a distinction of view and a distinction of conduct.

And [in his *Point of Liberation, Muktitilaka*, T 1859], Buddhajñānapāda has also said:

> This vehicle is uncommon in three respects: the one who becomes accomplished through it, its path and its result.

In this way, the latter, who explains that [mantras] have distinctions in their view and result, also makes a distinction between the attainment of buddhahood in the causal and resultant [vehicles].

Elsewhere, [the mantras] are revealed to be superior through three distinctive features. These are elucidated in the *Definitive Order of the Three Vehicles* (*Triyānavyavasthāna*, T 3712):

> The vehicle pure in its visualisation,
> Its power of assistance and level of conduct,
> To those who are endowed with intelligence
> Is well known to be the greatest.

Accordingly, [the mantras] are revealed to be superior because therein one experientially cultivates three maṇḍalas[246] in which all things are indivisible, namely: a view pure in its visualisation, for it regards the natural buddha-fields and their utterly pure range of activity; a power endowed with the vows of uncommon commitment to assist it; and the deeds of the Tathāgata as conduct.

Again, it is revealed in the *Sublime Lasso of Skilful Means* (*'phags-pa thabs-kyi zhags-pa*, T 835):

> The mantras are superior through four greatest qualities, namely, the greatest of visualisations, and similarly, the greatest of attainments, the greatest of pristine cognitions and the greatest of skilful means.

And Ḍombī Heruka has also said:

> In this [tradition], the vehicle of mantras is superior
> Through the distinction of its recipients,
> Through the properties which mark its recipients,
> Through the distinction of its texts and paths,
> And through the distinction of its results.

Thus, the resultant view is one which realises the abiding nature of reality, and distinctions are revealed within it. For these reasons, it is proven that the view [of the mantras] holds distinction [over that of the causal vehicle].

Similarly, concerning [the second distinction of the mantras],[247] through their conduct: The proponent of dialectics continues to accept and reject in terms of a corruptible moral discipline because he abides in perceptions which abandon and obstruct the five poisons that are to be renounced. The mantras, however, are superior through their provisions, offerings, unchanging moral discipline and so forth because the source [of saṃsāra] is turned into the path by means of its [true] nature, which is one of apparitional purity and sameness.

Then, concerning [the third distinction of the mantras], through mind-control: The proponent of dialectics requires that the contempla-

tions of tranquillity and higher insight be attained over a long period of time by the most exhaustive of efforts in mind-control. The mantras, however, are superior because pristine cognition is instantly realised through the extraordinary yoga of the two stages and their coalescence.

Concerning [the fourth distinction of the mantras], through their causal basis: The proponent of dialectics holds that ultimate reality is seen by one who has previously gone through the provisions and so forth, whereas the mantras are superior because the truth of reality is realised by one who has been forcibly introduced to pristine cognition, which intrinsically abides as the causal basis of separation from obscurations (*bral-rgyu*).

As for [the fifth distinction of the mantras], through their path: The proponent of dialectics requires that the path be traversed over many great aeons by the alternation of meditative absorption and its aftermath once the provisions have been accumulated. The mantras are superior since one who enters the path in which meditative absorption and its aftermath are indivisible progresses swiftly.

Also, concerning [the sixth distinction of the mantras], through their result: In the dialectics [the result] is considered to emerge after a long period of time, whereas the mantras are superior because it is held that the ground and result are indivisible and spontaneously present here and now.

Concerning [the seventh distinction of the mantras], through their levels: In the dialectics [the levels] are held to number eleven by differentiating the successive renunciations and antidotes.[248] The mantras, however, are superior because [they progress] to the twelfth level of the Unattached Lotus Endowed (*ma-chags padma-can*), the thirteenth level of the Holder of Indestructible Reality (*rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*) and so on.

As for [the eighth distinction of the mantras], that of time: The proponent of dialectics loiters for three great, "countless" aeons and the like, whereas the mantras are superior because one whose commitments are unimpaired achieves [the goal] in one lifetime and so forth.

Concerning [the ninth distinction], that of rapture: In dialectics attainment comes after desired qualities have been renounced, while the mantras are superior because the friendship [of desired qualities] is cultivated.

Concerning [the tenth distinction], that of yoga: The proponent of dialectics differentiates between meditative absorption and its aftermath, whereas the mantras are superior because the inconceivable yoga in which they are indivisible is made into the path.

Then concerning [the eleventh], that of their benefits which are self- and other-oriented: The proponent of dialectics does not achieve more than provisional, slight benefits, whereas the mantras are superior because through them one acts on behalf of oneself and others by many approaches which cut off [evil] and bring [others] into the fold, whichever deeds are appropriate.

Concerning [the twelfth], that of intention: In dialectics nothing is known apart from the mere causal vehicle, whereas the mantras are superior since they ascertain the great mystery of the result.

[By the thirteenth distinction] the mantras are superior to dialectics because the fault of fatigue is easily renounced, and [by the fourteenth] they are so because great benefit is achieved with little hardship.

Finally, concerning [the fifteenth distinction], that of the accumulation of provisions: The proponent of dialectics requires that the conduct of the six transcendental perfections, beginning with liberality, be extensively accumulated over countless aeons. In the mantras, though [the provisions] are somewhat smaller, they are vast because liberality is to be practised after [the provisions of offering] have been multiplied in the storehouse of space through the blessing or consecration of the mantras. All objects are perceived as buddha-fields, all raptures are transformed into feast offerings and conflicting emotions are naturally pure without having been renounced. The provisions of merit and pristine cognition are swiftly contracted and perfected. Therefore the mantras are superior.

Furthermore, according to the dialectics the appearance of the buddha-body has an illusory nature and, by means of the ordinary actions of the body, one does no more than enter into virtue. According to the mantras the mystery of the buddha-body is that all appearances within the world and its contents are deities and celestial mansions and, by perfecting the maṇḍala of buddha-body, the emanation and absorption [of light] from the deity's seal are not bypassed.[249] Therefore [the mantras] are superior.

According to the dialectics, buddha-speech is empty in the manner of an echo, and when ordinary speech is cut off one does no more than enter into virtue. The mantras, on the other hand, are superior because the mystery of buddha-speech is a raincloud of doctrine. It is perceived as the natural expression of a great, imperishable vibration of melody, and all sounds, words and tones arise as the natural intonation of mantras, because ordinary speech abides from the beginning in the maṇḍala of buddha-speech. Thereby all that is said is potent and unimpededly effective.

The proponent of dialectics seals the buddha-mind with the [view] that all recollection and thought are without independent existence, and, having obstructed the ebb and flow of thoughts in the ordinary mind, does no more than cling to the contemplations of tranquillity and higher insight. The mantras are superior because the mystery of buddha-mind arises as the natural expression of reality, where supremely unchanging great bliss and the emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects, which is essentially devoid of substantial existence, are coalesced. All recollections and thoughts of the ordinary mind are spontaneously present, without the duality of meditative absorption

and its aftermath, in the maṇḍala of the non-conceptualising yoga, a continuous stream of contemplation, which is reality's display.

This alone serves to illustrate that one should know the other distinctive features [of the mantras] to be inconceivable. But if they are abbreviated, they should be condensed according to the following words from the *Prophetic Declaration of Intention* (*Sandhivyākaraṇatantra*, T 444):

> That which is known by the buddhas
> Over utterly countless aeons
> Is the perfect enlightenment attained in one moment
> And within one lifetime by the mantrins.



Vajrasattva

2 *The Essence and Definition of Secret Mantra*

[143a.6-147b.1] The extraordinary vehicles are expounded in two parts, one giving a detailed exegesis of the overall meaning according to their general classifications and the other recapitulating the meaning subsumed in their particular sections.

The first is outlined under the three headings of the essence, verbal definition and classification. First, [the essence] is that the Mantrapiṭaka of the greater vehicle, which was taught by the Teacher, Vajradhara, observes that the ground and result are indivisible and spontaneously present, owing to which the natural expression of the truth of the origin [of saṃsāra] appears as the truth of the path, and the natural expression of the truth of suffering appears as the truth of cessation. Thus, in respect of action, the result is swiftly accomplished by experientially cultivating the abiding nature of the ground, without rejection and acceptance.

Secondly, concerning the verbal definitions: The [Sanskrit] *mana(s)*, which conveys the meaning of mind, and *trāya*, which conveys that of protection, become "mantra" by syllabic contraction, and therefrom the sense of protecting the mind [*yid-skyob* in Tibetan] is derived. It says in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*:

> Whatever has arisen through the conditions
> Of sense organs and objects is the mind.
> This mind is explained by [the term] *man*,
> And *tra* has the sense of granting protection.

And also, in the *Great All-Radiating Seminal Point which is an Ancient Translation* (*snga-'gyur thig-le kun-gsal chen-po*, NGB Vol.5):

> Concerning the verbal definition of the three kinds of mantra,
> They are so called because they protect consciousness.

According to such explanations, mantras are [so called] because they easily and swiftly protect the consciousness of the mind.

On the subject of protection by their ease, it says in the *Mahāmāya Tantra* (T 425):

As for the five sensual raptures:
It is by freely indulging therein
That accomplishment is attained.

And on the subject of protection by their swiftness: Without referring to provisions amassed over three "countless" [aeons] and the like, the result can be actualised through the skilful means [of the mantras] in one lifetime, and so forth. Hence they are established as the swift and resultant vehicle. As it is said in the *Glorious Seminal Point of Embrace* (*Śrīsampuṭatilaka*, T 382):

Though over many millions of aeons
There are buddhas who have difficulty in attaining this,
It is granted [by the mantras] in this very lifetime.
Hence they are called the resultant vehicle.

And in the *Buddhasamāyoga* (T 366-7):

Through countless millions of aeons
All the buddhas do not obtain actual [enlightenment];
The secret mantras, by the rites of this life,
Obtain it in this very lifetime.

Then again, the great seal of [the deity's] bodily form, reflecting the emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects (*rnam-kun mchog-ldan-gyi stong-gzugs phyag-rgya chen-po*), is introduced by [the experience] of a melting bliss, which is symbolised by [the syllables] E-VAṂ. This pristine cognition or unchanging supreme bliss, which coalesces in a single essence the emptiness and co-emergent bliss arising from the pulse of the seminal point of great desire, is obligatory for all buddhas.[250] It, too, is [defined as] mantra because it easily and swiftly protects the mind, and constrains the objects to be renounced, namely, the propensities, symbols and ideas which respectively transfer consciousness to the variable [desire realm] and the blissful [form realm]. It says in the *Kālacakra Tantra*:

The collection of vowels and consonants is not unchanging. The unchanging sound refers to Vajrasattva, the pristine cognition of supreme, unchanging bliss. Similarly, since they are the reality which protects the mind, the mantras, too, are called the supreme, unchanging pristine cognition.

And in the *Indestructible Peak* (*Vajraśekhara*, T 480):

The characteristic of all the mantras
Is the mind of all the buddhas.
Since they cause the nucleus of reality to be attained,
They are genuinely endowed with reality's expanse.

The collection of transmitted precepts which extensively teach this [way of mantras] is called the Piṭaka of the Awareness-holders or the Piṭaka of the Vehicle of Indestructible Reality. Derived from the [Sanskrit] *piṭaka*, which conveys the meanings of a container or a measuring basket, the most extensive piṭaka is so called because it establishes in accord with the abiding nature and reveals in detail all conditions which are knowable, from the doctrine concerning the components, psychophysical bases and activity fields to the buddha-body and pristine cognition. Because all the meanings of the three lower piṭaka are gathered and perfected in this, it is also called the source of all the piṭaka. The *Tantra of the Extensive Magical Net* says:

Concerning the king of intrinsic awareness,
Which realises the meaning of sameness:
Just as all rivers flow into the great ocean,
In these most skilful means,
Which realise the unsurpassed meaning,
The inconceivable vehicles of liberation are all
gathered.

Then, concerning the expression "awareness-holder" (*rig-'dzin*, Skt. *vidyādhara*), [when referring to the realized exponents of secret mantra,] there are three [mundane] kinds. First, there is the lesser one who holds the awareness of the accomplishment of eight great activities. These are:

Medicinal pills, eye-salve and swift feet,
The penetration of matter
And accomplishment of the enchanted sword,
Sky-faring and invisibility,
And that of immortality and the supression of
disease.[251]

The middling one is the common sort who holds the awareness of the desire realms; and the greater one holds the awareness of the desire and form realms. The life-span, rapture and so forth of the latter endure for either six aeons or immeasurably.

The supramundane awareness-holders are either the coalescent beings (*yuganaddhasattva*) who abide on the level [of the paths] of learning beginning with the path of insight, or those who possess the taintless body of pristine cognition.

Also, there are those [awareness-holders] who are endowed with the rainbow body but do not possess a body of form belonging to the three realms, and these have seven distinctions of enlightened attributes, namely, they abide in contemplation, possess the five supernormal cognitive powers, act in various fields on behalf of living beings, are without desire or covetousness, enjoy limitless desires as supreme bliss,

transcend the span of life, and abide in a mental body. However, those in whom the basket of the components [i.e. the physical body] has not diminished possess only the body of pristine cognition, and when it has been diminished by deeds and contemplation, it is called the awareness-holders' body of pristine cognition.

In the Mahāyoga, [awareness-holders] are classified into four kinds: those holding the awareness of maturation (*rnam-smin rig-'dzin*), those holding the awareness of power over the life-span (*tshe-dbang rig-'dzin*), those holding the awareness of the great seal (*phyag-chen rig-'dzin*), and those holding the awareness of spontaneous presence (*lhun-grub rig-'dzin*). And, in the *Buddhasamāyoga Tantra*, the [above] enumeration of seven is given.

The Piṭaka of the Awareness-holders is thus named either because it is the ground to be studied by these [awareness-holders] or because one who enters this vehicle comes to attain these common and supreme accomplishments. As explained in the *Commentary on the Tantra of the Dialogue with Subāhu* (*Subāhuparipṛcchātantrapiṇḍārtha*, T 2671):

> That which is called the Piṭaka of the Awareness-holders is the ground studied by the holders of gnostic mantras. Its teaching accords with this spiritual and philosophical system of transmissions concerning the view.[252]

Now this [way of mantras] is also known as the vehicle of indestructible reality (*rdo-rje theg-pa*, Skt. *Vajrayāna*). By definition, this term conveys the sense of "undivided" (*mi-phyed*) and "imperishable" (*mi-shigs*). That which is not divided into anything different never wavers from mind-as-such in the abiding nature of reality, despite the different apparitional modes of both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. Therefore, as it is said [*Hevajra Tantra*, Pt.1, Ch.1, v.4a]:

> It is the undifferentiated nature that is expressed in the word *vajra*.

The mind of all the buddhas is imperishable because it is the essence of reality which cannot be destroyed by any symbolic doctrine. Since it is similar to a *vajra*, the so-called indestructible mind of all buddhas abides, as previously explained, as the essence of mantra. The term "vehicle" is used both metaphorically and literally because it is either the support for the attainment of this [reality] or else the [path] through which it is traversed. It is explained in the *Commentary on the Guhyasamāja*:

> Concerning that which is called the vehicle of indestructible reality: The entire greater vehicle is subsumed by the six transcendental perfections. They in turn are subsumed by skilful means and discriminative awareness, and the common

> savour of the enlightened mind subsumes these. Now, this is the contemplation of Vajrasattva [the spiritual warrior of indestructible reality] and this nature is the indestructible reality. The vehicle of indestructible reality, inasmuch as it is both the indestructible reality and a vehicle, means the same as the mantra vehicle. It is called unsurpassed because it is the supreme reality of all vehicles.

In the *Taintless Light* Avalokiteśvara says:

> That which is said to be the indestructible reality is the undivided pristine cognition, the indestructible reality of the inconceivable buddha-mind. Whatever possesses it is endowed with indestructible reality.

And:

> Indestructible reality is supreme indivisibility and inseparability, and the vehicle which leads to it is the vehicle of indestructible reality. The style of the mantras and the style of the transcendental perfections which [respectively] are identified as the result and the cause are blended together [in it].

And also:

> The vehicle of indestructible reality is the vehicle of the genuinely perfect buddhas. Since it cannot be changed by the vehicles of the extremists, pious attendants and self-centred buddhas, it is the vehicle of indestructible reality. Since one proceeds through it to liberation, it is the vehicle of indestructible reality.

In such ways [the definition of the vehicle of indestructible reality] has been extensively taught.

Furthermore, the [Sanskrit] *tantra* also conveys the meaning of protecting the mind, for *cetanā* has the sense of mind and *trāya* of protection. As the *Commentary on Difficulties entitled Endowed with Pristine Cognition* (*Śrībuddhakapālatantrapañjikājñānavatī*, T 1652) says:

> Tantra is so called because it protects the mind from
> conceptual thoughts.
> Tantrapiṭaka are so called because they form the
> collection or class of the tantras.

The word tantra also, in the manner of the strings of the lute, conveys the sense of continuity. It is so called because it subsumes the naturally pure reality of the mind from sentient being to buddha within the

continuum of ground, path and result, continuously abiding without interruption. The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* says:

> Tantra is defined as a continuity.
> This tantra is of three kinds:
> It is divided according to the ground,
> Its natural expression and its inalienableness.
> Thus the natural expression is the causal basis,
> The ground is defined as skilful means,
> And similarly inalienableness is the result.
> The meaning of tantra is subsumed by these three.

And the *Subsequent Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (*sgyu-'phrul phyi-ma*, NGB Vol.14) says:

> Tantra is explained as continuity:
> From its skilful means and causal basis,
> The result is derived.

3 *The Three Continua of Ground, Path and Result*

[147b.1-150b.5] [The way of secret mantra] is classified according to two divisions, one which generally reveals the definitive order of the three kinds of tantra or continuum comprising the expressed meaning (*brjod-bya rgyud-gsum*) and the other explaining, in particular, the divisions of the four tantrapiṭaka which form their literary expression (*rjod-byed rgyud-sde bzhi*).

The former consists of three kinds of continuum, namely, the continuum of the ground or basis which is to be realised, the continuum of skilful means or the path through which realisation and progress are acquired, and the continuum of the result wherein the goal is reached.

CONTINUUM OF THE GROUND

Concerning the first of these: The ground is that which is primordially present as the abiding nature without bondage or liberation. It is the enlightened mind of intrinsic awareness, the natural inner radiance wherein truth is indivisible and which is free from the range of the intellect. It is endowed with four extraordinary attributes, namely: it is distinguished by harmony with the resultant realities of buddha-fields, bodies, pristine cognitions and so forth; it is supreme bliss by nature; it is uninterrupted; and it is attained through [the nature of] reality.[253] Although it becomes the ground or basis of both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa depending on whether it is realised or not, it is defined as the continuum of the basis because its natural expression continues without change.

As the essence of the buddhas, [the continuum of the ground] is the nucleus of the sugata. As emptiness, it gives rise to the enlightened attributes of the buddha-body of reality, and as appearance, it gives rise to the buddha-body of form. Because [the continuum] is present in that way, it is the enlightened family which naturally abides. As the originating ground of both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, it is the pristine cognition of the ground-of-all. It is one's own real nature according to

Kriyātantra. It is the blessing without symbols which is ultimate reality, and the deity of the expanse of indestructible reality which is relative appearance according to Ubhayatantra and Yogatantra [respectively]. It is the superior, great buddha-body of reality in which the two truths are indivisible according to Mahāyoga. It is the fundamental offspring maṇḍala of the enlightened mind in which the expanse and pristine cognition are non-dual according to Anuyoga; and it is the ground which is conventionally expressed as essence, natural expression and great spirituality according to Atiyoga.

It is explained, in particular, that the support for the continuum of the basis is the buddha-body of reality, the enlightened mind-as-such which is naturally present in the heart centre[254] of corporeal beings as an imperishable seminal point within a pure essence (*dvangs-ma*) of five colours. Furthermore, it emanates as the six pure essences, those of the five elements and the mind, which [are divided into three] groups of two, each with an identical savour, and as such it abides primordially in the nature of the three imperishable, indestructible realities of the most subtle three media [i.e. the body, speech and mind], without straying in any respect. It says in the *Vajra Garland* [*Vajramālā*, T 445]:

> That which abides in the heart of corporeal beings,
> As the form of the naturally present, uncorrupted
> pristine cognition,
> The imperishable seminal point which is supreme bliss,
> All-pervasive in the manner of the sky,
> Is the natural expression of the dynamic body of reality.

And in the *Glorious Kālacakra*:

> Just as, if water is poured into a vase, the space within it does not vanish, that which is endowed with the indestructible reality of all-encompassing space is similarly present within the body, without regard to any object.

As such passages extensively indicate, this ground of liberation, the spontaneously present reality that is the pristine cognition abiding in oneself, is definitively the basis which brings about the continuum of the result. Therefore, the *Blossom of Esoteric Instructions* (*Śrīsampuṭatantrarājaṭīkāmnāyamañjariphala*, T 1198) says:

> The essence, which is the emptiness of substances, does not mean anything other than one's own nature or feature; it has the meaning of one's own essence. This is both the basis, and the holder of indestructible reality who effects [the result]. The same buddhahood, accomplished from beginningless time through the essential nature uncovered by stains,

> is the basis of that buddhahood which is characterised as an attainment of the immaculate [reality].

The ostensible phenomena of saṃsāra are the stains obscuring that ground of purification through which the continuum of the result is effected. They are to be purified because they are specifically designated and established by the erring consciousness which apprehends them, although they have no true existence as objects. Since it is obscured by them, [the ground] abides in the manner of a gemstone in a filthy swamp. As Nāgārjuna [in the *Eulogy to the Expanse of Reality*, v.23] has said:

> The water that lies within the earth
> Remains immaculately pure.
> The pristine cognition within conflicting emotions, too,
> Remains similarly immaculate.

CONTINUUM OF THE PATH

Secondly, the continuum of the path refers to the skilful means which purify these stains covering the continuum of the ground. Since it abides as the connecting activity between the ground and the result, causing the ground to be perceived through its downward connection and the result to be obtained through its upward connection, it is the continuum of the path. In the Great Master [Padmasambhava's] *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions* it says:

> Concerning this, the goal is conclusively reached by means of three characteristics. Awareness, or the four kinds of realisation, is the characteristic of perception, the repeated experience of it is the characteristic of the entrance, and the actualisation of it by the power of experience is the characteristic of the result.

Accordingly, the basis [of the continuum of the path] is the view whose characteristic is perception, its condition is the contemplation whose characteristic is the entrance, and its result is characterised as the actualisation. The view is established with reference to the perception of the object which is to be entered by experiential cultivation, or to the object of meditation. Contemplation is established with reference to the actual entrance or act of meditation through experiential cultivation; and the result is established when the object of meditation is referred to as being actualised. The latter comprises both the conclusive result which has actualised all that is to be realised, and the result in which actualisation has been turned into the path only to a certain extent, of which the former is identical to the continuum of the result and the latter is

the third characteristic during the continuum of the path. The definitive order of these shall be briefly explained below.

Having generally indicated the fundamentals of the path, the actual subject-matter of tantra, which is required for its implementation, is then revealed in accordance with its particular classifications. The path is said to be clearly divided into the following ten categories: a view of the real, determinate conduct, maṇḍala array, successive gradation of empowerment, commitment which is not transgressed, enlightened activity which is displayed, fulfilment of aspiration, unwavering contemplation, offering which brings the goal to fruition, and mantra recitation accompanied by the seals which bind [the practitioner to realisation].

CONTINUUM OF THE RESULT

Thirdly, concerning the continuum of the result: The result refers to the enlightened attributes which are qualitatively present in the ground and actualised after those stains which obscure the continuum of the ground have been purified by the power of meditating on the path. In the commentary on the *Secret Nucleus* entitled *[Illuminating Lamp of the] Fundamental Text* it is said:

> When accomplishment has been perfected
> It is called the result.

It is the result, therefore, because in it the thoughts of those who aspire to the unsurpassed, supreme result are entirely perfected, and it is the continuum (*tantra*) because its continuity is never broken.

Although within the piṭaka of the greater vehicle which concerns transcendental perfection, the result of supreme enlightenment is revealed in detail, there is a great distinction between the two kinds of buddhahood, one of which is explained therein and the other in the unsurpassed mantra texts. The former is attained through aspiration and conduct with respect to the two provisions and the latter is that in which the whole extent of the natural continuum of the ground is qualitatively actualised. Since it is incorrect [to say] that the uncommon result of this [buddhahood] is accomplished without relying on the uncommon path of the secret mantras, only the awareness-holder of spontaneous presence on the final path is conventionally described as a buddha. Indeed, the great adherents of the glorious Zur tradition[255] claim that the actual buddhahood of the mantra path must be obtained even after that.

When the doctrines of the result are classified, they are manifold, including the ten powers and [four] fearlessnesses which are generally known, and including the seven branches of union (*saptasampuṭa*) which are known only in the unsurpassed [mantras]. And then according to

the text of the *Tantra of the [Secret] Nucleus*, there are said to be twenty-five resultant realities which gather within them the definitive structure of the supporting buddha-bodies, supported pristine cognitions and enlightened activities.

4 *The Four Tantrapiṭaka*

[150b.5-152a.2] Secondly, concerning the detailed explanation of the divisions of the four tantrapiṭaka which form the literary expression of the mantra vehicles, it is said in the *Tantra of the Array of the Nucleus of Indestructible Reality* (*rdo-rje snying-po bkod-pa'i rgyud*):

> The tantras intended by the Sugata
> Are correctly explained to be of four kinds:
> Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga and Unsurpassed Tantra.

While there are many dissimilar ways of dividing them, the reason for this division into the four tantrapiṭaka, which are well known, is that they are taught as the paths respectively for those of lowest, middling, superior and highest acumen [who require training], and as the means by which those beings are gradually led to the result. In the *[Indestructible] Tent* (*Vajrapañjaratantra*, T 419) it is said:

> The Kriyātantra is for the basest,
> And Caryātantra[256] is for those who are superior,
> The Yogatantra is for the supreme among sentient beings,
> And Unsurpassed Yoga is for those who are yet more
> superior.

The four tantrapiṭaka are also said to be taught with reference to the four temporal ages, as found in the following words [from the *Tantra which Genuinely Gathers All the Deities*]:[257]

> The Kriyātantra is [emphasised] during the first age or
> the *Kṛtayuga*,
> The Caryātantra is emphasised during the second age or
> the *Tretayuga*,
> The Yogatantra is emphasised during the third age or
> the *Dvāparayuga*,
> And the Unsurpassed Tantra is emphasised during the
> fourth age or the *Kaliyuga*.

It is with an intention directed toward the four ages[258]
That the tantras are explained to be of four kinds.

Teaching is also said to be given in the form of the four tantrapiṭaka because they instruct those to be trained who have four kinds of desire, but I shall not treat this separately because its import is actually included in this [analysis].[259]

The first three of these four tantrapiṭaka, which are specifically enumerated, are known as "the vehicle of austere awareness" and are established as the three outer tantrapiṭaka because their teachings respectively emphasise the external observances of body and speech, equate both external observances and the inner mind, and emphasise the inner mind without abandoning the external observances. The last piṭaka is superior to these and is therefore established as "the vehicle of overpowering means", the Unsurpassed Yoga of skilful means and discriminative awareness in coalescence.

The former comprises the three [vehicles] of the Kriyātantra, Caryātantra and Yogatantra, referring to which the *Commentary which Epitomises the Hevajra [Tantra]* (*Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*, T 1180) says:

> If one has little ability to meditate on the real, there is the Kriyātantra which mostly teaches external conduct for those who openly delight in symbolic conduct.

And:

> For those who are devoted to the distinctions of activity but are disinclined to abandon the inner identification which indeed unites with the vast conduct of skilful means and discriminative awareness, there is the Ubhayatantra [i.e. Caryātantra] which is derived in common from both the Kriyātantra and Yogatantra.

And so on. Then in the *Commentary on the Tantra of the Awakening of Great Vairocana* (*Mahāvairocanābhisambodhitantraṭīkā*, T 2663) it says:

> The [Yogatantra] including the *Sublime Tantra of the Summation of the Real* emphasises inner union, and yet it is not without external conduct.

KRIYĀTANTRA

[152a.2-153a.4] The first of these [tantrapiṭaka], Kriyā, means action, because it emphatically teaches the actions of body and speech. Its view is that ultimately there are enlightened attributes through which one's own real nature is realised to be pure and without conceptual elaborations of the four extremes, and, distinct from these, there are relative

appearances which have the characteristics of an utterly pure deity. Through this view, one resorts to skilful means, aspiring and striving towards an accomplishment externally [conferred by the deity]. It is explained in Buddhaguhya's *Sequence of the Path*:

> Since they are not known to be the same, without duality,
> The level of action requires alternate meditation
> On an ultimate truth which is simply the pure reality
> And a deity of relative appearance endowed with
> The enlightened attributes of pristine cognition.

Meditation in this context therefore refers to the yoga associated with three enlightened families of pure deities of relative appearance. By means of the deity's six modes, namely, the deity of emptiness, the deity of syllables, the deity of sound, the deity of form, the deity of seals and the deity of symbols,[260] whether one is oneself visualised as the deity or not, one aspires towards accomplishment, relating to the Being of Pristine Cognition (*jñānasattva*) as a master, and [considering] oneself as a servant. The *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

> The deity and the pure yogin
> Are seen respectively as master and servant.

The deity is delighted by ablutions, cleanliness, fasting and other such austerities in conduct, and, by maintaining the appropriate ascetic discipline, the mind becomes immersed in the sound which is the reality of [mantra] recitation, in [the deity's] mind and in the ground. The reality of this concentration also has three aspects, as explained in the following passage:

> Abiding in the flame of secret mantra,
> Accomplishment is given;
> Abiding in its sound, the yoga is conferred;
> And at the limit of sound, freedom is granted.

As a result of having made these [meditations and conduct] into the path, one becomes provisionally accomplished as a sky-faring awareness-holder who is equal in fortune to a god of the desire realm, and, having practised the conduct of the mantras on that basis, the level of the Holder of Indestructible Reality belonging to the Three Enlightened Families (*rigs-gsum rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*), which is explained in this Kriyātantra, is conclusively actualised. The *Heruka Galpo* says:

> Within seven lifetimes on the buddha level
> The Lords of the Three Families instruct living beings.

The piṭaka which reveals these [practices of Kriyātantra] includes the *Tantra of the Dialogue with Subāhu*, the *Tantra of the Emergence of*

Tārā (*Sarvatathāgatamātṛtārāviśvakarmabhavatantra*, T 726), the *King of the Three Commitments* (*Trisamayavyūharājatantra*, T 502) and the *Subjugation of Demons* (*Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*, T 747).

Then, when Kriyātantra is classified according to its enlightened families, there are six types, namely, those of the Tathāgata, Lotus, Varja, Wealth, Enrichment and Mundane enlightened families. Each of these is further analysed according to its central deity, master, female consort, *uṣṇīṣa*, male and female wrathful deities, male and female intermediaries, and male and female servants. Yet all [Kriyā tantras], when subsumed, are gathered within the two classes of the secret mantra and the gnostic mantra.[261]

UBHAYATANTRA

[153a.4-153b.5] Secondly, the Ubhayatantra [or Caryātantra] is practised in accordance with the view of Yogatantra and the conduct of Kriyātantra. Hence it is called the tantra of equal parts or the tantra of both, forming the connecting link between those two. The *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

> The Ubhayatantra is as follows:
> The view is seen as in Yogatantra
> And conduct performed as in Kriyātantra.
> Therefore it is known as the tantra of both.

Once this view and conduct have been established as the ground, there is meditation. One should meditate definitively on the symbolic syllables, seals and deities of form, and then become steadfast in contemplation through one-pointed application. As the *Awakening of [Great] Vairocana* (*Mahāvairocanābhisambodhitantra*, T 494) says:

> When the syllables are conjoined with syllables[262]
> And the ground of reality is made into the ground
> [of meditation],
> With utmost mental concentration
> One should make a hundred thousand recitations.

Then when the yoga without symbols, in which the mind is absorbed in the nature of ultimate reality and so on, has been experienced, there are provisional results such as the accomplishment of the body of an awareness-holder. In addition, the level of a Holder of Indestructible Reality belonging to Four Enlightened Families (*rigs-bzhi rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*) is conclusively actualised by having practised the mantras on that basis either in five lifetimes, or, if one loiters, in three aeons, or in a single aeon. The *Heruka Galpo* says:

> One abides on the level of Vajradhara
> Endowed with the four enlightened families.

The piṭaka in which these [Ubhayatantra] are revealed, includes the *Awakening of Great Vairocana* and the *Empowerment of Vajrapāṇi* (*Vajrapāṇyabhiṣekamahātantra*, T 496).

YOGATANTRA

[153b.5-154b.5] Thirdly, concerning the Yogatantra (*rnal-'byor*), the master Ānandagarbha says:

> This Yogatantra emphasises meditation, for therein recitation is optionally revealed.

And in his *Epitome of the Illumination of the Real* (*Tattvālokāpiṇḍārtha*, T 2510) also:

> This tantra is called Yogatantra because it emphasises contemplative meditation.

The view of Yogatantra is therefore that the blessing of pristine cognition, which ultimately realises the natural inner radiance, free from the conceptual elaboration of all things, to be emptiness, is seen relatively as a deity of the expanse of indestructible reality. Consequently, the result is held to be attained by perseverance [in the acceptance and rejection] of positive and negative ideas in relation to that [deity]. The *Sequence of the Path* says:

> Since they are not realised to be spontaneously
> present and the same,
> The blessing of pristine cognition, the purity of all
> things,
> Becomes an emanational deity of the expanse of
> indestructible reality,
> And the level of action is one of acceptance and
> rejection.

The meditation of Yogatantra emphasises the yoga of skilful means. One meditates on oneself as a deity with his or her retinue through a sequence of five awakenings and four yogas[263] which are progressively connected with the four seals. Inner contemplations are also emphasised, including meditative equipoise in the pristine cognition or individual intuitive awareness, which actually realises the mind's reality.

Then, by relying on conduct such as cleanliness as an aid, in the manner of the previous [vehicles], there are provisional results, including that of a sky-faring awareness-holder. Then, conclusively, the Great Seal (*phyag-rgya chen-po*)[264] is accomplished within three or sixteen

lifetimes, after which buddhahood is gradually attained on the level of the Bounteous Array of the Five Enlightened Families (*rigs-lnga stug-po bkod-pa*), in the essence of the five pristine cognitions and by means of the five awakenings. The *All-Accomplishing King* says:

> One who desires the Bounteous Array of Yogatantra
> Is held to be liberated within three lifetimes.

The piṭaka in which this [Yogatantra] is revealed includes the *Summation of the Real* and the *Glorious Paramādya* (*Śrīparamādya*, T 487-8). Then, if Yogatantra is classified according to its enlightened families, they comprise the Fundamental Enlightened Family, along with the following five: the Buddha, Vajra, Jewel, Doctrine and Activity enlightened families. Each of these is also subdivided into five minor families; and there is an additional eightfold division when [the major and minor families] are each divided into their four parts – nucleus, seal, secret mantra and gnostic mantra.

If these Yoga tantras are then condensed, they are gathered into skilful means and discriminative awareness. For example, the term "male consort" [i.e. skilful means] is expressed in the *Summation of the Real* and the term "female consort" [i.e. discriminative awareness] is expressed in the *Hundred and Fifty Verses on the Modes of Discriminative Awareness* (*Nayaśatapañcaśatikā*, T 17).

UNSURPASSED YOGATANTRA

[154b.5-156a.2] Concerning the vehicle of overpowering means or the Unsurpassed Yoga (*Anuttarayogatantra*): The three lower tantrapiṭaka are established as the three outer tantrapiṭaka, or the lower tantrapiṭaka. This is because they are mostly in harmony with the vehicle of dialectics, in that they are guided by the perceptions of purity and impurity which entail acceptance, rejection, renunciation, antidotes and so forth. They are deluded with respect to the abiding nature of supreme bliss by their separation of skilful means and discriminative awareness and so forth. This extraordinary path of Unsurpassed Yoga, on the other hand, is known as the short path and also the tantra of skilful means because, when one has entered into it, one is united in the result by this alone, without having to extend into other vehicles. Whereas in other vehicles the three poisons are to be renounced, here, by having driven in the nail of the view which is without objectification, the three poisons are carried on the path without being renounced – desire as the essence of bliss and emptiness, hatred as the essence of radiance and emptiness, and delusion as the essence of awareness and emptiness. In this way, the skilful means which achieves the extraordinary rank of coalescence in a single lifetime is amazing. The three outer tantrapiṭaka are therefore

said to be a long path. Although they do belong to the path of mantra in general, and so are contained within the swift path, they are explained to be long in relation to this vehicle, because adherents of them are finally obliged to enter into this unsurpassed path.

The Unsurpassed Yoga is, in addition, superior through many distinctions. For example, it reveals the embracing union of the father and mother deities, which symbolises the coalescence of the naturally present pristine cognition that is skilful means and the emptiness that is discriminative awareness, and it reveals the extraordinary yoga of skilful means through which the five meats, the five nectars and so forth are rapturously enjoyed. It says in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (*Guhyasamājatantra*, T 442-3, Ch.18, v.32):

> The meditative equipoise in skilful means and
> discriminative awareness
> Is explained to be yoga.
> The non-substantiality of anything is discriminative
> awareness
> And substantiality is the characteristic of skilful means.

When the Unsurpassed Yoga is classified, it comprises the Father Tantra of Skilful Means (*thabs pha-yi rgyud*), the Mother Tantra of Discriminative Awareness (*shes-rab ma-yi rgyud*) and the Coalescent Non-Dual Tantra (*zung-'jug gnyis-med-kyi rgyud*). When these are classified according to their enlightened families, the Father tantras are sixfold, comprising the enlightened families of Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Vajradhara. In the same way, the Mother tantras are assuredly classified into the six enlightened families of Vajrasattva, Vairocana, Vajrāditya, Padmanarteśvara, Aśvottama and Heruka. Thus there are twelve excellent divisions of the Unsurpassed Tantra. Then on further classification, there are said to be limitless enlightened families, and just as many tantras.

If [the Unsurpassed Yoga tantras] are subsumed, they are gathered into skilful means and discriminative awareness, and these, too, are without exception gathered within both the creation and perfection stages, which are then actually gathered into the Great Perfection. So it is that the unsurpassed vehicle of overpowering means is classified [by the Nyingmapa] into the three subdivisions of creation, perfection and great perfection, among which the first, the creation phase of tantra, is the Mahāyoga.

5 *Mahāyoga*

THE GROUND OR VIEW OF MAHĀYOGA

[156a.2-157a.5] Mahāyoga or Great Yoga (*rnal-'byor chen-po*) is so called because it unites the mind in the non-dual truth which is greatly superior to the outer Yogatantra. Although the specific enumerations of the Mahāyoga classes of tantra and means for attainment have been elaborated in many sources,[265] here they are expounded according to the general [Mahāyoga] *Tantra of the Magical Net*: The abiding nature of the continuum of the ground is established as the view which is to be realised, but it is not established by the ostensible reasoning of sophistry. Rather it is established by the three kinds of all-embracing valid cognition and should be realised by the direct perception of intrinsic awareness.

Now there are also four axioms which establish this [ground], namely, the axiom of the four kinds of realisation, the axiom of the three purities, the axiom of the four modes of sameness and the axiom of supreme identity. Among them, the first axiom is given in the following passage from the *Tantra of the [Secret] Nucleus* (Ch.11, v.2):

> The single basis and the manner of seed-syllables,
> The blessing and the direct perception:
> Through [these] four kinds of excellent realisation,
> All things are the great king, manifestly perfect.

Through the axiom of the single basis, all things are established as naturally present and uncreated; through the axiom of the manner of seed-syllables, all things are established as an unceasing display; through the axiom of the blessing, all things are established as the indivisible essence; and through the axiom of direct perception, all things are established to be without intellectual characteristics. Such are the axioms of the four kinds of realisation.

Concerning the second axiom, [that of the three purities,] it says (Ch.11, v.15):

The world, its contents and the mind-stream
Are realised to be pure.

So through the axiom of the three purities, the outer world, its inner contents and all the components, psychophysical bases and activity fields are established as a great purity.

Concerning the third axiom, [that of sameness,] it says (Ch.11, v.15):

Through the two samenesses[266]
And the two superior samenesses
The maṇḍala is the field of Samantabhadra.

So through the axiom of the four modes of sameness all things subsumed by the relative and ultimate truths are established as a great sameness.

Concerning the fourth axiom, [that of supreme identity,] it says (Ch.9, v.35):

The naturally present pristine cognition
Appears without abiding.

Thus, through the axiom of supreme identity, all things are established as primordially abiding in the identity of a single, great, naturally present, pristine cognition, which is mind-as-such. The abiding nature of the natural continuum of the basis which is directly realised through these axioms of appraisal is the uncommon spiritual and philosophical goal of the Mahāyoga. Such is also said in the *Oceanic Magical Net*:

In the manner of a clear reflection in the ocean,
Without making an echo in the mind,
The intrinsic awareness of direct perception
That is without objective referent,
Intrinsically radiant, without the three [times] and
without wavering,
Which is confident in its certainty,
Concludes the view of study, reflection and meditation.

And in the *Flash of Splendour* (*Jñānāścaryadyuticakrasūtra*, T 830):

If direct awareness is determined,
The level of yoga is reached.

THE PATH OF MAHĀYOGA

[157a.5-158b.6] Having so established the definitive meaning of the view as the ground, the path comprises the two stages of skilful means and liberation, concerning the first of which it is said [in the *Oceanic Magical Net*]:

The path to liberation is taught as skilful means.

Through the path of skilful means, one who has practised deeds which bind one [to saṃsāra] obtains the result of liberation. Above all, the distinctive feature of skilful means is that if one has practised the discipline of conduct which directly overpowers the three poisons without renouncing them, one is endowed with the foundation of the view, and, in consequence, is not only unfettered but also swiftly obtains the result of liberation. If, on the other hand, one who is not so endowed were to practise [this discipline], liberation would not be obtained and there would indeed be a great risk of falling into evil existences, so that there is great danger, as in the [alchemical use of] mercury [for the sudden transformation of iron into gold].[267]

This path of skilful means (*thabs-lam*) is twofold, as it is said [in the above text]:

> Its oral instructions concern the upper
> And lower doors [of the body].[268]

Concerning the former: In a gradual manner the pristine cognition of supreme bliss is experienced through union [resulting from] the blazing and secretion [of seminal points].[269] This depends on [practices associated with] the six centres which form the "upper door of one's own body" (*rang-lus steng-sgo*), as indicated in the *Exegetical Tantra of the Oceanic Magical Net*.

And concerning the latter: In an immediate manner, the pristine cognition of bliss and emptiness is irresistibly generated in a single moment through the four unions of ritual service, further ritual service, rites of attainment and rites of great attainment.[270] These depend on [practices associated with] "the lower door of one's partner's body" (*gzhan-lus 'og-sgo*) in which the two secret [or sexual] centres (*mkha'-gsang gnyis*) of the male and female consorts are united, as indicated in the *Penetrating Exegetical Tantra of the Magical Net* (*bshad-rgyud thal-ba*, NGB Vol.15).

The second path, that of liberation (*grol-lam*), is above all established through the three kinds of discriminative awareness: After the bondage of one's own mind has been naturally cleansed by realisation, one is liberated in the space of reality. Though it contains no distinctive feature of speed, as does the path of skilful means, there is no difference inasmuch as one is united in the result, and the danger is less. It is similar to the Kaustubha gemstone [which gradually draws gold from ore].[271]

The path of liberation is also divided into two modes, one of which is immediately attained and the other gradually attained, according to the degree of acumen [of those requiring training]. The first is exemplified by Indrabhūti who attained liberation at the time of his

empowerment. The latter is described as follows in the *Tantra of the [Secret] Nucleus* (Ch.12, vv.8-9):

> Retention which is endowed with the characteristics
> Of discriminative awareness and entrance
> Is the basis and condition
> Which brings the result to maturity.
> Those who transform it into a potent force
> Are known as awareness-holders
> In the fields of the Conqueror.

The path of liberation therefore has three aspects: the basis characterised as [discriminative] awareness is the view; the conditions characterised as the entrance are contemplation; and the result which has been brought about by the path is the awareness-holder. The first has been described above.

The second aspect of the path of liberation, the contemplation, includes meditation through devotion and definitive perfection. The former is referred to as meditation because it makes the general features of some [divine] object and devotion towards it into the path. The latter refers to training until the five contemplative experiences of the two stages [of creation and perfection] have been concluded. In Vimalamitra's *Meditative Absorption in the Mudrā* (*Māyājālamudrādhyāna*, P 4732) it is said:

> Wavering, attainment, skill, firmness and conclusion:
> These five are the modes in which the experience of
> meditative absorption arises.

Concerning the paths that are the object of this meditation, the *Tantra of the [Secret] Nucleus* explains:

> Through their maturation during the sequence of
> rebirth,
> The aspects of the entrance are established to be five:
> Because all that is substantial is intrinsic awareness,
> Death is [the moment of] the ultimate truth,
> The intermediate state before life is relative
> appearance
> And the three phases of life are the non-dual truth.

In this way, Mahāyoga perfectly reveals the paths through which the rebirth process including death, the intermediate state and the three phases of life, is immediately purified. Now, the path which corresponds to inner radiance at the moment of death is great emptiness (*stong-pa chen-po*), the path which corresponds to the intermediate state [after death] is great compassion (*snying-rje chen-po*), and the paths which correspond to the three phases of life are the single seal (*phyag-*

rgya gcig-pa), the elaborate seal (*phyag-rgya spros-bcas*) and the attainment of the maṇḍala clusters (*tshom-bu tshogs-sgrub*), making five in all.

The Creation Stage of Mahāyoga

[158b.6-160a.3] Within this [framework of meditation] there are two modes of purification, one through the coarse creation stage (*rags-pa bskyed-rim*) and the other through the subtle perfection stage (*phra-ba rdzogs-rim*). Concerning the first of these, when the consciousness of corporeal beings is transferred at the moment of death, after the outer and inner sequences of dissolution have been completed,[272] the condition of death arises as the inner radiance of the buddha-body of reality. In order that this [inner radiance] may be carried on the path, there is meditation on the contemplation of just what is, according to which all things subsumed in sensory phenomena (*snang-grags*) are the unelaborate buddha-body of reality.

If this nature of inner radiance is not recognised, there is the all-pervasive meditation on great compassion, the essence of contemplation on all that appears, without objective qualification, which purifies the provisional propensities of the apparitional mental body[273] during the intermediate state [after death].

So long as, on this basis, one is not liberated in the intermediate state, there are both the subtle and coarse aspects of the single seal which purifies the propensities from conception in the womb to the moment of birth. Now, the essence of the subtle contemplation of the causal basis, which purifies the rebirth situation immediately prior to entering into any birthplace conditioned by the growth of craving, is a training in the seed-syllables which have eight dimensions of radiance and constancy. And the coarse [contemplation], which purifies the situations from the moment [of conception], when [consciousness] intermingles with the male and female seminal fluids, to the moment when it awakens to the external sense organs and objects, is a training which, corresponding to the four kinds of birthplace, generates the body of a deity through the four awakenings (*mngon-byang bzhi*), the three kinds of rite (*cho-ga gsum*) and so forth.

Then there are four aspects of the training in the elaborate seal which purifies the propensities from the moment of birth to adult maturity. As explained in the *Sequence of the Path*:

> These are maṇḍalas, clusters, numbers,
> And faces and arms [of the deities].

The elaborate seal therefore comprises an emanation of maṇḍalas, an emanation of maṇḍala clusters, an emanation of a number [of deities] and an emanation of the [deities'] faces and arms. These four respectively comprise: the expansive, middling and condensed maṇḍalas of

the peaceful and wrathful deities; a unit, trio or quintet of maṇḍala clusters; enumerations of one thousand, twenty-four thousand and a spontaneously present infinity of peaceful deities, and of one thousand four hundred and fifty, seventy-six thousand eight hundred and fifty, and a spontaneously present infinity of wrathful deities; and the faces and arms [of the deities] which also have extensive, middling and condensed formations.

[Finally], there is the attainment of the maṇḍala clusters, which purifies the propensities from adult maturity to old age. This has limitless subdivisions which are subsumed under the three headings: apprehending the ground attained through the five excellences; straightening the path by means of the four branches of ritual service and rites of attainment; and indicating the time for the accomplishment of the result as an awareness-holder.

Thus, these five paths connected with corrupt states downwardly correspond to saṃsāra so that it and its propensities are refined and purified. Upwardly they sustain the three buddha-bodies along with the power of their actions and conduct so that the result is perfected; and intermediately they establish a foundation through which those on a lower path can meditate on a higher path, for which reason they are a means of progressing to maturation.

The Perfection Stage of Mahāyoga

[160a.3-61a.4] Secondly, there are also five corresponding modes of purification according to the subtle perfection stage (*phra-ba rdzogs-rim*). The first is the training which brings to conclusion the [aforementioned] five experiences by experientially cultivating, through the fusion of day and night, the union of the daytime yoga, which is a training in non-conceptual contemplation by either of the two methods of absorption, and the inner radiance during the deep sleep of the night. The two methods of absorption are the immediacy of total awareness (*rig-pa spyi-blugs*), through which one endowed with the essential of the body (*lus-gnad*) becomes absorbed, during a concentration in which [the prick of] a thorn is not felt, in a state in which awareness is fresh and uncontrived, and the absorption which follows after insight (*mthong-ba'i rjes-la 'jog-pa*), in which one is absorbed in the state of that [awareness] after recalling the view which one has studied and pondered.

The second [mode of purification] is the sealing which is executed during this state of emptiness or inner radiance, by clinging neither to the formal images of emptiness derived from that disposition in which the mind has ceased [to operate] nor to all the appearances of inner radiance which arise by night.

The third is the sealing of whatever appearances arise by means of the single seal of the deity's body. This is connected with the melting

bliss[274] [experienced] through the contemplation in which great compassion is projected to appearances without partiality.

The fourth is the entry into the experience of the deity's body, the maṇḍala centre, periphery and clusters, in which all appearances are coalesced, and which become distinct and perfect through the increasing magnitude of that divine apparition. And the fifth is meditation which relies on any maṇḍala cluster in harmony with either the elaborate creation stage or the unelaborate [perfection stage], in which the male and female yogins and the male and female central deities are assembled;[275] or on the extremely unelaborate phase in which there is the coalescent union of the father consort or unchanging, supreme bliss and the mother consort or emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects.

During these meditations, conduct consists of either the conduct of [overpowering] discipline during the path of skilful means, or the conduct of self-restraint during the path of liberation. The former is explained to be direct and the latter to have eight divisions, namely, the conduct of faithful perseverance, the conduct which is in harmony with discriminative awareness, that which is in harmony with compassion, the conduct which is one-sided, that which is elaborate, that which concerns the feast offerings, that which consists of miraculous abilities and that which is immediate.

Since these [methods of the Mahāyoga] are classified according to the superior, middling and inferior degrees of intelligence [in those who require training], one is united in the uncorrupted path of insight over a period of six months, one year and two months, or one year and four months. It says in the *Sequence of the Path*:

> The supreme accomplishment of empowered
> awareness[276]
> Will be achieved in six or twelve months,
> Or in fourteen or sixteen.

THE RESULT OF MAHĀYOGA: THE AWARENESS-HOLDER

[161a.4-162a.6] As to the third [aspect of the path of liberation], the result, or the awareness-holder who is brought forth by the path: Through having meditated in this way, the four kinds of awareness-holder subsumed in the three uncorrupted paths of insight, meditation and conclusion are actualised. On the path of insight, through the greater or lesser power of intelligence, one becomes either an awareness-holder of maturation (*rnam-smin rig-'dzin*) whose mature body has not been transformed into a body of pure essence, or an awareness-holder with power over the life-span (*tshe-dbang rig-'dzin*) who has perfected the supreme path and transformed [the coarse physical body] into a

body of pure essence. The remaining nine [bodhisattva] levels and the path of meditation are subsumed by the awareness-holder of the great seal (*phyag-rgya chen-po'i rig-'dzin*), who is subdivided according to deeds and conduct into the awareness-holder of indestructible reality (*rdo-rje'i rig-'dzin*) on the second to the fifth [bodhisattva] levels inclusively, the awareness-holder of the wheel (*'khor-lo'i rig-'dzin*) on both the sixth and seventh levels, the awareness-holder of precious gemstones (*rin-po-che'i rig-'dzin*) on the eighth level, the awareness-holder of the lotus (*padma'i rig-'dzin*) on the ninth level, and the awareness-holder of the sword (*ral-gri'i rig-'dzin*) on the tenth level. These subdivisions as far as the path to the liberation of the tenth level are all subsumed under [the awareness-holder] of the great seal. Then the path of conclusion or the path which is distinguished over and above the tenth level [results in] the awareness-holder of spontaneous presence (*lhun-grub rig-'dzin*), exemplified by the Lord of Secrets [Guhyapati Vajrapāṇi] who acts as the sixth regent,[277] assuming the guise of Vajradhara, the spontaneous presence of the five buddha-bodies.

Although the limits of the levels [traversed] by sublime [bodhisattvas] of the causal vehicle and the awareness-holders of this Mahāyoga are identical, the intentions [of these beings] differ greatly. This is because the first level of the causal vehicle and the awareness-holder of maturation are equal in their intention, as are the eighth level of the causal vehicle and the awareness-holder with power over the life-span, and the tenth level and the awareness-holder of the great seal. Furthermore, the level of Universal Light (*Samantaprabhā*), which corresponds to [the path of] no-more-learning, and the awareness-holder of spontaneous presence are also equal in their intention. As is explained in the *Lesser Path* (*sgyu-'phrul drva-ba lam rnam-bshad chung-ba*, DZ Vol.1, pp.12-13):

> Now the first [level bodhisattva] and first
> [awareness-holder] have the same fortune,
> The second holder of the enlightened family
> And the spiritual warrior of the eighth [level] have
> the same fortune,
> The third and [the spiritual warrior of] the tenth
> [level] have the same fortune.
> By oceans of conduct and intention, [the fourth
> and eleventh] are superior [to these].

After finally being united on the highest path, the rank of one who embodies the twenty-five resultant realities is actualised. These comprise: the five buddha-bodies, namely, the body of reality, the body of perfect rapture, the body of emanation, the body of indestructible reality and the body of awakening; the five modes of buddha-speech, namely, the speech of uncreated meaning, the speech of intentional

symbols, the speech of expressive words, the speech of indivisible, indestructible reality and the speech of the blessing of awareness; the five kinds of buddha-mind, namely, the pristine cognitions of the expanse of reality, of sameness, of accomplishment, of discernment and the mirror-like pristine cognition; the five enlightened attributes, namely, the pure buddha-field, the dimensionless celestial palace, the radiant and pure rays of light, the exalted thrones and the rapturous enjoyment of acting as desired; and the five enlightened activities, namely, pacifying suffering along with its causes, enriching the excellent provisions, overpowering those who require training, forcefully uprooting those that are difficult to train and spontaneously accomplishing whatever emerges without effort.

THE TEXTS OF MAHĀYOGA

[162b.1-162b.4] The piṭaka in which these [Mahāyoga teachings] are revealed comprises both the class of tantras (NGB Vols. 14-19) and the class of means for attainment (NGB Vols. 20-33),[278] of which the former includes the *Eight Sections of the Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul sde-brgyad*, NGB Vols. 14-15), including the *Tantras of the Magical Net of Vajrasattva*, and the latter, the eight general and particular classes of means for attainment. These are [the cycles of]: Mañjuśrī the Body (*'jam-dpal sku*, NGB Vols. 20-2), Lotus the Speech (*padma-gsung*, NGB Vols. 23-4), Yangdak the Mind (*yang-dag thugs*, NGB Vol. 25), Nectar the Enlightened Attributes (*bdud-rtsi yon-tan*, NGB Vol. 26), Vajrakīla the Enlightened Activity (*phur-ba phrin-las*, NGB Vols. 27-9), Mātaraḥ the Liberating Sorcery (*ma-mo rbod-gtong*, NGB Vols. 30-1, 33), the Mundane Praise (*'jig-rten mchod-bstod*, NGB Vol. 32), and the Malign Mantra (*dmod-pa drag-sngags*, NGB Vol. 32).[279] In addition, there are Father tantras such as the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Red*, *Black* and *Bhairava Tantras of Yamāntaka* (*gshin-rje-gshed dmar-nag-'jigs gsum*, T 468-70, 473-5, 478), and those such as the *Hidden Point of the Moon* (*Candraguhyatilakatantra*, T 477), and Mother tantras such as the *Cakrasaṃvara* (T 368) and *Kālacakra*,[280] which should also be subsumed within [Mahāyoga].

6 *Anuyoga*

[162.b.4-163.a.2] Secondly, concerning the Anuyoga transmissions [which emphasise] the perfection [stage]: The [Sanskrit] *Anuyoga* conveys the sense of subsequent yoga. It forms the connecting link between the Mahāyoga of the creation [stage] and the vehicle of extremely perfect yoga [i.e. Atiyoga]. The view which is to be realised according to this [Anuyoga] is that all things are buddhahood from the very beginning in the fundamental maṇḍala of enlightened mind, characterised as a coalescence of the expanse [of reality] and pristine cognition, in which the three kinds of maṇḍala are indivisible. It says in the *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*:

> Since everything is therein identical,
> The supreme bliss of primordial buddhahood
> Is the nucleus without creation or cessation.
> The three maṇḍalas, where there is no activity,
> Are accomplished from the beginning,
> spontaneously present.

THE GROUND OF ANUYOGA

[163a.2-164b.1] Now the three kinds of maṇḍala are, firstly, the primordial maṇḍala (*ye ji-bzhin-pa'i dkyil-'khor*) which gathers all things of phenomenal existence, saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, in the natural expressive power of the mind, and which is uncreated mind-as-such, free from all extremes of conceptual elaboration, the pure spacious expanse of the mother consort Samantabhadrī. The second is the spontaneously present maṇḍala of natural expression (*rang-bzhin lhun-grub-kyi dkyil-'khor*), the naturally present pristine cognition that is Samantabhadra, which all-pervasively arises manifest in and of itself, without partiality, unimpeded throughout the entire extent of this [expanse]. The third is the fundamental maṇḍala of enlightened mind (*rtsa-ba byang-chub-kyi dkyil-'khor*), the supreme bliss or offspring in whom there is no duality

of the expanse and pristine cognition, and in whom both of these [maṇḍalas] abide in coalescence, essentially without differentiation.

These form the ground which is to be realised and, together with the path through which it is realised, are all subsumed and then explained under three yogas. The *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* says:

> Friends! what, one might ask, is the inconceivable form? One unites with the form of all things, which is inconceivable, through three kinds of yoga. Just what are these three? They are the yoga which is an object of activity, the yoga which performs that activity and the yoga which is not an object of activity.

In the *Root Tantra of All-Gathering Awareness* (*rtsa-rgyud kun-'dus rig-pa*, T 831) these are also spoken of as the yoga of the basis, the yoga of conditions and the yoga of the result.

Subsuming and teaching the intention of both these tantras, the root and the exegesis,[281] in a single meaning, the *Summation of the Meaning of the Secret Sūtra* (*Guhyasūtrapiṇḍārtha*, P 4751) says:

> Derived from the definitive vehicle of ultimate reality,
> Which, with all-positive compassion on behalf of living
> beings,
> Instructs through the appearance of three vehicles,
> The truth of the sūtras and tantras,
> Which illustrate the secret approach,
> Should be known to be of three kinds:
> The yoga of the basis which is an object of activity,
> That of the conditions which perform the activity,
> And that of the result which is free from activity,
> Are explained to be the root of all things.

In this way, there are three yogas, namely, those of the basis which is an object of activity, of the conditions which perform the activity, and of the result which is free from activity, among which the first is as follows. The abiding nature of all things is the reality which abides, perfectly and distinctly, as the nature of the three maṇḍalas. This same [*Summation of the Meaning*] says:

> All things, as many as there are outer and inner
> distinctions,
> Primordially abide in the disposition of enlightened
> mind.
> This is the meaning of tantra which is to be known.

Concerning the second of these yogas: Rebirth in mundane existence is transcended by persevering on the path. This refers to the three

vehicles of pious attendants, self-centred buddhas and bodhisattvas which cause one to enter into the provisional result of tranquillity. As the above text says:

> This vehicle, in which guidance is effected
> By conduct endowed with perseverance,
> Is the condition which performs the activity.

As for the third of these yogas: It refers to the outer and inner vehicles of the mantras which are without the hopes and doubts connected with the laborious attainment that seeks the result extraneously, because the reality of the mind is naturally pure from the beginning. This same text again says:

> Without hoping or striving for a result elsewhere,
> The path abides in that which is to be attained.
> So it is that this vehicle of supreme skilful means
> Is free from activity.

THE PATH OF ANUYOGA

[164b.1-165b.1] The two latter kinds of yoga are called the path which is common to all, and if, among them, the path of this extraordinary [Anuyoga] is classified, it comprises both the definitive path of skilful means (*thabs-kyi nges-pa'i lam*) and the liberating path of discriminative awareness (*shes-rab rnam-par grol-ba'i lam*). As the same text says:

> Its essence is of skilful means
> And discriminative awareness.

The former path is the skilful means whereby the supreme, unchanging bliss, or the co-emergent pristine cognition of melting bliss, is attained. It includes both esoteric instructions concerning the "upper door of skilful means" (*thabs steng-sgo'i man-ngag*) through which meditation connected with the four centres gradually leads to the co-emergent pristine cognition, and esoteric instructions concerning the "lower door of skilful means" (*thabs 'og-sgo'i man-ngag*) which immediately lead to the co-emergent pristine cognition by relying on the meditative absorption connected with the secret [or sexual] centre [of the consort]. That [*Summation of the Meaning of the Secret Sūtra*] says:

> Through skilful means of esoteric instruction,
> Such as concerns the "source of all display",[282]
> One enters therein.

Concerning the latter, [the liberating path of discriminative awareness], the above-cited passage continues:

Proceeding through study, thought and meditation,
One enters in three ways:
The mind [pursues] ideas and scrutiny,
Truth, and syllables.

First, [the mind] which pursues ideas and scrutiny establishes the view that necessarily precedes the path. The spiritual and philosophical system of this [Anuyoga] holds the apparitions of reality as the objects to be cognised, and, by a particularising analysis through the axioms of awareness[283] which cognise them, the abiding nature of all things is established as the ineffable, unthinkable, inexpressible nature of the three primordial maṇḍalas of reality.

Concerning the second [way of entering the liberating path of discriminative awareness]: The mind which pursues the truth abides in the non-symbolic, non-conceptualising contemplation. The meditating intellect is established just as it is in the corresponding disposition of reality which is the object of meditation. The *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* says:

Having established the intellect just as it is[284]
In the corresponding reality,
There is an unwavering recollection
Derived from that inexpressible disposition.

As for the third [way of entering the liberating path of discriminative awareness]: The mind which pursues syllables refers to contemplative meditation on the symbolic deity. The uncommon distinction of this path is that, by the mere recitation of the seed-syllables or mantras, which create the different supporting [celestial palaces] and supported [deities] in the manner of a fish leaping from the water,[285] there is an experiential cultivation which emphasises clear, distinct meditation on all worlds and their contents as the deity's celestial palace and the circle of the maṇḍala.

THE RESULT OF ANUYOGA

[165b.1-166a.6] Concerning the result which is accomplished through the attainment of these [paths]: Beings of great intellectual power become free from the effort involved in traversing the sequence of levels and paths because they have all at once reached the limit of all realisations and experiences. Those of middling and inferior intelligence, who have either gradually or all-surpassingly traversed the four paths of learning which correspond to the ten levels, are united with the conclusive result of the path of no-more-learning.

Now the first level, that of indefinite transformation (*'gyur-ba ma-nges-pa'i sa*),[286] and the second level, that of the basis of reliance (*brten-pa*

gzhi'i sa), are subsumed by the yoga of the spiritual warrior who aspires on the path of provisions (*tshogs-lam 'dun-pa sems-'dpa'i rnal-'byor*) and bring the accomplishment of the divine body of devoted conduct, the clairvoyance of common accomplishment, supernormal cognitive power and so forth.

The next three levels [the third, fourth and fifth], which are called the level of important purification (*gal-chen sbyong-ba'i sa*), the level of the continuity of training (*bslab-pargyun-gyi sa*) and the level of supporting merit (*bsod-nams rten-gyi sa*), are subsumed by the yoga which reveals the great enlightened family of the path of connection (*sbyor-lam rigs-chen 'byed-pa'i rnal-'byor*), and bring accomplishment of the divine body [which coalesces] vital energy and mind.

After all corruption has then ceased and the coarse, transitory bliss which depends on progress in conduct connected with the provisions has been destroyed, the [sixth] level of superior progress through reliance (*brten-pas khyad-par-du 'gro-ba'i sa*) is subsumed by the yoga which confers the great liberating inspiration of the path of insight (*mthong-lam dbugs-chen 'byin-pa'i rnal-'byor*), and brings the accomplishment of the divine body in which bliss and emptiness [are coalesced] in inner radiance.

Then, there is the [seventh] level which gives birth to the result with reference to the aftermath of inner radiance on the path of insight (*mthong-lam 'od-gsal-las langs-pa'i rjes-la dmigs-pa 'bras-bu skye-ba'i sa*). This is subsumed by the yoga which obtains the great prophetic declaration of the path of meditation (*sgom-lam lung-chen thob-pa'i rnal-'byor*),[287] and brings the uninterrupted accomplishment of the divine body in which pristine cognition and the pure [path of] learning are coalesced.

The next three levels, that is, the [eighth] level of unchanging abode (*gnas-pa mi-'gyur-ba'i sa*), the [ninth] level of expanding reality (*bdal-ba chos-nyid-kyi sa*) and the [tenth] level of riding on perfection (*rdzogs-pa ci-chibs-kyi sa*), are subsumed by the yoga which perfects the great expressive power of the final path (*mthar-lam rtsal-chen rdzogs-pa'i rnal-'byor*).

Thereafter, the resultant empowerment is conferred according to the path of great desire (*'dod-chags chen-po'i lam*)[288] which depends on the unobstructed path at the conclusion of the path of no-more-learning, and the subtle propensities which transfer consciousness to the three appearances (*snang-gsum*) are also purified.[289] The rank of the glorious Samantabhadra, who is the identity of the four buddha-bodies and five pristine cognitions, is mastered. This is the essence in which the twenty-five resultant realities are indivisible and spontaneously present, coalesced in the path of no-more-learning, and it is thereby that deeds on behalf of those requiring training are performed through enlightened activity which is permanent, pervasive and spontaneously accomplished. It is said in the *Summation of the Meaning of the Secret Sūtra*:

Concerning the nature of the result:
The perfect Buddha is an infinity
Subsumed in the twenty-five aspects
Of body, speech, mind, enlightened attributes and
activities;
This is a spontaneously perfect omniscience.

THE TEXTS OF ANUYOGA

[166a.6-166b.1] Now the piṭaka in which this [Anuyoga] is revealed includes the *Four Root Sūtras* (*rtsa-ba'i mdo bzhi*, NGB Vols. 11-12) beginning with *All-Gathering Awareness*, the *Six Tantras which Clarify the Six Limits* (*mtha'-drug gsal-bar byed-pa'i rgyud-drug*, NGB Vol. 13), the *Twelve Rare Tantras* (*dkon-rgyud bcu-gnyis*, NGB Vol. 13) and the *Seventy Literary Transmissions* (*lung-gi yi-ge bdun-cu*).

7 *Key to the Appraisal of Secret Mantra Texts*

[166b.1-166b.2] The uncommon tantras, literary transmissions, esoteric instructions and definitively secret tantras in which phrases of indestructible reality (*vajrapāda*) are most profoundly contained, are never established by the scriptural authority and reasoning of pretentious sophistry, but they are to be understood by means of the six limits and the four styles of appraisal.

THE SIX LIMITS

[166b.2-168a.1] It is said in the *Root Tantra of the Kālacakra (Kālacakramūlatantra,* T 362):

> Tantras are characterised by these six limits:
> There are those which employ the language of [hidden] intention
> And likewise those which do not,
> Those which are literal and likewise those which are not,
> And those of provisional meaning and of definitive meaning.

A single string of phrases of indestructible reality (*vajrapāda*) reveals different meanings with an intention directed toward those who lack and those who possess the fortune to understand the meaning of genuine reality. Among these [*vajrapāda*] there are those of provisional meaning which refer to skilful means and its aspects and introduce the inner structure of the maṇḍalas including those made of coloured powder, of offerings, symbols and hand gestures or seals, and of burnt offerings, the creation stage and the attainment of ritual feast offerings and so forth. There are also those of definitive meaning, referring to the texts which teach the binding of the energy channels, currents and "enlightened mind" [i.e. seminal points] according to the perfection stage, and the abiding nature of the naturally radiant mind which is the

continuum of the basis, the nucleus of the tathāgata and the supreme, unchanging Great Seal. For example, it is said in the *Hevajra Tantra* (Pt.1, Ch.1, v.12):

> The great pristine cognition abides in the body;
> It has genuinely renounced all conceptions,
> And it pervades all substances.
> It abides in the body but is not born from the body.

Intention is explained to be that which is understood with reference to the intentional basis of the meaning, when bound by the use of [apparently] contradictory expressions. This is because there are different phrases of indestructible reality which express a single point pertaining to the creation and perfection stages. And there are also intentions of diverse meaning expressed in a single phrase of indestructible reality, with reference to which there is an intention directed towards time, an intention directed towards meaning and an intention directed towards thought. The first kind of intention is exemplified by the following words [from the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī*, v.141c] which were spoken with an intention directed to events in future time:

> Perfect buddhahood is attained in an instant.

The second kind of intention [that which is directed towards meaning] is exemplified by the following quotation from the *Mahāmāya Tantra* which has an intention directed to the necessity of permanently enjoying the mother of all buddhas, Prajñāpāramitā, who, in the manner of a reflected image, is the emptiness endowed with all supreme aspects:

> Having been snatched away from all the buddhas,
> The daughter born from the supreme deity
> Should be enjoyed.

The third kind of intention [that which is directed towards thought] is exemplified by the following quotation from the *Hevajra Tantra*, which, with an intention directed toward the necessity of slaying egotism revealed under the name of the "vital energy of great life-breath" (*srog-chen-po'i rlung*) says:

> You should slay living creatures (*srog-chags*).[290]

However, there are other passages which are clearly understood through the mere revelation of their actual words of expression, without regard for the intentional basis of meaning. These are not intentional, and are exemplified in the following quotation:

> You should not slay living creatures.
> You should not speak words of falsehood.

Those texts which are literal are the rituals including maṇḍalas, burnt offerings and *torma* offerings, which are taught through the language familiar in treatises, and so forth, mundane in word and meaning. Those which are not literal are unknown in the mundane treatises and bound by the mysterious, symbolic language of the Tathāgata, as exemplified by *koṭākhyā* and so forth among the names for the ten kinds of vital energy, and by *ālikāli* ["vowels and consonants"], which is employed as a name for the rites concerned with sexual union and "liberation"[291] in the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus*. Since all secret expressions and meanings do not bypass these, they are called the six limits.

THE FOUR STYLES

[168a.1-169.4] Secondly, concerning the four styles [employed in the exegesis of these texts], it is said in the *Tantra of the Compendium of the Indestructible Reality of Pristine Cognition* (*Vajrajñānasamuccaya-tantra*, T 447):

> The four styles of exegesis are the lexical,
> The general, the concealed and the conclusive.

The first among them, [the lexical style,] refers to the exegeses which appraise merely the meaning of the syllables: Arranged in conformity with the texts of grammar and logic, they are said to be lexical or, according to the *Heruka Galpo*, semantical.

The second, the general style, is of three kinds. The first of these counters the regret felt by one entering [the vehicles of] the sūtras and so forth. If one who first enters the sūtra [vehicles] or the Kriyātantra and Caryātantra without having entered into this easy and swift path of the inner mantras feels regret with the thought that, "This is not good", [according to the general style of exegesis] these [lesser ways] are supports for the path of this [way of inner mantras]. It is also said in the *Sūtra [which Gathers All Intentions]*:

> One endowed with the supreme skilful means
> Transforms conflicting emotions
> Into aspects of enlightenment.

This is said to be general because the sūtras and so forth also claim that, among other features of the easy and swift path, the provisions of many aeons can be amassed by a single wave of activity connected with the provisions if one is endowed with the extraordinary skilful means of sharp acumen.

The second [general style of exegesis] counters the regret felt by one entering the inner mantras. If one feels regret with thoughts that the conduct in this [vehicle] resembles that of dogs and pigs because it is

without ablutions, cleanliness and other aspects of purity, and that it is an extremist doctrine because it propounds dangerous rites of sexual union and "liberation" within the doctrine, then these [rites and conduct] are said to be general because they are a common object of training; for the sūtras and so forth also claim that one who practises, thinking to renounce attachment, even after practising rites of sexual union and "liberation" with a virtuous mind, such as killing an evil, armed assailant[292] and sleeping with a merchant's daughter,[293] is uncovered by faults and that one's merit immeasurably increases. This is because, if attachment to filth and purity has not been renounced, the meaning of reality is not realised.

The third general style of exegesis is that of the creation stage. It is so called because meditation on the supporting celestial palaces, supported deities and other aspects connected with the creation stage are the common objects of training according to both the creation and the perfection stages.

Thirdly, the concealed style applies to concealed doctrines, such as those which display the action seal (*karmamudrā*) and rites of meditative absorption, because it is improper for them to emerge in public assemblies. There is also the concealed style of the relative truth, including that of the perfection stage, which refers to the energy channels, currents, and seminal points as a blessing for oneself (*svādhiṣṭhāna*). These are concealed because they are like a kernel, entering between the two extremes [of skilful means and discriminative awareness].

Fourth, [the conclusive style refers to] the perfection stage of inner radiance, the ultimate reality in which these [experiences] are sealed, which is the conclusion of the path. And [it refers to] the realisation in which the two truths are coalesced, that is, the conclusion of the result.

These four styles are known as the four styles of exegesis. They are utilised because a single phrase of indestructible reality has to be differentiated in accordance with the lower and superior degrees of acumen. Without possessing these esoteric instructions, however refined the ideas and scrutiny of one's thoughts may be, one cannot realise the crucial secret of genuine [reality]; and one who does possess them easily comes to realise the secret intention of the vehicle of indestructible reality.

8 *The Superiority of Atiyoga, the Great Perfection*

[169a.4-183a.6] Thirdly, [following Mahāyoga and Anuyoga,] there is the explanation of the definitive order of Atiyoga, the Great Perfection, which is the climax of all vehicles and the culmination of all [paths] to be traversed. This is revealed in two parts: its superiority over the lower [vehicles] and its divisions.

As to the first: This king among vehicles holds the expanse [of reality], the originally pure mind-as-such whose natural expression is inner radiance, and the naturally present, unchanging, pristine cognition that spontaneously abides in oneself to be the ground of great perfection. In the estimation [of Atiyoga], the vehicles of the eight lower sequences have intellectually contrived and altered that which is unchanging exclusively through their suddenly arisen ideas which never experience what in fact is so. They have applied an antidote to and abandoned that which is not to be renounced. They have referred to as flawed that in which there is nothing to be clarified, with an intellect which desires clarification. They have induced dissension with respect to that which is not to be obtained by their hopes and doubts that it is to be elsewhere obtained; and they have obscured the pristine cognition, which intrinsically abides, by their strenuous efforts, with respect to that which is effortlessly present. Hence, they have had no occasion to make contact with the reality of the fundamental nature.

In this way, the pious attendants and self-centred buddhas among the lower vehicles, with reference to the selflessness which they realise, hold consciousness and atomic matter to be the ultimate realities; and the proponents of consciousness (*Vijñānavāda*) who hold consciousness, self-cognisant and self-radiant in nature, to be the absolute characteristic of ultimate reality, do not transcend [the view of] mind and mental events harboured by mundane beings. The Mādhyamika adhere to a truth of cessation scrutinised by four great axioms and the like, concerning the absence of creation, absence of cessation, absence of being and absence of non-being, which are appraised according to the two truths. And they adhere to an emptiness which is, for example, like the sky,

representative of freedom from extremes and freedom from conceptual elaboration and so forth. The Kriyātantra among the lower ways of mantra hold that accomplishments are attained which delight the deity endowed with the three purites, by means of cleanliness and other such austerities. The Ubhayatantra[294] are attached to superficialities in their equation of the higher view and the lower conduct. The Yogatantra, having regarded the blessing of ultimate reality as a deity, objectively refer to the yoga of the four seals. The Mahāyoga holds that pristine cognition is generated by incisive application of the creation stage and [practices associated with] the energy channels, currents and seminal points according to the perfection stage. And the Anuyoga regards the expanse [of reality] and pristine cognition as maṇḍalas of the deity which are either to be created or are in the process of creation.

In short, all these sequences [of the vehicle], from Anuyoga downwards, are exclusively spiritual and philosophical systems contacted through the intellect. All of them, on the surface of the intellect, produce such thoughts as, "this is non-existent, this empty, and this is true". Apart from this and their convictions and their boasting through ideas and scrutiny that reality lies within the subject-object dichotomy, they do not perceive the abiding nature of the natural state, just as it is.

Accordingly, it is said in the *Sūtra of the Nucleus of the Tathāgata*:

> The king assembled many blind men and, showing them an elephant, commanded, "Describe its particular characteristics." Those among them who felt the elephant's nose said that it resembled an iron hook. Those who felt the eyes said that they resembled bowls. Those who felt the ears said they resembled winnowing baskets. Those who felt the back said it resembled a sedan chair, and those who felt the tail said it resembled a string. Indeed, though they did not describe the elephant as anything else, they were lacking in overall understanding. Similarly, though the nature of the Buddha is diversely described as emptiness, as illusory, as inner radiance and so forth, there is no overall understanding.

These paths have obscured the meaning of the Great Perfection, and if one develops their realisations while abiding in the path of the Great Perfection, it is explained to be a point of deviation (*gol-sa*). The *All-Accomplishing King* says:

> The six vehicles of definitive attainment
> Are taught to be deviation points, according to the
> Great Perfection.
> If one asks how this is the case,
> The sūtras of the bodhisattva [vehicle]
> Uphold the level of Universal Light.

Through ideas and scrutiny concerning the two truths
They hold reality to be empty as the sky.
The supreme bliss of Atiyoga, however,
Is the enlightened mind transcending ideas and scrutiny.
That which transcends ideas and scrutiny is obscured by the sūtras.
Ideas and scrutiny, according to the Great Perfection,
Are explained to be the deviation in the sūtras.

Kriyātantra upholds the holder of indestructible reality.
Having entered through the three kinds of purity,
The subject-object dichotomy abides in a pure object.
The supreme bliss of Atiyoga, however,
Is the enlightened mind transcending the subject-object dichotomy.
That which transcends subject-object dichotomy is obscured by Kriyā.
Objectification and subjectification, according to the Great Perfection,
Are explained to be the deviation in Kriyātantra.

Concerning the view and conduct of the Ubhayatantra:
The conduct is as in Kriyā and the attainment as in Yoga.
Since there is no point in [artificially] connecting view and conduct,
They do not realise the non-dual truth.
The supreme bliss of Atiyoga, however,
Is the enlightened mind without duality.
That which is free from duality is obscured by Ubhayatantra.
That which creates duality, according to the Great Perfection,
Is explained to be the deviation in Ubhayatantra.

The Yogatantra upholds the Bounteous Array.
Having entered it through symbolic and non-symbolic methods,[295]
The four seals are emphasised.
It cannot be entered without acceptance and rejection.
The supreme bliss of Atiyoga, however,
Is the enlightened mind without acceptance and rejection.
That which is without acceptance and rejection is obscured by Yogatantra.
Accepting and rejecting, according to the Great Perfection,
Are explained to be the deviation in Yogatantra.

The Mahāyoga upholds the Vajradhara.
Having entered through skilful means and discriminative awareness,

In the pure maṇḍala of one's own mind,
The four branches of ritual service and rites of attainment are achieved.
The supreme bliss of Atiyoga, however,
Is the enlightened mind transcending perseverance.
That which transcends perseverance is obscured by Mahāyoga.
Perseverance, according to the Great Perfection,
Is explained to be the deviation in Mahāyoga.

The Anuyoga upholds indivisibility.
Having entered through the expanse and pristine cognition,
The things which accordingly appear include
The cause, which is the view of the pure expanse,
And the result, which is viewed as the maṇḍala of pristine cognition.
The supreme bliss of Atiyoga, however,
Is the enlightened mind transcending cause and result.
That which transcends cause and result is obscured by Anuyoga.
To behold a duality of cause and result, according to the Great Perfection,
Is explained to be the deviation in Anuyoga.

These [sequences of the vehicle] are created and fabricated by the mind, and yet [they hold that] the mind inclusive of the ideas present in all eight aggregates [of consciousness] is a stain to be rejected. This natural Great Perfection, on the other hand, refers to mind-as-such transcending the mind, the uncompounded inner radiance of pristine cognition which is the natural presence of awareness, in which all the enlightened attributes of fundamental nature are spontaneously present. Apart from that, its essential point is that the abiding nature, characterised in the manner of the sky as unchanging, does not need to refer to causes and results that are either to be created or are in the process of creation, or to extraneous conditions and such elements, because it is naturally free from them. Thereby, [the Great Perfection] teaches that the nature of the Primordial Lord, Samantabhadra, is the buddhahood attained without contrivance, by realising in one's own nature the naturally present pristine cognition, and that it does not otherwise emerge through extraneous conditions such as study, reflection and the accumulations of compounded provisions.

It is said in the *Sūtra of the Adornment of Pristine Cognition's Appearance which Penetrates the Scope of All Buddhas*:

> Nothing at all is seen by the buddhas, nor heard, nor intended, nor known, nor is the object of omniscience. Nothing has been said or expressed by the buddhas. The buddhas neither speak nor make expression. The buddhas will not resort to speech and they will not resort to expression. The buddhas do not become manifestly, perfectly enlightened. The buddhas have not caused anything to become manifestly, perfectly enlightened. The buddhas have not renounced conflicting emotions. The buddhas have not actually disclosed purity. Nothing at all is seen by the buddhas, nor heard, nor tasted, nor smelt, nor known, nor cognised. If you ask why this is the case, Mañjuśrī, it is because all things are utterly pure from the beginning.

The lord Maitreya [in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.1, v.51] has also said:

> Subsequently, just as it was before,
> Is the unchanging reality.

And also [Ch.1, v.5]:

> Uncompounded and spontaneously present,
> It is not realised through other conditions.

According to such quotations, the natural expression or abiding nature, the fundamental nature or the reality of all things is uncompounded and uncreated through causes and conditions. It is not dependent on others, is not realised through extraneous conditions, and does not abide in a goal that is attained by the intellect.

It is said in the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with Kāśyapa from the Sublime Pagoda of Precious Jewels*:

> That which is uncompounded is the enlightened family of the sublime ones. That which is the enlightened family of the sublime ones neither adheres to the training, nor transcends the training. That which neither adheres to the training, nor transcends the training neither moves, nor rests, nor rushes. That which neither moves, nor rests, nor rushes, has neither mind, nor the properties which emerge from mind. That which has neither mind, nor the properties which emerge from mind possesses neither deeds, nor the ripening of deeds. That which possesses neither deeds, nor the ripening of deeds knows neither pleasure nor pain. That which knows neither pleasure nor pain is the enlightened family of the sublime ones. That which is the enlightened family of the sublime ones possesses neither deeds, nor deed-forming volition.

Then, in the *Sūtra of the Greater Vehicle which Decisively Reveals the Intention* it is said:

> The inexpressible and manifestly perfect buddhahood which is attained by the Sublime Ones through their sublime perception and sublime vision, is called uncompounded because it is this inexpressible reality which is to be perfectly realised.

And in the *Root Stanzas on the Madhyamaka* (Ch.15, vv.1-2):

> It is incorrect that independent existents
> Emerge from causes and conditions.
> That which has emerged from causes and conditions
> Would be a created independent existent.
> In what way would it be admissable
> To speak of a created independent existent?
> For an independent existent must be uncontrived
> And not dependent on any other.

Extensive quotations, such as these, visibly set the tone in accordance with which the abiding nature of fundamental reality, the uncompounded pristine cognition transcending causes and conditions which is the spiritual and philosophical goal of the Great Perfection, is manifestly realised.

Concerning the way in which this reality is established to be free from extremes also, it is said [in the same text, Ch.15, v.6]:

> Whoever views independent existents, dependent
> existents,
> Substantiality and non-substantiality,
> Has not seen the reality
> Of the teaching of the Buddha.

And concerning the sequence of the path of the Great Perfection, glorious Nāropā's *Means for Attaining the Real* (*de-kho-na-nyid sgrub-pa'i thabs zhes-bya-ba rdzogs-pa-chen-po'i lam-gyi rim-pa*) says:

> Buddhas and sentient beings have a single nature.
> This mystery of the mind's pristine cognition
> Is more amazing than the truth of the nucleus.
> The body in which the naturally present greatness
> is identified
> Is the supreme, perfect bliss of intrinsic awareness.
> The emanational body in which spirituality appears
> Is the secret mind, not essentially existing.
> It is the indivisibility of the apparent and the
> invisible.

Then, concerning the fact that this [Atiyoga] does not objectively refer to a path as do the lower [vehicles], that same text says:

> In the nucleus of perfect pristine cognition
> The goal is reached without a sequential path.

Now, if one were to ask just what is the purpose of the teaching of these lower sequences [of the vehicle], it is intended either with reference to the intellectual degrees of those who require training, or as the means by which one on a lower [path], having trained the mind, gradually enters into this path [of Atiyoga], or else as a support for the path. The nucleus of all the Sugata's teachings, the culmination of meaning, is pristine cognition alone, the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness, the natural state which is just what is; and the perfect establishment of it through the direct perception of intrinsic awareness is none other than the path of Great Perfection. The three vows, the six transcendental perfections, the creation stage and the perfection stage; all of these, indeed, are taught as the means of realising the Great Perfection and as mere rest-stations for those who progress towards it. The *Secret Nucleus* (Ch. 22, v.3) says:

> Distinctions are indeed arrayed in the levels,
> But these are paths which progress to the secret
> nucleus.

And in Indrabhūti's *Esoteric Instructions on the Empowerment Circle* (*Ratnacakrābhiṣekopadeśakrama*, T 2472) it is said:

> This is only spoken as the means to attain
> That which is inner radiance by nature,
> And the culmination of the Great Perfection,
> The supreme among the supreme of all esoteric
> instructions.

And Śāntideva [in the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva*, Ch.9, v.1] has also explained:

> All these aspects were taught by the Sage
> For the sake of discrimative awareness.

Now concerning this natural expression of the Great Perfection: The Sugata, during the intermediate promulgation of the transmitted precepts, did not reveal the structure of the fundamental reality, though he did extensively teach the inconceivable, abiding nature without referring to symbols of elaborate conception. And, during the final promulgation, though he did reveal the structure of the fundamental reality, he did not teach the characteristic path through which it is actualised. Therefore, the conclusive intention of the Two Promulgators[296] actually

abides without contradiction in the nature of the Great Perfection. This intention comprises the unaltered intention of the *Collection of Madhyamaka Reasoning*, which consists of the commentaries on the intermediate promulgation by the sublime and supreme Nāgārjuna; and his [*Collection of Eulogies*] including the *Eulogy to the Expanse of Reality*, and the commentaries by the regent Maitreya, the sublime and supreme Asaṅga, and his brother [Vasubandhu] and so forth, which together form the intention of the final [promulgation]. If one were to ask why this is the case, it is because these masters did not claim anything other than the profound abiding nature of natural reality, and because the Great Perfection itself is none other than that.

Although the path through which this reality is actualised is superior only in the mantras, on further examination the lower ways of mantra consist of merely the symbolic and non-symbolic stages [of meditation]. The *Six-limbed Yoga of the Kālacakra* (*Kālacakraṣaḍaṅgayoga*, T 1367) which is renowned as supreme among the Unsurpassed tantras, the *Five Stages* (*Pañcakrama*, T 1802) and others,[297] too, merely explain the ten signs of inner radiance and the form of emptiness which is a reflection of the three spheres of existence within a black outline.[298] These are perceived by controlling the activity of the energy channels, currents and seminal points. As the experience of this perception increases and decreases, even one who has meditated appropriately cannot attain the body of indestructible reality in which the elements have dissolved into light. Thus, those of lowly fortune contact herein not the definitive meaning but merely the provisional meaning. So it is said by Nāropā:

> The single definitive means is the truth of the nucleus.
> The four successive seals and the six-limbed yoga,
> The diverse vehicles of thought,
> Have resorted to the provisional and not the definitive.
> The essential nature is neither high nor low.
> It ends the thoughts conceived by those who devoutly
> enter.

Furthermore, the meditation of the creation stage according to the lower [paths] merely effects the ripening of the perfection stage, and, through that meditation, nothing but [the result] of a sky-farer is accomplished by an awareness-holder of the desire realm or an awareness-holder of the form realm, whichever is appropriate in accord with the distinctions between the action seal and the seal of pristine cognition (*karmamudrā* and *jñānamudrā*).[299] Again, though one may desire to develop pristine cognition through the flexibility of the energy channels, currents and seminal points in accordance with the perfection stage, the conditions of tiresome efforts are not transcended. Even one who desires to develop the pristine cognition of bliss and emptiness in accordance with the third empowerment,[300] subsequent on the delight experi-

enced when the two sexual organs are in union, is not liberated from the three realms [of saṃsāra]. Therefore, the supreme, unchanging pristine cognition which is the supreme, unfading bliss, is not taught to be realised by these methods, and the above practices explain merely the meditative absorptions in bliss. As it is said in the glorious Nāropā's *Means for Attaining the Real*:

> The naturally present mind,
> That is definitively free from elaboration,
> Is not known through the path of desire.
> This nucleus of naturally present, inner radiance,
> Through its non-symbolic natural expression,
> Is free from desire for discriminative awareness and
> skilful means.
> It is without the arduous emanation and absorption
> of desire connected with the seminal points.[301]
> Evenly absorbed in discriminative awareness and
> skilful means,
> It is the supreme blissful concentration.
> Without attachment to the savour of apparition,
> It is the perfect path of unattached pristine cognition.

Without realising the natural and utterly pure discriminative awareness, which is the abiding nature of the Great Perfection, by such attainments, the aspects of the truth of the path do not transcend the compounded fundamental virtues attained by the ideas and scrutiny of discrete recollections and thoughts. These aspects include the three vows, the six transcendental perfections and the creation and perfection stages which all refer to objects of the intellect, and their various means by which the mass of conflicting emotions are [respectively] renounced by pious attendants and self-centred buddhas, obstructed by bodhisattvas, and transmuted into the path by the secret mantra and so forth. Accordingly, it is said in the *Ornament of the Madhymaka* (*Madhyamakālaṃkārakārikā*, T 3884):

> The essence which is uncompounded
> Is not anything anywhere.

If, having had the opportunity to realise the reality of the abiding nature, one continues to cling to extremes of conduct such as renunciation and acceptance as they are applied to positive and negative attributes and to virtue and evil, it is explained to be a firm impediment in the way of the provision of pristine cognition and a point of great deviation. It says in the *Pagoda of Precious Jewels*:

> One should enter into this enumeration of the tathāgatas' intention. One should not actually cling to either virtuous

> or non-virtuous doctrines. One who actually clings to non-virtuous doctrines will continue to cling actually to non-virtuous doctrines. The phenomena of suffering and unease which emerge through actual attachment to non-virtuous doctrines are called the sublime truth of suffering. Thus the tathāgatas revealed them within the enumeration of non-virtuous doctrines. The absence of actual clinging to virtue and non-virtue, and the cessation of craving are to be realised as the renunciation of the origin [of suffering] and as the twofold sublime truth. Thus the tathāgatas revealed them within the enumeration of virtuous doctrines.

And in the same text:

> There, virtue is empty and non-virtue, too, is empty. Virtue is void and non-virtue, too, is void. Virtue is unadulterated by non-virtue and non-virtue, too, is unadulterated by virtue. There is neither basis nor cause for hankering after virtue and non-virtue.

And in the *Sūtra Requested by Jñānottara according to the Piṭaka of the Greater Vehicle* (*Jñānottarabodhisattvaparipṛcchāsūtra*, T 82):

> The bodhisattva Jñānaketu asked, "What is the provision of merit?" [The Transcendent Lord] replied, "It refers to the positive doctrines such as liberality, along with their symbols."
>
> "Then what is the provision of pristine cognition?"
>
> "It refers to non-symbolic [doctrines], such as discriminative awareness."
>
> "Then how should these two be accumulated?" he asked, and [the Transcendent Lord] replied, "As for the provision of merit, it is called the provision of the merit of saṃsāra, and is exemplified by the water contained in the hoofprint of an ox. If you ask why this is the case, it is quickly lost, exhausted and diminished, and, after the bliss of gods and humans has been experienced, it causes rebirth in evil existences. As for the provision of pristine cognition, it is called the provision of nirvāṇa and is exemplified by the water in a great ocean. It is not lost, not exhausted and is unfailing, and it causes attainment of nirvāṇa. Jñānaketu, you should accumulate only the provision of pristine cognition."

Furthermore, the ten categories (*daśatattva*) of the outer and inner mantras have also resorted to symbolism which obscures the truth of fundamental reality. It is said in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

> There is neither meditation on the view nor guarding
> of the commitments.

There is neither purification on the levels nor progress on the path.
There is neither perseverance in activity nor conferral of empowerment.
There is neither perseverance in respect of the three media nor the creation of the maṇḍala.
Cause and result are without duality, in the manner of space.

The sublime Mañjuśrī also says:

The maṇḍalas and burnt offerings,
The *torma* offerings and recitations counted on rosaries,
The sedentary vajra-like and dramatic postures and so forth
Are fallible with respect to this freedom from conceptual elaboration.
For there is nothing to be done,
And nothing either to obstruct.

And:

Concerning activities, the yogin
Apprehends them on the supreme paths,
Just as a deer pursues a mirage:
Though they always appear, they are not grasped.

And in the *Hevajra Tantra* (Pt.1, Ch.5, v.11):

There is no meditation, nor meditator.
There is no deity, nor mantra.

Again the *Secret Treasury of the Ḍākinī* (*mkha'-'gro-ma'i gsang-mdzod*) also says:

The objects which accordingly appear
Abide as apparitional male and female deities.
There is nothing to be bound and there is no binding,
Nor are there energy channels, currents and seminal points.
Accomplishment comes about through emptiness.

And:

Ablutions and cleanliness are not required here.
Austerities and asceticism are not required here.

Such quotations extensively reveal [that the symbolism of the ten categories of mantra is not required in Atiyoga].

Now there are those of little intelligence who might ask whether the Kriyātantra and Caryātantra and so forth are not within the vehicle of indestructible reality or whether it is a contradiction that accomplishment is revealed through them by means of ritual and activity. Furthermore, they might ask whether, among the sūtras of the greater vehicle, those which emphatically teach the provision of merit including liberality to be the basis of omniscience, are in contradiction [to this supreme view]. However, all these teachings were intentionally given by the sugatas. They were given in order to embrace those of base, childish intellect, those who delight in conceptual elaboration and those who fear topics of utter profundity. Such is said in the *Introduction to the Real* (*Tattvāvatāra*, T 3709):

> One is liberated by the view of emptiness.
> That is the point of the remainder of
> meditation.
> All conduct of body, speech and mind
> Is taught within the lesser vehicles.

The master Nāgārjuna also says:

> Look for reality, and at the outset,
> One could say that everything exists.
> But when the objects are realised
> And there is no attachment,
> There is subsequently the truth devoid of them.

And in addition, the *Crest of Indestructible Reality* (*Vajroṣṇīṣakriyātantra*) says:

> If one evenly abides in the real,
> There is neither commitment nor the practice of
> mantra.
> It is not necessary to hold the vajra and bell.[302]
> One will become accomplished without the ten
> categories.

These and other literary transmissions have been extensively explained by the master Mañjuśrīkīrti [in his *Commentary on the Magical Net of Mañjuśrī*, *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītiṭīkā*, T 2534], which clearly reveals that there is no mode of liberation by means of the creation and perfection stages or any other such doctrines of mental scrutiny unless there is realisation of the naturally liberated vast openness, in which saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are liberated as fundamental reality and of a common savour; and unless there is realisation of the inexpressible reality beyond the guarding of commitments and verbal and written objects. In the same vein, the *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī* says:

> Vajrapāṇi, I have revealed the distinctive features of the vehicle according to the differences in the intelligence of sentient beings and the distinctions of their class. Although it is revealed to some as the way of the Outsiders,[303] to some as the vehicle of the pious attendants, to some as the vehicle of the self-centred buddhas, and to others still as the vehicle of the transcendental perfections and the immeasurable tantras of the awareness-holders, it should be known that buddhahood is indivisibly attained through the great seminal point[304] which is unwritten and free from symbols.

These authoritative passages [belonging to the vehicle] of indestructible reality set the incontrovertible tone [of Atiyoga].

Nor is it the case that, through such teaching in the Great Perfection, the areas of skilful means according to the lower paths are renounced. With reference to the naturally present pristine cognition or the real nature of the Great Perfection, this reality does not require to be sought out and attained elsewhere because the great enlightened attributes of purity are spontaneously present, and the three buddha-bodies are effortlessly present. It is a fact that from the very moment of the realisation, through the guru's esoteric instructions, of this reality, the natural expression of the deities and mantras is also complete in a maṇḍala of great purity and sameness, which is present without conceptual elaboration. This is established totally without effort and without wandering from the disposition of this uncontrived, primordial reality. Indeed, even the area of conduct relating to the six transcendental perfections, which include liberality, becomes complete therein, as it is said in the *Sūtra of the Greater Vehicle which is a Dialogue with Brahmaviśeṣacinti* (*Brahmaviśeṣacintiparipṛcchāsūtra*, T 160):

> Without actual volition, moral discipline passes into
> nirvāṇa.
> Instantaneously, patience passes into nirvāṇa.
> Without acceptance or rejection, perseverance passes
> into nirvāṇa.
> Non-conceptually, concentration passes into nirvāṇa.
> Unimpededly, discriminative awareness passes into nirvāṇa.
> Since the expanse of reality is desireless,
> Desire is the limit of desirelessness.
> Since the expanse of reality is without ferocity,
> Hatred is the limit of genuine reality.
> Since real things are undeluded,
> Delusion is the limit of the undeluded.
> Without the transference of consciousness at death
> and without birth,
> Saṃsāra is also nirvāṇa.

In a manner without manifest attachment,
Nirvāṇa is also saṃsāra.
By the view which is bound to conventions,
The truth also becomes false.
To those endowed with manifest pride,
Falsehood also becomes the truth.
So it is known.

And in the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Twenty-five Thousand Lines*:

> From this up to the unsurpassed, genuinely perfect enlightenment there is no earnest application. There is no earnest application in the purification of [lands into] buddhafields. There is no earnest application in the maturation of sentient beings. There is no earnest application in regarding the buddhas. There is no earnest application in the generation of the fundamental virtues. If it is asked why so, Subhūti, it is because all things are empty of their own attributes. A bodhisattva and great spiritual warrior does not regard any of these things as genuine, whether one refers to the object in which earnest application is developed, that by which it is developed or that in which it is to be developed.

According to such extensive quotations, in this abiding nature that is free from all activity, all things belonging to the truth of the path are naturally complete, without effort, in the manner of a hundred rivers converging under a bridge. It says in the *Secret Nucleus* (Ch.12, v.14):

The perfect Buddha is not found
In any of the ten directions and four times.
Other than the perfect Buddha which is mind-as-such,
Do not seek the Buddha elsewhere.

And (Ch.2, v.4):

Even though he would search,
The Conqueror would not find it.

And in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

Mind is the substance which is just what is.
All things are accomplished in the nature of just
what is.
Do not fabricate that which is just what is.
Do not attain anything but the essence.
A conqueror who has sought it, will not find it
Within the expanse [of reality].

Because it has already been done,
There is no need to do so now.
Because it has already been attained,
One does not attain it now.
Be equipoised without ideas and intentions.

And in the *Hevajra Tantra* (Pt.1, Ch.5, v.11):

In nature without conceptual elaboration
The deity and the mantra abide.

Furthermore, on the subject of the perfection of all things such as mantras, seals, commitments, and the emanation and absorption [of light] in the reality of awareness, the supreme king of recollection, it says in the glorious Nāropā's *Means for Attaining the Real*:

Unwritten, the speech of the nucleus
Abides in the true enlightened mind.

The king does not contrive commitments,
But keeps them unguardingly.

The unchanging seal
Is executed by the unchanging truth.

In the maṇḍala without extremes and centre,
Pristine cognition radiates without emanation or absorption.
This thoughtless natural expression,
That is the Conqueror's mind,
Does not transcend the enlightened mind.

In the same way, the area of conduct according to the causal vehicle, is revealed to be complete [in Atiyoga], as the same text says:

By possessing the truth of this nucleus
The mind is not induced to accumulate desires.
Likewise the six transcendental perfections
Abide in the naturally present, perfect mind.
The intention without thoughts and ideation,
Endowed with the six transcendental perfections,
Abides without thought and without apprehension.
The unwavering, uninterrupted awareness
Is the unqualified transcendental perfection of
discriminative awareness.

Although this is extensively propounded elsewhere in other texts, the above illustration should suffice here.

This being the case, the basis of the view concerning the abiding nature, which is just what is, is said to be a view of sameness throughout the three times. It uproots the seed of saṃsāra because it is devoid of

conceptualisations which are disharmonious with respect to the unqualified essence. It is devoid of disharmonious, symbolic appearances with respect to the object, and it is free from disharmonious delusion with respect to the subject. It transcends the dominion of the eight aggregates of consciousness along with their thoughts, expressions, causes and results, and abides in the reality of awareness, the pristine cognition of the natural Great Perfection. In the words of the master Āryadeva [in the *Four Hundred Verses*, Ch.8, v.8]:

> That which is abandoned by mundane beings
> Is explained to be the ultimate reality.

And in the *Commentary* [*on the Four Hundred Verses, Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakaṭīkā*, T 3865, by Candrakīrti]:

> This incontrovertible reality has not been thought of by the ordinary, mundane being who has not realised it. It has not been conceived by the mind. It has not become an object of the sense organs. It has been abandoned unseen because it is darkened by a film of ignorance. The object seen by the pristine cognition of the sublime ones endowed with highest acumen is the ultimate reality.

The Great Perfection thus refers to the sublime truth which is to be experienced through the pristine cognition of individual intrinsic awareness, free from the subject-object dichotomy, and which is described under various names, such as: the ultimate truth, the genuine goal, the emptiness of emptiness and the great emptiness. Concerning that Great Perfection, which possesses the matrix (*spyi-gzugs*) of pristine cognition, corresponding to the buddhas' body of reality, it is said in the *Sublime Sūtra of Clouds of Precious Jewels*:

> This doctrine genuinely transcends all written and spoken words. It genuinely transcends the entire range of expressions. It genuinely transcends all verbalisation. It is free from all conceptual elaboration and free from all that is accepted or rejected. It is free from all opening and closing, and free from all sophistry. It is not to be analysed and is not within the range of sophistry. It genuinely transcends the range of sophistry. It is non-symbolic, free from symbolism and genuinely transcends the range of symbolism. It genuinely transcends the range of the childish. It genuinely transcends the range of all demons, and genuinely transcends the range of all conflicting emotions. It genuinely transcends the range of consciousness. It does, however, lie within the range of the indeterminate, dynamic, quiescent and sublime pristine cognition. The individual, intuitive awareness of

> these [attributes] is a topic which is taintless, uncovered, pure, bountiful, supreme, sacred, perfect, permanent, firm, enduring and imperishable.[305] Whether the tathāgatas have appeared or not, this expanse of reality is exclusively present.

Through these final words, the actual meaning, pure from the beginning, of the abiding nature of the Great Perfection is revealed just as it is.

9 *The Definition of Atiyoga*

[183a.6-190a.5] Now concerning that which is implied by the name Great Perfection: It is so called because it refers to the naturally present pristine cognition, without partiality or bias, in which the meanings of all the vehicles abide and are perfect in a single essence; or it is so called because all things are pure and are perfect in the instantaneous disposition of reality or awareness, without deliberate analysis by means of intellectual apprehension. The *All-Accomplishing King* says:

> Perfect in one, perfect in two, perfect in mind.
> Perfect in one, it is the perfection of mind's creations.
> Perfect in two, it is the perfection of excellent attributes.
> Perfect in all, it is the perfection of the enlightened mind.[306]

And in the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with Sāgaramati* (*Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra*, T 152):

> Those who are purifying these modes of the doctrine
> And those who direct the teaching
> Concerning perfect enlightened mind
> Are pure in the supreme enlightened mind,
> And never covered by the stains of conflicting emotions.
> Just as the sky can be overcast
> And yet subsequently become visible again,
> So, the perfect enlightened mind of natural, inner
> radiance
> Can never be obscured by conflicting emotions.

Therefore, the Great Perfection, the natural expression of enlightened mind, which is the inner radiance of reality, is revealed to be unbewildered with respect to its primordially pure attributes. The *Great Sūtra of Final Nirvāṇa* also says in the same vein:

> In addition, that which is said to be genuine is the mundane middle way, and that which is said to be perfect is known

> as definitively unsurpassed and genuinely perfect, if the middle way of the final path has been earnestly applied.

According to this teaching, the former is rationally established through the valid cognition of inference, and the latter, inasmuch as it is not an object of the intellect, actually abides in the intention of this, the sublime path.

As to the verbal definition of Atiyoga: [The Sanskrit] *ati* [Tib. *shin-tu*] means utmost, and also conveys the sense of supreme, best, perfect, climax and quintessence. [The Sanskrit] *yoga* [Tib. *rnal-'byor*] means union. Since it is the culmination of all yogas, it is the utmost or highest yoga, and since it is the nucleus of all aspects of the perfection stage, there is nothing else to be reached higher than Atiyoga. It is qualified by the word "great" [Tib. *chen-po*] because through it the reality unborn like the sky, which is most profound and difficult to analyse, is directly revealed. The Transcendent Lord [Śākyamuni] also directed his intention towards the verbal definition of this [vehicle] when he said:

> To teach the doctrine
> Which is inconceivable as the sky
> Is the greatest.

Furthermore, concerning the perfection of all things of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa in the naturally present awareness itself, Nāropā has again said:

> The contemplation of uncontrived awareness is radiant,
> Perfect in all meanings, without activity.
> It is the ground-of-all in its naturally present state.
> It is the spontaneously present path of yoga, not to be traversed,
> And it is the result itself in which everything whatsoever is perfect.
> It is the perfect treasure of the seminal point, free from activity,
> The blissful pristine cognition or non-conceptualising mind,
> Perfected immediately by fortunate individuals,
> And it comprises the thoughts of the six classes of beings in saṃsāra
> And the nirvāṇa that is the Conqueror's pristine cognition.
> The disposition of this unique awareness that is bliss supreme,
> And naturally present, uncontrived reality,
> Is a spontaneously perfect disposition without conceptual elaboration.

The master Buddhajñānapāda has also subsumed this in his *Oral Instructions of Sublime Mañjuśrī* as follows:

> Great Perfection, the matrix of pristine cognition,
> Is the utterly pure body, the great Vajradhara.
> Having obtained, through this second stage
> Which is the essence[307] of all the glorious ones,
> The enlightenment which conforms to the frustrating
> path of three aeons,
> And which is surpassed,
> Why does the yogin, having accumulated so little bliss,
> Not meditate on this [Great Perfection]?

Commenting on this [in his *Commentary on the Oral Instructions of Sublime Mañjuśrī, Sukusumanāmamukhāgamavṛtti*, T 1866], Vitapāda has eloquently said:

> That which is called the *Great Perfection* is the second stage of the second [i.e. perfection] stage. Its *pristine cognition* including the mirror-like one is fivefold, and the *matrix* is the purest utter purity of these [five]. So it is called the *utterly pure body*. This [matrix] is called *the great Vajradhara* [i.e. the great holder of indestructible reality] because it is the resultant buddha-body, which is just what is. The expression *all the glorious ones* applies to all the buddhas because they possess intrinsic discriminative awareness, and this [Great Perfection] is the *essence* of the ultimate and relative realities of them all. In the text, *this second stage* refers only to the stage of perfection. This, the supreme skilful means of the long paths, which is said to be meditation, is expressed by words such as *frustration*, and frustration is said to refer to the *paths* which endure for *three aeons* by means of such acts of liberality [as sacrificing one's own] head. Though one may have acted out of faith and *obtained the enlightenment which conforms* to countless aeons [of activity] – from the first to the seventh [level] and the eighth to the tenth[308] – that is said to be *surpassed* because the unsurpassed Buddha, the great Vajradhara, possesses a still higher [enlightenment]. The *bliss* of this [path], being *so little* in comparison with the union in supreme bliss, *why* does the *yogin* who *accumulates* it *not meditate on this* path through which the glorious and most auspicious beings become accomplished in a single lifetime? He should meditate on [the Great Perfection] alone.

The profound abiding nature of reality, which is just what is, does not abide as an object to be realised by the ostensible reasoning of logic

and sophistry. On this topic, the *Sublime Sūtra which Decisively Reveals the Intention* says:

> That which is within the range of individual,
> intuitive awareness
> Is inexpressible and cut off from conventions.
> It is ultimate reality without disputation,
> And is characterised as transcending all sophistry.

And as it is said in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā*:

> A puerile evil sophist
> Analyses it thus, in a corpse-like manner.

The discriminative awareness produced by sophistical reflection is designated through ideas connected with points of disputation, and with characteristics and objects that are characterised, as well as with substances and attributes, and logical contrariety and inclusion – which are entirely developed by the mind and mental events, thinking in terms of conventional and symbolic doctrines expressed in words and phrases. All things are therefore established to be without independent existence, to be without consciousness, without substance, without the ground-of-all, and so forth. They are established as emptiness by the intellect, and the inference which is made therein is asserted by the sublime master Nāgārjuna to be merely a childish train of thought. In the master's own words:

> Regarding creation and cessation,
> The condition is thought alone.
> That which emerges in consciousness only
> Has no substantial, independent existence.
> If the sophist who resorts to ideas
> Should meditate only on labels,
> The terms "no independent existence" and "no
> consciousness",
> "No substance" and "no ground-of-all"
> Could be applied as well by a child!
> They are entirely generated by evil sophists.

Therefore, with reference to the ultimate truth, objects of ideas, scrutiny and inference are utterly contradictory because it is a quiescence of conceptual elaboration, and an absence of symbolic doctrines. It does not abide in the path of verbalisation and conventions and it is not felt to pursue the imagination. For these reasons, if the occasions when meditative absorption in this pristine cognition or abiding mode of reality occurs are not recognised to be this same absorption in the spiritual and philosophical goal [of Atiyoga], which is effortless with respect to fundamental reality, then all that is studied pertaining to

ideas and scrutiny becomes verbal chaff; thought and understanding become waves of conceptualisation; meditation becomes the apprehension of that; and experience the appraisal of it. It becomes extremely difficult even to approach the profound meaning of the abiding nature no matter how correctly it seems to arise in the face of the intellect. The *Sūtra of the Nucleus of the Buddha* (*Buddhagarbhasūtra*, T 258) says:

> The nucleus of the buddha is not seen as it is by those who are ordinary persons, pious attendants, self-centred buddhas or even bodhisattvas. For example, when one who is born blind asks another the colour of butter and is told that it resembles snow, he touches snow and so apprehends the colour of butter to be cold. Then, when he asks what the colour of snow resembles and is told that it resembles the wings of a goose, [hearing the sound of a goose's wings] he apprehends the colour of snow to be flapping. And then, when he asks what the colour of wings resembles and [is told that] it resembles a conch shell, he touches a conch and, inasmuch as it is smooth, he apprehends [the wings] also to be smooth. Just as one born blind does not know colour as it is, whatever is described, in the same way it is very difficult to perceive the Buddha's natural expression.

Similarly, it is said in the *Oral Instructions of Sublime Mañjuśrī for Attaining the Real*:

> How can an ordinary person know
> Such excellent, supreme pristine cognition?
> It is not known by the pious attendants.
> It is not even known by the self-centred buddhas.
> It is not known by the philosophers of Yogācāra,
> Or by the Madhyamaka philosophers among the
> bodhisattvas.
> All the buddhas of the surpassed [levels], too,[309]
> Do not even slightly know this.

Such statements have been extensively revealed by the Conqueror and his sons.

The difficulty of realising [pristine cognition] is also that the grasping components of the mind and mental events, thinking exclusively with reference to effort, self-indulgence, ideas, scrutiny, causes and results, have divided and obscured it by hope and doubt, and apprehended it in terms of objects and subjects such as the diverse symbols of conceptual elaboration. Here, on the other hand, in the general path of the Great Perfection, all conceptual elaborations become quiescent in the intrinsic expanse through meditative equipoise, without wavering from this dis-

position in which the presence of fundamental reality, the abiding nature without bondage or liberation is established.

Other than that, nothing is contrived save that one abides constantly and naturally in the disposition of the supreme transcendence of intellect, which is free from all activities. All the suddenly arisen stains which appear through expressive power just become naturally pure, naturally clear and naturally liberated, without renunciation or antidote being applied, in the unchanging space of intrinsic awareness, the primal emptiness, in the manner of water and waves. Other than that, "meditation" and "meditative equipoise" are the labels conventionally applied to simple absorption in the intrinsic nature, just as it naturally occurs, without looking elsewhere, without purposefully meditating, without being fixed on one [point], without intellectualising, without conceptualising, without apprehending faults, without external clarifications and without internal attainment. Therefore the essence is emptiness, in that it is without thought or expression; signlessness, in that it is without conceptualisation; and aspirationlessness, in that it is without acceptance, rejection, hope or doubt. The three spheres naturally abide therein in an utterly pure character because there is no objective reference to the three times. This is extensively indicated, as in the following example from the *Piṭaka of the Bodhisattva* (*Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, T 56):

> In this connection, one might ask, what is the utter purity of the three spheres? It is the mind not entering into that which is past, the consciousness not pursuing the future and the intellect not entering into activity connected with present events. Since one does not abide in mind, intellect or consciousness, the past is not conceived of, hankering after the future is not active in the mind, and present events are not conceptually elaborated. Since this, the sameness throughout the three times, is the utter purity of the three spheres, the sentient beings who do not comprehend it should do so. Thereby the great compassion of the Tathāgata enters into sentient beings.

And in the *Sūtra of the Greater Vehicle which is a Dialogue with Brahmaviśeṣacinti*:

> All things are utterly pure of the past dimension. All things are utterly pure of the future dimension. All things are utterly pure of the present dimension. This is called the utter purity of the three times. This is an utter purity which never becomes impure, and by virtue of this, its natural utter purity is the purest of all. For this reason all things are said to be naturally radiant.

What, one might ask, is it that is the nature of all things? The nature of all things is emptiness; they are without objective referent. The nature of all things is signlessness; they are free from idea and concept. The nature of all things is aspirationlessness; there is no acceptance, no rejection, no thought, no force and a total absence of substantial existence. It is naturally radiant. Whatever is the nature of saṃsāra is the nature of nirvāṇa. Whatever is the nature of nirvāṇa is the nature of all things. So it is that the mind is naturally radiant.

And in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

Since it abides in that disposition,
It is unwavering spontaneous presence.
Since it naturally abides, it is not contrived by
anyone.
This abiding in uncontrived reality
Is revealed as the supreme among actionless deeds.
By regarding one as two, meditation is in error.
The single essence is not obtained by two.[310]

And the master Nāropā has also said:

Whatever abides in subjectivity
Turns to the result of saṃsāra itself.
Without concluding one's desired purpose,
The secret, blissful level of pristine cognition
Is neither accomplished nor obtained through desire.
It emerges from its own desireless natural expression.
The intrinsic manner of that perception is freshness.
It is the intention of the All-Positive King.

In the Madhyamaka of the master Nāgārjuna, also, it is clearly revealed that the supreme transcendence of intellect is the truth which requires no meditation:

How could things which do not exist
Number two or three and the like?
Free from the dogmatic conceptual elaboration
Of appearances and mind,
Reality, transcending intellect,
Is not an object of meditation.

And the master Nāgabodhi [in his *Means for Meditation on Atiyoga*, *Atiyogabhāvanānāma*, T 2417] illustrates the teaching that the fundamental nature is accomplished just as it naturally occurs through its own presence:

Atiyoga is without intellectual appreciation;
It is just as it is presented.
In the non-dual mind there is no eternalist view,
Nor is there a nihilist view.

Through such presence, the sublime pristine cognition transcending the intellect, the reality which is neither to be clarified nor determined, is perfectly established in the direct perception of intrinsic awareness, and, at this moment of realisation, all the doctrinal approaches eloquently revealed by the tathāgatas are gathered and abide therein. In this context, the *Sūtra of Candrapradīpa* [i.e. the *Sūtra of the King of Contemplation, Samādhirājasūtra*, T 127] says:

In thousands of world systems
The sūtras which I have explained
Differ in words and syllables but have the same meaning.
It is impossible to express them all,
But if one meditates deeply on a single word,
One comes to meditate on them all.
All the buddhas, as many as there are,
Have abundantly explained phenomena.
But if those skilled in meaning
Were to study only the phrase:
All things are emptiness,
The doctrine of the Buddha would not be scarce.

10 *The Divisions of Atiyoga*

[190a.5-190b.3] Secondly, the esoteric instructions which possess these extraordinary properties are revealed in the divisions of the Atiyoga vehicle. There are three modes of appraising the spiritual and philosophical goal according to the degree of acumen [in those requiring training]. This is stated in the *Great Array*:

> Now, after I have passed into nirvāṇa,
> This will become manifest:
> For those who hold to the mind there will be the
> Mental Class;
> For those who hold to space there will be the Spatial
> Class;
> For those who do not strive after stages
> There will be the Esoteric Instructional Class.

In this way Atiyoga has three divisions. There is the Mental Class (*sems-kyi-sde*), which teaches that all things are liberated from the extreme of renunciation, because they are not separated from mind-as-such. There is the Spatial Class (*klong-gi-sde*), which teaches that all apparitions of reality are free from activity and liberated from the extreme of the antidote, because they are perfectly gathered in Samantabhadrī, the space of reality. And there is the profound Esoteric Instructional Class (*man-ngag-gi-sde*), which teaches that the particular characteristics of truth itself are liberated from both extremes of renunciation and antidote because they are established according to the modes of reality (*yin-lugs*).

THE MENTAL CLASS

[190b.3-195a.1] First, concerning the Mental Class: The spiritual and philosophical goal of the Mental Class is that the compounded truth of the path, which is endowed with corruption and guided by firm percep-

tions which cling to the sequence of the vehicle, the two truths, the six transcendental perfections, the two stages and so forth, is determined (*la-bzla-ba*) in the great expanse liberated from aspects of cause and result, virtue and evil, and acceptance and rejection to be the pristine cognition of great purity and sameness. This is the natural expanse of reality which is the enlightened mind in its natural state, or the fundamental reality of ultimate truth free from conceptual elaboration. In brief, all things which dualistically appear within the subject-object dichotomy are transcended. The following passages from the *All-Accomplishing King* also touch upon this:

> In mind-as-such, which is the essence
> Of the enlightened mind,
> There is neither meditation on the view,
> Nor the performance of conduct;
> There is neither attainment of the result,
> Nor progress through levels;
> There is neither the creation of a maṇḍala,
> Nor recitation, nor the perfection stage;
> There is neither the conferral of empowerment,
> Nor the keeping of commitments.
> The pure reality spontaneously present from the beginning
> Transcends the doctrines of cause and result
> Which adventitiously strive after sequences.

And:

> If one maintains that there is cause and effect
> For Atiyoga, the yoga of the Great Perfection,
> One has not realised the meaning of Great Perfection.
> If one maintains the relative and ultimate to be two,
> One's statements both exaggerate and depreciate;
> One has not realised that there are not two.
> The realisation of the buddhas of the three times
> Is gained in the sole determination that two are not seen.

And in the *Sublime Sūtra which Reveals the Relative and Ultimate Truth* (*Āryaparamārthasaṃvṛtisatyanirdeśasūtra*, T 179):

> Mañjuśrī declared: "O son of the gods, that which is just what it is, the expanse of reality, and the utterly unborn are ultimately equivalent; ultimately they are even equivalent to the five inexpiable sins. That which is just what it is, the expanse of reality, and the utterly unborn are ulti-

> mately equivalent; ultimately they are even equivalent to opinionatedness."

While such teachings are insistently denied by the assertion which is made by some of narrow intellectual vision regarding the profound abiding nature, that the Great Perfection depreciates deeds, causes and results by allowing the area of skilful means to vanish, it can none the less be realised even from the above-cited passages that, though the childish intellect truly becomes afraid of the profound abiding nature, this doctrine which speaks of the dominion of pristine cognition, transcending the objects of conscious thought, and of the uncompounded expanse of reality that is the ultimate truth, is not developed through causes and conditions. It is held essentially not to abide in the three world realms or their elements, which are compounded by positive and negative deeds, and to be completely liberated from these.

If, however, one were to hanker for this [view of narrow intelligence], then as the master Nāgārjuna's *Root Stanzas on the Madhyamaka entitled Discriminative Awareness* (Ch.18, v.5) says:

> The conceptual elaboration of deeds and conflicting emotions,
> Which are elaborated through discursive thought,
> Comes to cease through emptiness.

Thus [Nāgārjuna], having said that all the causes and results of positive and negative deeds have emerged merely from the symbols of conceptualising thought, then says that all these are pacified by the emptiness which is without conceptual elaborations. Concerning that pacification, too, he says (Ch.18, v.9):

> Peace which is not extraneously known
> And absence of conceptual elaboration:
> These are the attributes of this [emptiness].

And also (Ch.17, v.33):

> Conflicting emotions, deeds and bodies,
> Actors and results are as
> Castles in the sky, a mirage,
> An optical illusion and the moon's [reflection] in water.

And then, in his *Transcendence of Existence According to Madhyamaka* (*Madhyamakabhavasaṅkrānti*, T 3840) he says:

> Empty and without any conceptualisation,
> Without activity in the mind, neither birth nor death,
> Apparitional in appearance, devoid of virtue and evil,
> Empty of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa,

And of emptiness and compassion,
The radiant reality that is inexpressible
Apparitional radiance and emptiness
Is without substance and ideas.

In accord with such passages, which indicate the realisation of the ultimate reality, [the Mental Class] has occasion to reveal directly that the realisation which occurs in the supreme common savour of good and evil, unfettered and unliberated by all compounded positive and negative deeds is, as previously stated, the reality in which the nature of all things is determined to be aspirationless in character. Such is said in the *Authentic Conduct of a Bodhisattva* (*Āryabodhisattvacaryā-nirdeśasūtra*, T 184):

Ratnadatta said:

Such must be declared:
Do not abandon desire.
Subdue not hatred.
Don't clarify delusion.[311]
Do not move so as to surpass your own body.
Practice vice.
Do not eliminate opinion.
Don't teach about the entanglements.
Grasp the components as whole.
Combine the psychophysical bases into one entity.
Indulge in the sensory activity fields.
Do not progress beyond an infantile level.
Think unvirtuously.
Renounce virtue.
Do not pay attention to the Buddha.
Do not reflect upon the doctrine.
Worship not the *saṃgha*.
Do not properly undertake the trainings.
Try not to pacify wordly existence.
Do not cross the river [of suffering].

Such are the instructions with which a novice bodhisattva should be instructed and advised. Why so? Because it is this abiding condition of the reality of things that alone abides.

And it is similarly said in the glorious *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (Ch.18, vv.194-5):

There is a sameness in sentient beings and buddhas:
Which is to be attained? Who is the attainer?
The lord of attainment, supreme identity,

Has slain all the buddhas.
How is he untainted by sin?
Yet if he were so tainted,
What result would there be?[312]

And (Ch.18, vv.197-8):

All substances are like an apparition.
One who acts to create and destroy them
Therefore incurs no sin.
Merits also are the same.
Whoever is without either sin or merit
Is said to have enlightenment.

According to the extensive teachings given in passages such as these, the area of skilful means is indeed allowed to vanish. None the less, reality appears as a dream-like ripening of cause and result to those who have not realised this abiding nature and perceive dream-like phenomena to be the truth. Therefore it is said in the Madhyamaka [cf. *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva*, Ch.9, v.11cd]:

With reference to the nature of mere illusory
subjectivity:
One who is endowed with an illusory mind
Incurs both merit and sin.
These therefore are false as a dream.

Now the Mental Class, if classified, consists of seven categories. The first is the area of mind which holds the result to be the mind's point of origin (*'bras-bu sems-kyi byung-sar 'dod-pa'i sems-phyogs*). The result is unchanging in the original expanse [of reality], and so the mind does not wander from this disposition, although it does arise in the manner of saṃsāra from the apparitional, spontaneously present aspect of the ground that is released from the same unchanging disposition. Therefore the mind is empty of impure particulars, and its emergence from the expanse, its abiding in the expanse and its dissolving in the expanse in the manner of a miraculous event in the sky, which are derived from that apparitional aspect, are determined to be primordial liberation, and effortless, natural presence (*ye-grol rang-gzhag 'bad-rtsol med-par la-bzla-ba'o*).

The second is the area of mind which has determined deviation and obscuration (*gol-sgrib la-bzla-ba'i sems-phyogs*). The eight sequences [of the vehicle] from Anuyoga downwards are deviations from the ground because they are designated by the intellect. In this [area of the Mental Class], on the other hand, cause and conditions have been determined by the naturally present pristine cognition free from the intellect, so that the great, primordial emptiness, which is reality, is unobscured

in its fundamental nature, beyond recollection, thought, bias, emergent sensation and so forth.

The third is the area of mind which shatters the source of axioms (*gtan-tshigs khungs-rdib-pa'i sems-phyogs*). By realising the truth which is uncontrived with respect to the ground, or the supreme mind-as-such, free from conceptual elaboration, the essence is liberated without being created, and its unimpeded expressive power is evenly diffused in a vast openness. There is no support for propensities, and so there is no ripening of either positive or negative attributes. This is held to be liberation in sameness, throughout the extent of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, by means of axioms [arising within][313] which concern the primordial emptiness of reality, its natural purity and great liberation from extremes.

The fourth is the area of mind which holds that there is no descent into partiality or bias (*rgya-chad phyogs-lhung-med-par 'dod-pa'i sems-phyogs*). Although mind-as-such, the naturally present pristine cognition, encompasses all of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, it is impartial with respect to substantial appearances, impartial with respect to insubstantial emptiness, and, being without either, it does not even descend into bias with respect to their coalescence. Since its empty essence is liberated from the extreme of eternalism and its unimpeded expressive power is liberated from the extreme of nihilism, it is the reality without activity, transcending happiness and suffering.

The fifth is the area of mind concerning the level of dogmatic philosophical systems (*phyogs-'dzin grub-mtha'i sa'i sems-phyogs*). Without abiding and without existing anywhere, the essence of mind arises unimpededly in any appearance whatsoever. It is said in the *Superior Magical Net*:

> Appearing nowhere and everywhere,
> The uncreated, magical diversity appears.
> The diverse maṇḍalas of the Conqueror, too,
> Are the great miraculous display of mind.

Accordingly, [the mind] does arise, but it is unimpeded, unapprehending and non-conceptual.

The sixth is the area of mind which transcends dogmatism concerning that which is free from the intellect (*blo-bral phyogs-'dzin-las 'das-pa'i sems-phyogs*). The naturally present pristine cognition that is free from the intellect does not exist as any truth or falsehood, however it appears. It is a display of great liberation from the extremes of being and non-being.

The seventh is the area of mind which propounds actuality in reference to mind-as-such (*sems-kyi phyogs yin-tu*[314] *smra-ba'i sems-phyogs*). Although all these appearances appear diversely because they

are the display of mind, the diversity of appearances is essenceless because mind-as-such is also essenceless; and although both the subjective forms of the mind which arise and objective appearances which emerge seem to differ, they are actually indivisible in reality, the naturally present pristine cognition, where there is no such thing. The duality of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa arises from the spontaneously present vibration of [mind's] natural expressive power, and yet that which arises is without essence. The distinctive doctrine of this [Mental Class] is therefore that [the mind] proceeds to natural liberation at the very moment when it arises. It says in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

> Phenomenal existence, the world and its contents,
> All buddhas and sentient beings,
> Are created by the mind,
> And are one in the disposition of mind.

The Texts and Teaching Cycles of the Mental Class (NGB Vols. 1-3)

[195a.1-195b.3] The tantras which express this Mental Class are said to number two million two hundred thousand verses. If these are subsumed, they comprise the Three Spaces (*klong gsum-po*) which are contained in six thousand three hundred sections (*bam-po*), namely, the Space in which Reality is Inexpressible (*chos-nyid brjod-du med-pa'i klong*), the Space in which the View is Not Absent (*lta-ba min-pa med-pa'i klong*) and the Space in which Conduct is Not Present (*spyod-pa yin-pa med-pa'i klong*). If further subsumed, these are gathered into the Three Vaults [or Appendices] (*'phyong-gsum*), namely, the Vault which Directly Reaches the Abiding Ground (*gnas-pa gzhi-thog-phebs-pa'i 'phyong*), the Vault into the Liberation of Appearances Right Where They Are (*snang-ba rang-sar grol-ba'i 'phyong*) and the Vault into the Equalisation without Differentiation (*ngo-mnyam tha-dad med-pa'i 'phyong*).

The texts of the Mental Class also comprise one thousand and three great tantra sections which are entitled the *Fifty Nails Undeviating with Respect to Reality* (*chos-nyid-la 'chugs-pa med-pa'i gzer-bu lnga-bcu*), the *Five Hundred and Eleven Situations in which Objects are Viewed as Mind* (*yul sems-la lta-ba'i gnas lnga-bgya-bcu-gcig*), the *Twenty Thousand Simultaneous Distinctions between Appearances and Mind* (*snang-sems cig-car-du shan-'byed-pa khri-phrag-gnyis*), the *Fifty Thousand Determinations Made in the All-Surpassing View* (*lta-ba thod-rgal-du la-bzla-ba lnga-khri*) and the *Thousand Situations which Cut Through the Idea of Being in Meditation* (*sgom-yod rtog-pa gcod-pa'i gnas cig-stong*).

If this spiritual and philosophical goal of the Mental Class is essentialised: All the apparitions of reality which appear are perfect in reality, the expanse of the enlightened mind, without having to seal all phenomenal appearances with the seal of reality. The awareness of appearances

as the expressive power [of mind], or as a mere display [of mind], accompanies them without deliberate recognition. The glorious Nārotapa [Nāropā] also says:

> This nature of diverse appearances
> Is reality, and thus indivisible.
> Therefore, for the radiant mind-as-such or intention,
> In which [appearances and reality] are coalesced,
> Nothing even slightly appears that is not reality.
> This essence through which everything appears
> Is seen as the nucleus of pristine cognition itself.
> Essentially it is inexpressible.

THE SPATIAL CLASS

[195b.4-197b.4] Secondly, concerning the Spatial Class: In the vast space of Samantabhadrī, the reality of naturally present pristine cognition, all apparitions of reality which appear are merely adornments of that array which manifests in and of itself. Other than that, they do not exist as bondage and liberation, or as objects which arise and their actual arising. It is therefore not claimed, as in the Mental Class, that [the apparitions of reality] appear as the expressive power and display [of the mind]. The spiritual and philosophical goal of this Spatial Class is the establishment of a great infinity of primordial liberation, unscrutinised in terms of relational proof, explicit negation of existence, implicitly affirmative negation of existence, or purity and impurity. The master Nāropā's *Means for Attaining the Real* also says:

> The effortless, unconceived awareness,
> An uncontrived, blissful space manifest in and of itself,
> Arises as the spontaneously present space of pristine
>   cognition.
> Naturally present and pervasive as the sky.
> This enlightened mind of self-manifesting display
> Is a blissful space of illusory pristine cognition.
> It actually radiates as the holders of the pristine
>   cognition
> Of intuitive awareness, who are a naturally present
>   illusion.

If classified, this Spatial Class consists of four categories [of teaching]. The essence of the first, the teaching of the Black Space propounded as the Absence of Causes (*klong nag-po rgyu-med-du smra-ba*), is that this naturally present pristine cognition, in its natural state, does not refer to either the apparitions of reality or reality itself because it is

unchanging, naturally beyond causes and conditions, and without spatial parts. There are three subclassifications, namely, the Black Space of Deeds (*mdzad-pa klong-nag*), the Black Space of Spirituality (*thugs-rje klong-nag*) and the Black Space of Emanation (*sprul-pa klong-nag-gi sde*).

As for the essence of the second, the teaching of the Variegated Space propounded as Diversity (*klong khra-bo sna-tshogs-su smra-ba*): It is positively held that the appearances in the display of this naturally present pristine cognition are an adornment and display of reality, which appears as a naturally arisen diversity; and it is negatively held that the [same] display, which arises all-pervasively and without direction, is beyond refutation and proof. There are three subclassifications, namely, the Variegated Space which propounds Being in Conformity with the Mental Class (*yod-smra sems-sde dang mthun-pa'i klong khra-bo*), the Variegated Space which propounds Non-Being in Accordance with the Natural Position [of the Spatial Class, *med-smra rang-gnas dang mthun-pa'i klong khra-bo*], and the Variegated Space which propounds Both Being and Non-Being in Conformity with the Esoteric Instructional Class (*yod-med man-ngag dang mthun-pa'i klong khra-bo*).

According to the essence of the third, the teaching of the White Space propounded as the Mind (*klong dkar-po sems-su smra-ba*): It is held that everything which arises as outer appearance and inner awareness from the disposition of naturally present awareness is a display of mind, that appearances and conditions are pure from their basis with nothing to be done because they are liberated right where they are, and that there is nothing to be attained in the abiding nature. There are two subclassifications, namely, the White Space of the Inexpressible, Great Natural Arising (*brjod-med rang-shar chen-po'i klong dkar-po*), and the White Space of the Non-Duality of View and Meditation (*lta-sgom gnyis-su-med-pa'i klong dkar-po*).

Concerning the essence of the fourth, the teaching of the Infinite Space in which Cause and Result are Determined (*klong rab-'byams rgyu-'bras la-bzla-ba*): It is held that all things which arise from the disposition of the naturally present pristine cognition are known through mind inasmuch as they are apparent, and are known through the abiding nature inasmuch as they are not apparent. There are four subclassifications, namely, the Outer Infinity which concerns Freedom from Activity (*bya-ba dang bral-ba phyi'i rab-'byams*), the Inner Infinity which propounds the Spiritual and Philosophical Goal in accordance with the Texts of the Spatial Class itself (*grub-mtha' rang-gzhung-du smra-ba nang-gi rab-'byams*), the Secret Infinity which concerns the Dispelling of Obstacles (*gegs-bsal-ba gsang-ba'i rab-'byams*), and the Infinity of the Real which Unties the Essential (*gnad-bkrol-ba de-kho-na-nyid-kyi rab-'byams*).

If these [four kinds of Spatial Class] are then subsumed, they comprise the teaching of the Four Spaces (*klong-bzhi*) concerning display (*rol-pa*),

adornment (*rgyan*), reality (*chos-nyid*), and freedom from activity (*bya-bral*). As to the first, [the Space of Display]: It is present because the display of mind-as-such does not change or alter from the disposition in which it unimpededly arises; and it is absent because this display which is without substantiality is not apprehended as an extreme. Its intention is openly directed in the manner of the sky.

As to the second, [the Space of Adornment]: Appearance, mind, natural presence and freedom from both artificiality and corruption, which successively arise as primordial adornments, arise unimpededly from that unborn disposition [of reality]. Appearances and mind are therefore neither refuted nor proven. Its intention is one of great natural rhythm and natural radiance.

As to the third, [the Space of Reality]: All things, whatever their source, neither come about, nor abide, nor cease. Though all the expressive powers of their display appear from the disposition of reality, they remain equipoised in the disposition of reality, just as the four elements do not wander from space.

Then, as to the fourth, [the Space of Freedom from activity]: Acceptance and rejection through strenuous efforts are not required with reference to anything whatsoever. Everything abides in an uncompounded realm, in the manner of the sky, because it abides not to be done but primordially completed, not to be liberated but primordially liberated, not to be purified but primordially purified, and not to be attained but primordially accomplished.

If these categories of the Spatial Class are similarly subsumed, they are gathered into Nine [Spaces], namely, the Space in which the View is Unchanging (*lta-ba 'pho-'gyur med-pa'i klong*), the Space in which Meditation is neither Present nor Absent (*bsgom-pa yin-min med-pa'i klong*), the Space in which there is neither Hope nor Doubt for the Result (*'bras-bu re-dogs med-pa'i klong*), the Space in which the Essence is neither Accomplished nor Clarified (*ngo-bo grub-bsal med-pa'i klong*), the Space in which Natural Expression is Unimpeded (*rang-bzhin ma-'gags-pa'i klong*), the Space in which Appearance and Mind are Liberated with respect to Characteristics (*mtshan-nyid-la snang-sems grol-ba'i klong*), the Space in which the Expanse is Unchanging (*dbyings 'pho-'gyur med-pa'i klong*), the Space in which Display Unimpededly and Naturally Arises (*rol-pa 'gag-med rang-shar-gyi klong*) and the Space which is the Total Presence of Spontaneous Sameness and Primordial Liberation (*lhun-mnyam ye-grol cog-bzhag-gi klong*).

If these, in turn, are subsumed, they are gathered into Three Spaces, namely, the Space of Supremely Vast Spontaneous Presence (*lhun-grub yangs-pa chen-po'i klong*), the Space of Effortless Intrinsic Radiance (*rang-gsal bya-rtsol med-pa'i klong*) and the Space which is Primordially Accomplished though Nothing is Done (*ma-byas ye-nas grub-pa'i klong*).

The Texts of the Spatial Class (NGB Vols. 3-4)

[197b.4-198a.4] There are eleven thousand chapters and six million four hundred thousand verses subsumed under the titles of the three thousand tantras, which extensively reveal these modes [of the Spatial Class]. These, too, are gathered into the *Eighty Thousand Aspects of Determination (la-bzla-ba khri-phrag-brgyad)*; these are then gathered into *Twenty Thousand Aspects of Distinction (shan-'byed khri-phrag gnyis)*; and these, in turn, are then gathered into *Nine Hundred Conclusions ('gags dgu-brgya)*. Along with *Two Thousand Essentials (gnad nyis-stong)* and the *Fifty Nails (gzer-bu lnga-bcu)*, all of these, if subsumed, are gathered into three categories, namely, Liberation from Activity (*byas-grol*), Liberation in the Establishment [of the Abiding Nature] (*bzhag-grol*) and Direct Liberation (*cer-grol*).

It is said in the *Dohā Composed by Lord Maitripā* (*Mahāmudrā-kanakamālā*, T 2454):

> Non-conceptual, without ideas,
> Transcending objects of ideas and scrutiny,
> Unthinking, without mind, utterly unthinkable,
> Without support or lack of support,
> Or going, coming and abiding,
> Awakening to the happiness and sorrows
> Of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa
> In the space of supreme bliss,
> Uncontrived, unwavering and naturally relaxed,
> Is the inner radiance, free from coming or going,
> In which mental events have been interrupted.
> Its appearance is ineffable and it is without any
> master.
> It is recognised to be reality,
> The intrinsically radiant awareness, and the body of
> reality.

Passages such as this, too, have arrived at the spiritual and philosophical goal of the [Spatial Class].

THE ESOTERIC INSTRUCTIONAL CLASS

[198a.4-200b.3) Thirdly, there is the Esoteric Instructional Class: This holds distinction over the two lower [Mental and Spatial Classes]. The Mental Class, by referring positively to the mind, has mostly achieved the area of profundity rather than radiance, and yet, by not realising the expressive power of radiance to be reality, it almost clings to mental scrutiny. The Spatial Class, though equally achieving profundity and radiance, rather than the mental scrutiny which apprehends reality,

almost lapses into a deviation point within the range of emptiness. The Esoteric Instructional Class, on the other hand, is actually superior because it gathers within the expanse of reality that is free from conceptual elaboration, all apparitions of reality which appear through the self-manifesting, spontaneously present and natural, expressive power. As such [these apparitions] are the tone of the primordially pure, inexpressible essence, the supreme transcendence of intellect. It is said in the *Great Array of the Highest*:

> O holder of indestructible reality,
> If this is not established,
> There are those who cling to mental scrutiny
> And those who resort, in particular, to nothing
> at all.
> Therefore this definitive, secret nucleus,
> As a butter lamp amid the darkness,
> Or as an elephant among oxen,
> A lion among wild animals,
> Or a horseman among pedestrians,
> Is superior to them all.

The essence of this Esoteric Instructional Class is contrary to those bases and doctrines which refer to the dichotomy of bewilderment and non-bewilderment, or of realisation and non-realisation, by dividing the originally liberated and primordially pure reality into ephemeral objects that are to be inspected and the consciousness which makes inspection. From the position of the intrinsic essence, free from conceptual elaboration, both the subjective perception and objective focal point of perception are equal in their lack of authenticity, and, other than in mere conventional usage, the thoughts and expressions which apprehend that dichotomy are genuinely transcended. This class therefore resembles a geomantic centre which directly reaches the essential point, transcending intellect, thoughts of the mind, thinking processes and mental scrutiny. It is said by Mañjuśrī:

> Inwardly radiant by nature,
> Primordially pure as the sky,
> The primordial realities have abandoned
> characteristics.
> They are neither things nor reality:
> Similar to space which is without substantiality,
> They are liberated from all words and phonetic
> expressions.

As long as one refers to objects designated in views other than this, the posture of clinging to the subjective mind cannot be abandoned, and one who has not abandoned that comes to possess [corruptions]

which are unceasing and [continually] arising, so that the root of worldly existence cannot be removed. As the same text says:

> The emptiness of the conquerors
> Is said definitively to remove all views.

If this [Esoteric Instructional Class] is classified, it comprises three categories, namely, the Random (*kha-'thor*), the Oral Tradition (*kha-gtam*) and the Teaching which Accords with its own Textual Tradition of Tantras (*rgyud rang-gzhung-du bstan-pa*, NGB Vols. 9-10). The essence of the first, [the Random category of esoteric instructions], is that the pristine cognition, which transcends the intellect, instantaneously arises without regard for extraneous classifications and clarifications. Its subdivisions are twofold: With reference to establishment [of reality], there are the Esoteric Instructions which Conclude the Path (*bzhag-pa lam-gyi mtha'-gcod-pa'i man-ngag*), and with reference to liberation, there are the Esoteric Instructions of Pure Power which Disclose the Path (*grol-ba stobs dag-pa lam mngon-gyur gyi man-ngag*).

The second [category of Esoteric Instructions], those given in the manner of an Oral Tradition, are essentially[315] free from the intellect and unbewildered. They naturally shatter the source of conceptualisation and, characteristically, they are free from deliberate recognition. Its subdivisions are twofold: the Oral Tradition which Permeates All Discourse (*gleng-ba yongs-la bor-ba'i kha-gtam*) and the Oral Tradition which is Divulged in Speech at No Fixed Time (*khar-phog dus-med-pa'i kha-gtam*).

The third [category of esoteric instructions], the Teaching which Accords with its own Textual Tradition of Tantras, is essentially the point of origin of all transmitted precepts. It is naturally effortless with respect to renunciation and acceptance because it is devoid of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa; and, characteristically, it is untouched by disputation concerning emptiness because it does not abide in sounds or words. Its subdivisions are fourfold: those transmitted precepts given in the manner of the Full Summation of the View (*lta-ba sgang dril-ba*), those given in the manner of Blood-letting which Removes Obstacles (*gtar-ga gegs-sel*), those given in a manner which Reveals the Hidden (*gab-pa mngon-du phyung*), and those given in the manner of Exegeses which are Naturally Clear (*bshad-pa rang-gsal*). These, too, are classified into many profound and vast subdivisions with respect to view, meditation and conduct such as: their Hidden Point (*gnad gab-pa*) and its Revelation (*mngon-du phyung-pa*); the Extent of their Warmth (*drod-tshad*); the Essence which having Penetrated the Essentials of Object and Consciousness Throws Open the Naked Awareness (*yul-shes gnad-la bor-nas rig-pa ther-la 'byin-pa'i gnad*); the Opposition to Bewilderment at its Ground (*'khrul-pa gzhi-la bzlog-pa*); and the Essential Penetration of the Seminal Point (*thig-le gnad-la dbab-pa*).

If these are subsumed, they comprise four [cycles], namely, the Outer Cycle which Resembles the Body (*lus-dang 'dra-ba phyi-skor*), the Inner Cycle which Resembles the Eyes (*mig-dang 'dra-ba nang-skor*), the Secret Cycle which Resembles the Heart (*snying-dang 'dra-ba gsang-skor*) and the Unsurpassedly Secret Cycle which Resembles the Perfection of All (*thams-cad rdzogs-pa-dang 'dra-ba yang-gsang bla-na med-pa'i skor*).

According to the first, or the Outer Cycle: Essentially, the five poisons are carried on the path because there are no conflicting emotions. Naturally, whatever appears arises as reality because there is no laborious accomplishment; and characteristically, emptiness is not divided into anything at all because there are no spatial parts.

As for the second, the Inner Cycle: Essentially, it is the signless reality because it has transcended formation. Naturally, it is the pristine cognition which permanently and continuously abides because it neither goes nor comes. And characteristically, too, it resembles roots in that it penetrates both saṃsāra and nirvaṇa; it resembles a tree trunk in that the intrinsic face [of awareness] turns in different [directions]; it resembles branches in that the appearance of expressive power is extensive on all sides; it resembles flowers in that the range of radiance is unimpeded; and it resembles fruit in that its diversity is ripened into one.

As for the third, the Secret Cycle: Essentially, it disregards the three kinds of discriminative awareness because introduction to reality (*ngo-sprod*) and realisation occur simultaneously. Naturally, it disregards the power of experience because the cessation of breathing[316] and liberation are simultaneous; and characteristically, it disregards the two causally based provisions because buddhahood and the emergence of spirituality are simultaneous.

Then, concerning the fourth, or the Unsurpassedly Secret Cycle: Essentially, it disregards the act of perception because there is nothing to be perceived. Naturally, this reality does not abide in mental scrutiny because it is directly perceived; and characteristically, vital energy itself is united in the expanse of the original ground through the four visionary appearances (*snang-ba bzhi*), without constructing the hope for a result in a future lifetime.

The Texts of the Esoteric Instructional Class (*NGB Vols. 5-10*)

[200b.3-202b.1] It is said [by the buddhas] in their transmitted precepts that the meanings and expressions contained in such [categories] of the Esoteric Instructional Class are equal to the limits of the sky. They include *Twenty Thousand Tantras of Expressive Words* (*rjod-byed tshig-gi rgyud khri-phrag gnyis*), *Thirty-five Thousand Chapters* (*le'u stong-phrag sum-cu rtsa lnga*), *Six Million Four Hundred Thousand Verses* (*śva-lo-ka 'bum-phrag drug-cu rtsa-bzhi*), *Five Thousand Essentials* (*gnad stong-phrag-lnga*), *Eight Great Vaults* [or *Appendices*, *'phyong-chen-po brgyad*],

One Hundred and Eighty Nails (gzer-bu brgya-dang brgyad-cu), Nine Hundred Thousand Conclusions ('gags stong-phrag dgu-brgya), Seventy Thousand Distinctions (shan-'byed khri-phrag-bdun), and *One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Determinations (la-bzla-ba 'bum-phrag phyed-dang gnyis)*.

The four [cycles] of the Esoteric Instructional Class are also gathered in Three Spaces, namely, the Space of Unceasing Display (*rol-pa 'gags-pa med-pa'i klong*), the Space in which there is Nothing Unliberated in the Intellect (*blo-la ma-grol-ba med-pa'i klong*) and the Space in which the Essence is Neither Good Nor Evil (*ngo-bo-la bzang-ngan med-pa'i klong*). And the nucleus of the Esoteric Instructions is also fourfold: namely, that which Unties the Essential (*gnad-bkrol-ba*), that which Brings Final Closure [of Obstacles] (*'gag-bsdam-pa*), that which Introduces [Intrinsic Awareness] (*ngo-sprad-pa*) and that which Visibly Establishes the Intrinsic Essential (*mngon-sum rang-gnad-la dbad-pa*).

The View and Path of the Esoteric Instructional Class

According to this tradition of the Esoteric Instructional Class of the Great Perfection, which is the nucleus of all teachings, the individual intuitive awareness is an object to be experientially cultivated as pristine cognition. It transcends the mind which possesses the nature of the eight aggregates of consciousness, the corrupt grasping component. On this, indeed, it is said in the *Lion's Perfect Expressive Power*:

> Propensities of the mind and pristine
> cognition are insubstantial
> Though pristine cognition has been freed from all
> propensities,
> The diverse propensities are collected by the mind.
> If mind and pristine cognition are not differentiated as two,
> The root of objective appearances is not cut off.
> Although the unconditioned reality is pure,
> It is difficult to realise.

And also, in Nāropā's *Means for Attaining the Real*:

> When this intuitive awareness of the enlightened mind
> Is under the sway of the bewilderment of propensities,
> The diversity, although non-existent, is materialised by
> imagination.
> Though the propensities of the mind outwardly appear,
> The awareness is unchanging inner radiance.

And:

> Free from the movement of the conceptualising mind,

The inner radiance of intrinsic awareness is not grasped.

In brief, all sensory appearances and objects of thought are the things of saṃsāra which appear through the mind and have the grasping mind as their particular characteristic. The *Sublime Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Eight Thousand Lines* makes the very same point when it says, concerning mind-as-such which transcends the mundane mind and its mental events, that:

> In mind there exists no mind. The nature of mind is inner radiance.

Furthermore, the *Sublime Pagoda of Precious Jewels* says:

> Free from mind, intellect and consciousness, the essential of contemplation, indeed, is not abandoned. This is the inconceivable mystery of the Tathāgata's mind.

And the sublime Nāgārjuna has also said:

> Inasmuch as there is no mind, there is nothing at all,
> There is neither body nor psychophysical base;
> Hence, according to the non-dual path,
> This is well explained as just what is.

Extensive quotations such as these also have an intention directed towards the awareness which transcends the mind.

This same awareness is also a primordial liberation (*ye-grol*) because its intrinsic face is uncovered from the beginning by the things of saṃsāra, so that the basis of the grasping components of worldly existence has ceased. It is a natural liberation (*rang-grol*) because, uncontrived by any antidote, all that arises [is liberated] without reference to other liberating activities, in the manner of a snake which has naturally uncoiled its knots. It is a direct liberation (*cer-grol*) because all the consciousnesses of the eight aggregates are naturally liberated with great suddenness in an instant, without a duality of subject and object. And it is a liberation from extremes (*mtha'-grol*) because it does not abide within the three times or within any perceptual object.

After this intrinsic awareness, the naturally present pristine cognition which abides in the dispostion of these four great modes of liberation, has been ascertained to be the distinctive doctrine of this path, in order that it might be appropriately realised, there exist two paths: Cutting Through Resistance (*khregs-chod*), which is oriented towards the emptiness aspect or primordially pure awareness without conceptual elaboration, and so causes the cessation of [inherently] empty phenomena; and All-Surpassing Realisation (*thod-rgal*), which clarifies the appari-

tional aspect or corporeal objects into inner radiance in a spontaneously present manner, and so causes the cessation of apparitional reality.

Cutting Through Resistance

[202b.1-204a.5] Concerning the first of these, Cutting Through Resistance, which establishes the primordially pure abiding nature: The intention of this supreme vehicle is directed towards awareness, the fundamental reality without bondage or liberation, the essence itself which is primordially pure, uncontrived and utterly impartial. It has not fallen into any direction whatsoever because it cannot be said that "the essence is intrinsically this". This naked, core-penetrating (*zang-thal*) awareness, transcending thought and expression, is itself emptiness in that it is free from the conceptualising intellect; it is signless in that it is not symbolised by verbal or written word during the path; and it is aspirationless in that from the standpoint of the result there is neither hope nor doubt concerning something that is to be obtained. Owing to that awareness, the attributes of enlightenment are perfected, and it is that awareness in which the [aforementioned] three natural approaches to liberation are present as inner radiance. In it, the things subsumed by consciousness which refers to the view, meditation, conduct and result either with or without thought,[317] do not exist. By looking for [awareness] it is not seen; by meditating on it, it is not realised; by conduct no benefit is incurred; and the result is not to be obtained. Because it is not [to be obtained], there is nothing to be done with respect to purification on the levels, progression on the paths, or referring to the results and their respective sequences. The glorious Saraha [in his *Song of Esoteric Instruction: An Inexhaustible Treasure Store*, *Dohākośopadeśagīti*, T 2264] says:

> Listen! do not regard cause and result as two.
> There are no causes and results which arise as substances.
> If this yogin's mind is maddened
> By the mind which hopes and doubts,
> The co-emergent pristine cognition will be bound therein.
> Listen! since that is without independent existence,
> Do not say it is an object of meditation.
> If, having realised both the object of meditation
> And act of meditating,
> One were to think of it as enlightenment
> With a dualising intellect,
> One would have committed a sin against oneself.

There are some who, not having comprehended such an abiding condition as this, depreciate the profundities of the perfection stage, holding that the resultant buddha-body of form is not achieved without the accumulation of the two provisions, including the causal creation

stage and so forth. But their action is one which abandons the doctrine. According to this path [of Cutting Through Resistance] the body of reality itself is obtained because it is the culmination of the buddhas. Elsewhere it is accordingly said [in the *Diamond Cutter, Vajracchedikā*, T 16, para. 26, vv.1-2b]:

> Those who see me as form,
> Those who perceive me as sound,
> Those persons, who remain on the false path,
> Do not perceive me.
> It is the body of reality
> That is the Buddha's.

In this way, the nucleus of indestructible reality, the primordially pure awareness, enters into the qualitative experience of the original body of reality's modes (*yin-lugs*). In the manner of the naturally radiant sun, it is liberated from the obscuring action of conceptual elaboration, and it is held to be seen in the present moment, just like the sun, once the overwhelming ideas of the mind, which activate the eight sequences [of the vehicle] and cause obscuration through their dependence on the symbolic creation stage, have been purified of their obscuration. Since it possesses such distinctions, the naturally present pristine cognition, uncontrived by a conceptual view, meditation, conduct, and result, is determined in its natural establishment. This awareness is just present in its natural disposition, open, uncontrived, unconstructed, unmeditating, unwavering, unbewildered, without entering into ideas and scrutiny, aloof, naked, and relaxed; and it is only nominally called a view and a meditation. It says in the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness*:

> In the awareness that is without conceptual elaboration
> How could there be bewilderment and ignorance?
> In the pristine cognition that is without mind
> How could there be ignorance and propensities?

So it is that, through meditative equipoise, the fundamental, uncontrived abiding nature of great primordially pure awareness is directly introduced, and there can be no bondage through the subject-object dichotomy. The means of not contaminating it with objects of meditation or the act of meditating is excellently revealed by teachings such as the Twelve Great Laughs of Indestructible Reality (*rdo-rje gad-mo chen-po bcu-gnyis*).

If firm experience in this very path has come about, finally one dissolves into a great, primordially pure point of liberation. The coarse atoms of the four elements are transformed into the power of the fire of pristine cognition, and, having been so purified, they vanish accompanied by great miraculous events. If, on the other hand, activity on

behalf of others is resorted to, the dissolving atoms emanate as, and then leave behind, relics of four kinds, while the awareness centred in the expanse of the body of reality then acts on behalf of living beings through unceasing emanational bodies.

All-Surpassing Realisation

[204a.5-211b.4] Concerning the second [path], the esoteric instructions of All-Surpassing Realisation which establish the spontaneously present visionary appearances: According to Cutting Through Resistance, the bewildering appearance of apprehended objects, without ground and without root, is directly liberated in fundamental reality. However, this [All-Surpassing Realisation] is superior to that lower path, because herein all those apparitional aspects of the three realms are liberated in the inner radiance of a great seminal point of five-coloured light, which is the natural tone of awareness. It is said in the *Penetration of Sound*:

> This [view] is that, upon the display of [subtle]
> objects
> By the disposition [of awareness],
> Without entering into the conditions of saṃsāra,
> Penetrating them to the very core,
> Transcending the [coarse] apparitional aspect
> Of objects and consciousness,
> They are directly liberated from their respective
> grounds.[318]

And the glorious Nāropā also says:

> All substances by nature
> Are the seminal point of the expanse of reality.
> Concerning the means for attaining this,
> The nucleus, awareness itself, arises,
> And so the darkness of extremes is purified by its
> disposition.
> Through this naturally present attainment,
> That is not to be attained,
> The three realms are proven to be inner radiance,
> the buddha-mind.

This explanation briefly indicates the path through which the visionary appearance of the expanse and the indestructible chains [of light] (*rdo-rje lu-gu rgyud*),[319] which are the nucleus or awareness, are matured. Finally, the outer and inner elements of the three realms dissolve into inner radiance through the visionary appearance of the cessation of their reality (*chos-nyid zad-pa'i snang-ba*).

Now this [path of All-Surpassing Realisation] is also subsumed in the Three Supportive Essentials of the Body (*bca'-ba lus-kyi gnad-gsum*), the Three Essentials which Guide [the Eyes] towards the Expanse (*'khrid-pa dbyings-kyi gnad-gsum*) and the Three Essentials of Objective Appearance (*snang-ba yul-gyi gnad-gsum*), which are to be experientially cultivated. And when [the essential of light] within the last of these groupings is classified according to the four lamps (*sgron-ma bzhi*), it consists of the watery lamp of the far-sighted [eyes] (*rgyangs-zhag chu'i sgron-ma*), the lamp of the expanse of awareness (*rig-pa dbyings-kyi sgron-ma*), the lamp of emptiness which is the seminal point (*thig-le stong-pa'i sgron-ma*), and the lamp of naturally present discriminative awareness (*shes-rab rang-byung-gi sgron-ma*).

The first of these lamps, [the watery lamp of the far-sighted eyes], senses the appearances which arise because it externally perceives the tone of awareness. The second, [the lamp of the expanse of awareness], is the ground from which the inner expanse arises as a tone of external radiance. The third, [the lamp of emptiness which is the seminal point], is the support which activates the arising forms. And the fourth, [the lamp of naturally present discriminative awareness], is the unerring abiding nature of higher insight, or the face of awareness, when it arises as a pure essence and not as a [gross] object.

Concerning these divisions, the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

> In the maṇḍala which is empty as the sky
> Four kinds of uncontrived lamp
> Radiate owing to the unimpeded reality.
> Concerning the lamp of the expanse of awareness:
> In the centre of space which is empty as the sky,
> The body of light, the natural expression of the
>   expanse,
> Radiates in unimpeded, unceasing forms.
> The body of buddha-mind, endowed with five
>   pristine cognitions,
> Arises as an indestructible chain [of light].
> Its coming and going
> And its movement, too, are indeterminate.
> Penetration of this lamp of the expanse of
>   awareness,
> If awareness is not disturbed,
> Is well explained to be unchanging realisation.
>
> If the lamp of naturally present discriminative
>   awareness
> Has cut off all exaggerations,
> If the lamp of emptiness which is the seminal point,

Has effortlessly arisen,
And if, by means of the watery lamp of the
far-sighted eyes,
It is regarded without wavering;
That is said to be the limit of conclusive meditation.

In this way, the awareness of higher insight regards the indestructible chains [of light], and becomes skilled in the four visionary appearances (*snang-ba bzhi*) through the succession of their experiences. The entrance to the buddha-fields is opened through the visionary appearance of the direct perception of reality (*chos-nyid mngon-sum-gi snang-ba*). Subsequently, the emanational body is seen through the visionary appearance of ever increasing contemplative experience (*nyams gong-'phel-ba'i snang-ba*) in which the seminal point is almost matured in the body. The body of perfect rapture is seen through the visionary appearance of reaching the limit of awareness (*rig-pa tshad-phebs-kyi snang-ba*) in which [the seminal point] is matured in the body. Then, all appearances are purified in the maṇḍala of a single, great seminal point. All the things that are designated by the intellect cease and the body of reality is seen through the visionary appearance in which [those things] cease to be even apprehended in reality (*chos-nyid-du 'dzin-pa tsam-yang zad-pa'i snang-ba*). Accordingly, it is said in the *Penetration of Sound*:

Through the vision that is direct perception of reality
The extremes which persist in mental scrutiny are
transcended.
Through ever increasing contemplative experience
Bewildering appearances vanish,
And the pristine cognition of the intermediate state
is actualised.
Through the visionary appearance of reaching the
limit of awareness
Appearances on the path which realises the three
bodies are transcended.
Through the visionary appearance of their cessation
in reality
The continuity of saṃsāra with its three realms
is broken.

An almost similar aspect of this maturation of the seminal point in the body is also referred to in the *Kālacakra Tantra*:

The mind which apprehends space in all directions,
And the unclosing eye which properly enters the path
of indestructible reality,
Out of emptiness come to perceive

> Apparitions of smoke, mirage, radiance, immaculate
> sky and butter lamps,
> Blazing flames, the moon, the sun, vajras,
> Supreme features and seminal points.
> And in their midst is the form of the buddhas,
> The manifold bodies of perfect rapture,
> Without objective appearance.

Therefore, in this unsurpassedly secret [vehicle] it is most essential for one who is learned in directly making into the path the naturally present awareness, which transcends the saṃsāra-based mind from the beginning, to reach the result swiftly and directly. If it were not so, the saṃsāra-based mind and mental events during the period of experiential cultivation would not be transcended. Their result would be saṃsāra itself. However, since cause and result are infallibly identical, there is no occasion for lapsing into deviation.

In particular, the instantaneous awareness itself, which regards this manifest inner radiance, reverses the mind and mental events of the three world realms along with the ground-of-all. It is the reversal of the realm of desire because it regards [inner radiance] with direct perception and is without the ebb and flow of internal imagination. It is the reversal of the realm of form because there is no antidote which allocates radiance to the radiant disposition. It is the reversal of the formless realm because there is no intellect which clings in the disposition of reality to one-pointed non-conceptualisation. It is the reversal of the ground-of-all because there is an awareness of the pure essences. It is the reversal of the consciousness of the ground-of-all because the naturally present, pristine cognition is determined. It is the reversal of the consciousnesses of the five senses because it does not appear to pursue ordinary [sensations] other than the objects of apparitional inner radiance; and, at that time, it is the reversal of the consciousness of the intellect and the consciousness of conflicting emotions because there is no idea which scrutinises and there is an absence of all thoughts of desire and hatred. In brief, the pristine cognition of the buddhas, liberated from the mind and mental events of the three world realms, is conclusive in that which is nothing other than quiescence [i.e. nirvāṇa]. Therefore, it is said in the *Enumeration of Doctrines which is the Great Pagoda of Precious Jewels*:

> Śāntamati, this mystery of the Tathāgata's mind is without mind, intellect and consciousness; nor is the essential of contemplation abandoned either. This is the inconceivable mystery of the Tathāgata's mind.

Those spiritual and philosophical systems of the secret mantra which hold the co-emergent pristine cognition to refer to the blissful, radiant

and non-conceptual pristine cognitions, which are effected in the lower tantras by the entry of the vital energy from the right and left channels (*ro-rkyang*) into the central channel (*dbu-ma*),[320] do not reverse the consciousnesses of the eight aggregates. This is because [in those systems] the bliss of sensation is subsequently created by the intellect and by the intellect that is conscious of conflicting emotions. The range of non-conceptualising mind does not proceed elsewhere beyond the ground-of-all. In addition, they hold that the vital energy and the [white and red] seeds[321] enter from the right and left pathways into the central channel and liberate each respective knot in the central channel; and that by this power the renunciations and realisations of the ten levels arise. This is an essential point of deviation, because [according to those systems] the vital energy and the mind remain in the centres (*rtsa-'dab*) which correspond to the six classes of living beings, giving rise to impure, bewildering appearance.[322]

In this [All-Surpassing Realisation], on the other hand, the vital energies are absorbed in a natural quiescence, and apart from that, do not enter into the central channel and so forth. When the vital energy of the respective centres has become naturally pure, the vital energy of pristine cognition (*ye-shes-kyi rlung*) naturally radiates right where it is within a channel of light. Thus, there is no occasion for impure, bewildering appearances to arise from the natural expression of the buddha-bodies, fields and light, which are appearances of pure pristine cognition. The channels of light within the central channel multiply and become enlightened attributes in which the knotted forms of the channels (*rtsa-mdud*) gradually vanish into light; and therefrom the emergent realisations of the levels arise manifest in and of themselves.[323]

Now, by the vanishing of the first pair of knotted channels into light, a hundred buddha-fields arise within the light which externally appears. Therein, rays of light are diffused, motion occurs through their reabsorption in a self-manifest manner, and the hundred buddha-fields vibrate through the shaking of the body. Internally also, a hundred non-conceptual contemplations of reality are entered and risen from, and other such experiences occur.[324] Therefore, it should be known that the higher paths exemplified by these occurrences are superior to the lower vehicles.

At the time when these four visionary experiences are concluded, the body is dissolved into atoms by Cutting Through Resistance and yet the buddha-body of indestructible reality is not thereby achieved. Since it is not achieved, there is on that basis no means of attaining the great benefit for the sake of others which continues until saṃsāra has been emptied.

Therefore, [in All-Surpassing Realisation] the buddha body of form remains apparitional in the manner of the moon's reflection in water, while the awareṇess abides in a formless state. As such, immeasurable

acts are performed on behalf of sentient beings. This is known as the buddha-body of great transformation (*'pho-ba chen-po'i sku*, *mahā-saṅkrāntikāya*), exemplified by [the attainment] of the great master Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra. If there is, for the while, no one requiring to be trained on this basis, the body of form itself, which is a coalescence of outer radiance, manifest in and of itself, is absorbed into the inner expanse, the disposition of the body of reality free from conceptual elaboration, and then the subtle pristine cognition of individual intuitive awareness is centred in the inwardly radiant youthful vase body (*gzhon-nu bum-pa'i sku*). In the dispositon of this [youthful vase body] and without wavering from the highest meditative absorption, reality is present as the basis for the emanation of pristine cognition, the great unimpeded spirituality which displays instruction for those requiring training. It is the culmination of the buddha-body of reality, in which the expanse and pristine cognition are without duality.

Therefore, it is asserted that enlightenment is the point of liberation in which primordial purity and spontaneous presence are without duality, the great primordial purity or abiding nature of the original ground. And it is equally asserted that [the view of] the Mādhyamika who propound non-substantiality, though indeed a freedom from all extremes of conceptual elaboration, is but one extreme of emptiness because they deny even the buddha-bodies and pristine cognitions which manifest in and of themselves on the grounds that all activities (*'jug-pa*) at this moment abide in the firm cessation of quiescence.

Though distinctive opinions are variously found concerning the non-conceptuality, in terms of subject and object, of the all-knowing pristine cognition, the intention of the Primordial Lord [Samantabhadra] is particularly established as such through the proper path of the Great Perfection. Within the expanse of emptiness free from all conceptual elaborations that derives from its primordial purity, the essence abides through its spontaneous presence in the manner of the light which is radiant within a crystal but not externally manifest. This [spontaneous presence] comprises: three subtle pristine cognitions, forming the ground in which the buddha-fields and the bodies of perfect rapture arise manifest in and of themselves; five pristine cognitions which are given character through the expressive power of these [fields and bodies]; and the aspect of the ground in which the pristine cognition that knows cognitive objects arises. Since it is endowed with this pristine cognition itself, the essence is the source of all buddha-bodies and pristine cognitions. From it there emerges the power by which, without wavering from the body of reality, the two bodies of form appear, along with their enlightened activities, to those who require training. If it were not so, the benefit of those requiring training and the immeasurable enlightened attributes of omniscience would not emerge through the possession of pristine cognition. This has been stated *ad infinitum* in

such texts as the *Verse Summation of the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness* (Ch.5, v.8cd):

> If there were no pristine cognition,
> The enlightened attributes would not increase,
> Nor would there be enlightenment
> Or the oceanic attributes of the buddhas.

And in the *Illuminating of the Lamp* (*sgron-ma snang-byed*):[325]

> So if there were no range of pristine cognition
> There would be no distinction [between this]
> And the outer space which is empty.
> Therefore, from the ground, pristine cognition is pervasive.
> If there were no pristine cognition
> There would be no distinction [between this] and nihilism.

This spontaneous presence of enlightened attributes is referred to in eloquent explanations, such as the following from the *Great Commentary on the Buddhasamāyoga* (*Buddhasamāyogaṭīkā*, T 1659):

> This body of supreme bliss, characterised as skilful means and discriminative awareness without duality, embodies the essence of yoga. The hosts of Māra and the like which symbolise dualistic ideas are destroyed by this disposition, and, inasmuch as it possesses all the arrays of excellent enlightened attributes, there are apart from it no other details of enlightened attributes. It is present through their natural spontaneous presence and disclosed through realisation.

The disposition of this body of reality gives rise to consecration or blessing which arises as the self-manifesting buddha-body of perfect rapture. Therefrom enlightened activities continuously emerge, such as those of the Five Enlightened Families of the Tathāgatas in the pure buddha-fields, and such as those of the supreme emanational body in the impure fields.

Subsequent to [these four visionary appearances of All-Surpassing Realisation] there are also the Esoteric Instructions of the Four Consolidations (*mtha'-rten bzhi*) which meaningfully draw [the practice] to its conclusion: The ground is determined in three unmoving states (*mi-'gul-ba gsum*), the limit [of awareness] is grasped by the three presences (*sdod-pa gsum-gyis tshad bzung-ba*), the nail is riveted by the three attainments (*thob-pa gsum-gyis gzer gdab-pa*) and the limit of liberation is revealed by the four assurances (*gding-bzhis grol-tshad bstan-pa*).

In brief, the abiding nature of the Great Perfection is absolute in its view, pure and equal with respect to cause and result, indivisible with respect to truth, naturally dissolved with respect to the subject-object

dichotomy, and core-penetrating with respect to creation and cessation. It has not fallen into the extremes of either elaboration or non-elaboration, and it is uncontrived by the intellect. It neither radiates externally, nor is it apprehended internally, and nor does it lie in between. For it, the chaff-like words and conventions of the entire range of expression, and the entire range of thought and scrutiny have become only discursive designations. Thus, one determines that it does not abide in the extreme of self-affirmation. It is said in the *Mirror of the Heart of Vajrasattva* (*rdo-rje sems-dpa' snying-gi me-long*, NGB Vol.10):

> It should be known that all the doctrines of awareness are
> free from the intellect involved in egocentric ideas.

Now at all times, ancient and recent, there have been those who, boasting of attaining the profound reality through their intellectual creations, have been terrified by the profound discourses concerning reality which is free from the intellect. Also, on the basis of the ostensible rejection of the lower sequences of the path by [passages such as] this, there have been those in both ancient and recent time who have been enthusiastic to undertake perpetual labours due to envy, and in connection with their counterfeit, sophistical intelligence, which is extremely hostile to the [doctrine's] range of profundity and the vast abiding nature. However, as the sublime Mañjuśrī has said:

> Concerning activities, the yogin
> Apprehends them on the great paths,
> Just as a deer pursues a mirage.
> Though they always appear, they are not grasped.
> But more than that, all of these [vehicles]
> Are endowed with inauthentic intelligence.
> The intelligence of the lowest yogas
> Is surpassed by the highest.
> The intelligence of the lower
> Is rejected by the discriminative awareness of the higher.

One should therefore know this and be skilled in pacifying motivations connected with disputation in the inconceivable disposition of reality.

In addition, it is according to the esoteric instructions, which turn the instructions of the Great Perfection to practical application, that all things of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are established as the display of the four intermediate states (*bar-do*). During the intermediate state of the birthplace (*skye-gnas-kyi bar-do*) exaggerated notions connected with study and reflection on the oral instructions are cut off in the manner of a sandpiper [decisively] entering its nest. During the intermediate state of the moment of death (*'chi-kha'i bar-do*) the oral instructions are clarified in the manner of a dancing girl [delightedly] looking in a mirror. During the intermediate state of reality (*chos-nyid bar-do*) there

is [secure] conviction that [the deities] manifest in and of themselves, in the manner of a child [securely] nestling into its mother's lap. And during the intermediate state of rebirth (*srid-pa bar-do*) the residual effect of one's [wholesome] deeds is prolonged in the manner of a conducting pipe being thrust into a canal which is blocked. Relying on these oral instructions, fortunate beings are conveyed to the point of original liberation. By the mere affirmation of a view which approximates things as they really are, one never sees, or has the occasion to obtain, the essential nucleus which is the pristine cognition realised in the abiding nature. So it is said:

> Concerning the co-emergent pristine cognition of ultimate reality:
> Apart from the impression made by accumulating provisions and purifying obscurations
> And the exclusive blessing of the guru endowed with realisation,
> Reliance on other methods should be known as delusion.

And in the *Hevajra Tantra* (Pt.1, Ch.8, v.36):

> It should be known that
> The co-emergent is unexpressed by another,
> And it cannot be found anywhere,
> Save by relying on the guru's timely means
> And the provisions of one's own merit.

And as the glorious Saraha has said:

> One who takes to heart whatever the guru has said
> Resembles one who sees a treasure
> Lying in the palm of the hand.

If the auspicious coincidences of the guru, the student, the world and its contents accumulate, the great empowerment which pours out all the Conqueror's means (*rgyal-thabs spyi-blugs-kyi dbang-chen*), pristine cognition itself, is conferred by the power of [the guru's] blessing being transferred, and it manifestly and directly descends. Then the meaning of that descent [of pristine cognition] is experienced in continuous yoga which is the flow of the effortless state's presence. Relying on the recognition of the details of the signs and experiences occurring on the path, the removal of the obstacles of clinging to pleasant and coarse experiences, and the advantages granted by the enlightened attributes that are realised through experiential cultivation, the foundation is acquired, through which the result is actualised in this lifetime and in this very body, without aspiring towards it in the future.

11 *A Recapitulation of the Resultant Vehicles*

[211b.4] Having ascertained the exegesis of the overall meaning [of the secret mantra] according to their classifications, there now follows the second part [see p.257 above] in which the meaning subsumed in the particular sections [of the secret mantra] is recapitulated in order to facilitate understanding. This falls into two categories, namely, the vehicle of the outer tantras of austere awareness (*phyi thub-pa rgyud-kyi theg-pa*) and the vehicle of the inner tantras of skilful means (*nang-pa thabs-kyi rgyud-kyi theg-pa*).

DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE OUTER AND INNER TANTRAS

[211b.5-213a.5] Though many dissimilar claims have been made by those of the past concerning the distinctions between these two vehicles, in this [Nyingma tradition] there are said to be five [distinctions] derived from the master Dropukpa who subsumed the intention of the four "pillars", who were the spiritual sons [of Zurcungpa]:[326]

> Concerning the first distinction which refers to their views: The inner vehicle is that of the mantras in which mind-as-such is realised to be the supreme identity, and the outer vehicle is that in which there is no such realisation. It is said in Indrabhūti's *Array of the Path of the Magical Net* (*Māyāpathavyavasthāpana*, P 4737):
>
> *Since those who uphold*
> *The three enlightened families*
> *And the five enlightened families*
> *Do not realise the supreme identity,*
> *I have propounded them as equivalent*
> *To the common [vehicles].*[327]

Concerning the second distinction which refers to their modes of acquiring accomplishment: The outer [vehicle] is that in which accomplishment is requested by aspiring towards and attending upon a deity of pristine cognition, and the inner [vehicle] is that in which accomplishment is seen to be intrinsically present because, through realisation of the supreme identity, mind-as-such manifests in and of itself as a maṇḍala of buddha-body and pristine cognition. It says in the *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva* (*rdo-rje sems-dpa'i zhus-lan*, P 5082):

> *In reply to the question, "What is the distinction between the yogins of the outer and inner mantras in their acquisition of accomplishment?" he said:*
>
> *As, for example, a king commands a minister,*
> *The outer way is the granting of accomplishment from above.*
> *And, as a king who holds sway having been offered the kingdom by the people,*
> *The unsurpassed way is that of the naturally present Great Perfection.*

And as it is said in the *Secret Nucleus* (Ch.2, v.6):

> *This wondrous, miraculous, and marvellous reality...*

Then, concerning the third distinction which refers to their empowerments: The outer [vehicle] is that in which the three higher, supreme empowerments cannot be obtained, and the inner vehicle is that in which these three are emphatically grasped.

As to the fourth distinction which refers to their conduct: The inner [vehicle] can accept conduct in which the twenty elements of saṃsāra are retained by skilful means, and the outer one cannot. And as to the fifth distinction which refers to their results: The outer [vehicle] can unite one with the result within seven, five or three human lifetimes and so forth, and the inner one can unite one with it in this very lifetime.

Lharje Kharakpa[328] and Lama Rok Sherap-ö have said that, with respect to the tantra texts, there is a distinction between the way in which the ten categories of tantra are interpreted in the outer and the inner [vehicles], and that, in particular, there are distinctions as to: whether, with reference to empowerment, the three profound empowerments can or cannot be revealed; whether, with reference to the view,

the naturally present, pristine cognition can or cannot be propounded; whether, with reference to meditation, one can or cannot meditate on the [male and female deities] kissing one another; whether, with reference to conduct, the five sacramental substances can or cannot be enjoyed; whether or not an entrance can be made, having regarded the deity and oneself as identical; and whether, with reference to accomplishment, the acquistion takes a long or a short time, and is hoped for externally or internally.

Lharje Celpa [Küunga Dorje],[329] too, has said that since these distinctions refer merely to specific aspects [of the vehicles], they are correctly classified, on this occasion, into three categories, namely, the distinctions concerning the ground which is to be known, the distinctions concerning the path which is the act of knowing, and the distinctions concerning the result which is to be obtained.

Lord Drölmawa [Samdrup Dorje][330] and Yungtönpa [Dorjepel][331] have both said that:

> The inner mantras are those which hold the view, conduct and contemplation to be indivisible, and the outer mantras are those which do not. Is there then, one might ask, no distinction between the causal vehicle and the outer mantras? Not so; there is a distinction between whether relative appearances can or cannot be made into the path.

OUTER TANTRAS OF AUSTERE AWARENESS

If, among these [vehicles], the vehicle of the outer tantras of austere [awareness] is first classified, then the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

> The outer tantras are of three kinds:
> Kriyā, Ubhaya and Yoga.

It is therefore divided into the vehicles of the Kriyātantra, the Ubhayatantra and the Yogatantra.

Kriyātantra

[213a.5-215b.5] The first, or Kriyātantra, is referred to under the three headings of essence, verbal definition and classification. The first of these, [the essence], is that, ultimately, the purity that is free from the four extremes is realised, and, relatively, one resorts to the skilful means which aspire and strive towards accomplishments externally [conferred by the deity]. It is said in the *Sequence of the Path*:

Since they are not known to be the same without duality,
The level of action requires alternate meditation
On an ultimate truth which is simply the pure reality
And a deity of relative appearance endowed with
The enlightened attributes of pristine cognition.[332]

Secondly, the verbal definition is that [the Sanskrit] *kriyā* conveys the meaning of activity [or action] because it emphasises external activity. Such is also said in the *Commentary on the Final Meditation* (*Dhyānottarapaṭalaṭīkā*, T 2670):

This tantra is called Kriyātantra because it emphasises
The activities of body and speech.

Thirdly, the Kriyātantra is classified according to six topics. Of these the first, the entrance, is twofold: There is the initial entrance [or empowerment] which effects maturation and the actual entrance itself. According to the former, the student is made into a worthy recipient [for the teaching] by the conferral of the water and crown empowerments along with their aspects (*chu-dang cod-pan-gyi dbang 'khor-bcas bskur-ba*).[333] It says in the *Seminal Point of Pristine Cognition* (*Jñānatilakatantra*, T 422):

The water empowerment and the crown
Are well known in Kriyātantra.

And as for the latter: The [actual] entrance is effected by means of ablutions, cleanliness, and the three purities (*dag-pa gsum*). The *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

As to the entrance, it is entered
By the three purities, ablutions and cleanliness.

And on the subject of the three purities, it also says:

What, one might ask, are the three purities?
They are the purity of the deity and the maṇḍala,
The purity of substances and rapture,
And the purity of mantra and contemplation.

Secondly, the view of Kriyātantra refers to the two truths, as it is said in the *Sequence of the View* (*lta-rim*, T 4356):

According to Kriyātantra, living creatures are
without bewilderment
When reality is regarded as the ultimate truth,
And when, relatively, maṇḍalas of three enlightened
families of deities appear,
Endowed with enlightened attributes of intrinsic
awareness.

Concerning the ultimate truth, it is held that mind-as-such, the pure pristine cognition [which coalesces] emptiness and radiance, is free from the four extremes of being, non-being, appearance and emptiness; as it is said in the *Determination and Distinction* (*la-zla-ba-dang shan-'byed-pa lta-ba'i sgron-me*, P 4727):

> Since the mind itself is awareness,
> Without the four extremes,
> It is none other than pristine cognition.

Now the relative truth [is held] to comprise both correct and incorrect modes, of which the incorrect one refers to all relative appearances which are considered to be both correct and incorrect [by those who adhere to the philosophical systems] from the Mādhyamika downwards, and the correct relative truth is held to refer to the enlightened attributes which are the realisation of reality and which appear as the maṇḍala of deities belonging to the three enlightened families. As the previous text continues:

> Through the pristine cognition of the appearances
> Which creatively arise,
> The sublime, gentle and rough phenomena which appear
> Are said to be pure when seen
> In the maṇḍala of the three enlightened families.[334]

Thirdly, on the subject of moral discipline, the *Miraculous Key of Further Discernment* speaks of eleven commitments:

> The Three Precious Jewels and the enlightened mind,
> The mantras and seals – do not abandon them;
> The vajra and bell should not be abandoned,
> And similarly the deity and the guru.
> These are the subsidiary commitments.
> As for the five basic commitments:
> One should not sleep on a [high] bed,
> One should neither eat meat nor drink ale,
> And one should not eat garlic or radishes.

Then, there is also the *Secret Tantra of General Rites* (*Sāmānyavidhīnāṃ guhyatantra*, T 806) which explains that there are three general commitments and thirteen particular commitments; and so forth.

Fourth, meditation is both symbolic and non-symbolic. Concerning the former, the *Heruka Galpo* says:

> The meditations are on [the deities] of reality,
> Sound, syllables,[335] form, buddha-mind,
> And the attainment of the perfect body of pristine
> cognition.

The Being of Commitment (*samayasattva*)[336] must therefore be created by means of the six real [sequential modes of] the deity according to the Kriyātantra, namely, the deity of emptiness (*stong-pa-nyid-kyi lha*), the deity of syllables (*yi-ge'i lha*), the deity of sound (*sgra'i lha*), the deity of form (*gzugs-kyi lha*), the deity of seals (*phyag-rgya'i lha*) and the deity of symbols (*mtshan-ma'i lha*). This is similarly stated in the following words from the extensive *Vajravidāraṇa Tantra*:

> The six are [the deities] of emptiness and syllables,
> Of sound, form, seals and symbols.

Thereafter, the Being of Pristine Cognition (*jñānasattva*) is invited; offerings, praises, recitations and so forth are performed; and accomplishment is acquired, having regarded [the relationship between the deity and oneself] as that of a master and servant. It says in the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness*:

> The deity and the yogin respectively
> Are regarded as a master and subject.

And in the *Tantra which Acquires the Accomplishment of All Families* (*rigs thams-cad-pa'i dngos-grub len-pa'i rgyud*):

> By regarding [the deity] in the manner of a lord,
> a master or a king,
> And perceiving oneself as a servant,
> The nucleus of accomplishment,
> That is attained through the mantras,
> Is accepted as the unsurpassed boon.

Concerning the second [or non-symbolic meditation]: There is alternate meditation on the two truths because absorption occurs in the pure disposition [of reality] free from the four extremes, without referring to those [aforementioned] appearances which are meditated on as symbolic deities, seed-syllables and the like. It says in the *Determination and Distinction*:

> Appearances and emptiness are successively
> established.

Fifth, conduct [according to the Kriyātantra] comprises six activities, namely, the activities connected with the time for entering [the vehicle], and with food, attire, cleanliness, visualisation supports and the recitation of mantras. It is further said in the *Heruka Galpo*:

> Concerning planets [or days], stars and seasons,
> And food, attire and cleanliness,
> The austerity of discipline is performed.

And in the *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions*:

> Conduct concerns the images of [the deity's] body,
> The implements symbolic of his mind,
> Recitations and so forth.

Sixth, concerning the result, it is held that within seven human lifetimes the level of a Holder of Indestructible Reality of the Three Enlightened Families, endowed with the essence of the three buddha-bodies and five pristine cognitions, will be obtained. The *Heruka Galpo* says:

> Within seven lifetimes on the buddha level[337]
> The Lords of the Three Families instruct living beings.

Ubhayatantra

[215b.5-216b.3] The second, the vehicle of Ubhayatantra, is referred to under the headings of essence, verbal definition and classification. First, [the essence] is that one resorts to the skilful means which attain accomplishment by practising the view and meditation in the manner of Yogatantra, and conduct in the manner of Kriyātantra. It is said in the *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions*:

> Accomplishment is attained by relying on both.

Secondly, [as to the verbal definition]: Ubhayatantra is so called because the [Sanskrit] word *ubhaya* ["both"] indicates that *both* the outer activities of body and speech and the inner yoga are equally performed. The *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness* says:

> Ubhayatantra is as follows:
> The view is observed as in Yogatantra,
> And conduct is performed as in Kriyātantra.
> Therefore it is known as the Tantra of Both.

Thirdly, the Ubhayatantra is classified under the six topics, of which the first, the entrance, has two parts. The former is empowerment, which here refers to the three empowerments of the vajra, bell and name (*rdor-dril-ming-gsum*)[338] in addition to those of water and crown. As the *Seminal Point of Pristine Cognition* says:

> The vajra, the bell and likewise the name
> [empowerments]
> Are well clarified in the Caryātantra.

The actual entrance, along with the third topic, moral discipline, and the fifth, conduct, largely conform to Kriyātantra, whereas the second topic, or the view, and the fourth, meditation, largely conform to Yogatantra. It is said in the *Turquoise Display*:

Those who uphold the Tantra of Both,
Though conforming to Kriyātantra in their conduct,
Do conform to Yogatantra in their view.
Therefore their enlightened families and view
Are superior to those [of Kriyātantra].

And in the *Sequence of the View*:

Those who uphold the Tantra of Both
Conform upwards in their view
And downwards in their conduct.

The Ubhayatantra also appears to be somewhat superior [to Kriyātantra] because the view and meditation are directed towards four enlightened families of the conquerors.

Sixth, concerning the result: It is held that within five lifetimes the level of a Holder of Indestructible Reality belonging to the Four Enlightened Families is obtained. The fourth enlightened family to which this refers subsumes the Enlightened Family of Activity (*las-kyi rigs*) in the Enlightened Family of Precious Gems (*rin-chen rigs*). It is also said in the *Heruka Galpo*:

One abides on the level of Vajradhara[339]
Endowed with four enlightened families.

And in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

It is a deviation which obscures
Non-duality for five human lifetimes.

Yogatantra

[216b.3-219b.4] Thirdly, the vehicle of Yogatantra is considered under the headings of essence, verbal definition and classification. First, [according to the essence]: The blessing of the non-symbolic reality which is the ultimate truth is regarded as a deity belonging to the expanse of indestructible reality, which relatively appears, and it is held that the result is attained by perseverance in the acceptance of positive and the rejection of negative ideas [in relation to that deity]. It is said in the *Sequence of the Path*:

Since they are not seen to be
Spontaneously present and equivalent,
The blessing of pristine cognition,
Through which all things are pure,
Becomes an emanational [deity]
Of the expanse of indestructible reality,
And the yogin acts in terms of acceptance and rejection.

Secondly, [the verbal definition]: Derived from [the Sanskrit] *yoga*, the Yogatantra is so called because it emphasises or teaches the inner yoga. The *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions* says:

> Accomplishment is attained with emphasis on yoga.

Thirdly, the Yogatantra is considered under six topics. The first, the entrance, is twofold. The former is the empowerment which refers, in addition to the [previous] five empowerments of awareness (*rig-pa'i dbang lnga*), to the conferral of the empowerment of the master of indestructible reality (*rdo-rje slob-dpon-gyi dbang*), the sixth empowerment.[340] The *Seminal Point of Pristine Cognition* states:

> The empowerment of the irreversible vase
> Has been clarified in Yogatantra.
> This is a particular empowerment among the six
> And it is called the empowerment of the master.

The latter is the actual entrance which is effected by means of symbolic and non-symbolic contemplation. It says in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

> One who desires the Bounteous Array of Yogatantra,
> Having entered by symbolic and non-symbolic
> methods...

Secondly, the view [of Yogatantra] concerns the two truths. The ultimate truth refers to all things as inner radiance or emptiness, the nature of which is free from the signs of conceptual elaboration. The *Tantra of the Summation of the Real* says:

> Since all things are naturally radiant,
> They are essentially pure from the beginning.

The relative truth is polarised between an incorrect relative which is similar to that of the previous [vehicles], and a correct relative truth, which is held not to refer to the appearances discerned by living creatures in their own minds because everything that everywhere appears is within the maṇḍala of indestructible reality's expanse, which is the blessing derived from the realisation of reality. Such is also said in the *Heruka Galpo*:

> One who wishes to abide in the vehicle of Yogatantra
> Should look upon Akaniṣṭha as the expanse of
> indestructible reality.

And in the *Sequence of the View*:

> Within the pristine cognition of reality's expanse,
> Which is the purity of ultimate truth according to
> Yogatantra,

The blessing of realisation appears as a deity.
Accordingly, the perceptions of [mundane]
Living creatures are bewilderment.

And also in the *Turquoise Display*:

Derived from the pure pristine cognition of the
expanse,
In which both intrinsic awareness
And the signs of its actual vision are indivisible,
The blessing arises as a deity of indestructible
reality's expanse,
And the deity is regarded as a friend.

Thirdly, moral discipline includes the general commitments belonging to the five enlightened families, which are said to be the highest. The enlightened mind is first generated, and subsequently training in the three aspects of moral discipline is earnestly applied. Then there are said to be fourteen particular commitments, namely, three connected with Vairocana, four each with Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava, one with Amitābha, and two with Amoghasiddhi. The *Miraculous Key of Further Discernment*, however, claims that they number thirteen when two uncommon commitments are added to the eleven commitments of Kriyātantra. In its own words:

The limits guarded by the Yogatantra,
In addition to the limits guarded by the above
[Kriyātantra],
Include [the commitments] not to drink water
In a locality [inhabited by violators of commitments]
And not to converse with such violators.

Fourth, meditation is both symbolic and non-symbolic. The former is meditation with reference to the yoga of the male and female deities, which applies the four seals (*phyag-rgya bzhi*) by means of the five awakenings (*mngon-byang lnga*) and four miracles (*cho-'phrul bzhi*). The *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions* says:

Without emphasising outer paraphernalia, and by means of contemplation in which the male and female deities that are uncreated and unceasing in ultimate reality and the mind-stream in which they are represented are entirely pure, one becomes accomplished by emphasising the yoga of meditation on the sublime body of form endowed with the four seals.

After the Being of Commitment (*samayasattva*) has been created and the Being of Pristine Cognition (*jñānasattva*) has been invited, [the deity] should then be regarded without the dichotomy of good or evil,

and in the manner of a relative or friend. Offerings, praises, recitations and so forth should be made. So it is also said in the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness*:

> The deity and oneself, the yogin,
> Are held to relate as relatives or friends.

Now the five awakenings (*mngon-byang lnga*) are the awakenings which occur through emptiness (*stong-pa-nyid*), through the visualisation of a lunar throne (*zla-gdan*), through seed-syllables of buddha-speech (*gsung yig-'bru*), through hand implements symbolic of buddha-mind (*thugs phyag-mtshan*) and through the perfection of the [deity's] body (*sku yongs-rdzogs*). The four miracles (*cho-'phrul bzhi*) are the miracles of contemplation (*ting-nge-'dzin*), empowerment (*dbang-bskur-ba*), consecration or blessing (*byin-gyis rlob-pa*), and offerings (*mchod-pa*). Concerning these the *Heruka Galpo* says:

> Non-conceptualisation, moon, buddha-speech,
>   vajra-emblem,
> And radiance of the [deity's] body during meditation
> On the emanation and absorption [of light];
> Contemplation, blessing, empowerment and offerings:
> Such are the five awakenings and four miracles.
> Though these are the activities of meditation and offering,
> They are to be performed in order that merit might be
>   possessed.

The four seals (*phyag-rgya bzhi*) are so called because meditation ensues when the body, speech, mind and activity have been respectively sealed by: the great seal of buddha-body which secures the ground-of-all as the mirror-like pristine cognition (*me-long kun-gzhi sku phyag-chen*); the doctrinal seal of buddha-speech which secures the mental faculty as the pristine cognition of discernment (*sor-rtog yid gsung chos-rgya*); the commitment seal of buddha-mind which secures the mind of conflicting emotions as the pristine cognition of sameness (*mnyam-nyid nyon-yid thugs dam-rgya*); and the action seal of enlightened activity which secures the five senses as the pristine cognition of accomplishment (*bya-ba sgo-lnga phrin-las las-rgya*). Such are the four pristine cognitions which are to be actualised and with which they are connected. The [fifth] pristine cognition of the expanse of reality (*chos-dbyings ye-shes*), on the other hand, abides as the natural expression of them all.

The second [or non-symbolic meditation] refers to meditative absorption in the disposition where there is no dichotomy between the essential nature of ultimate reality which cannot be symbolised and the appearance of its blessing as a deity, which is the apparitional aspect of pristine cognition. It says in the *Emergence of Indestructible Reality* (*Vajrodaya*, T 2516):

The disposition of the non-dual expanse of reality
Is taken as the most sacred of unsurpassed
accomplishments.

Fifth, concerning conduct: With the assistance of external mundane practices such as cleanliness, conduct effects the benefit of oneself and others by maintaining, above all, the yoga of the deity. The *Indestructible Peak* says:

Abiding in the contemplation of the deity,
Do not dismiss all sentient beings.
Always be mindful of the buddhas.
Always hold offerings to the buddhas as supreme.

Sixth, as to the result: It is held that within three human lifetimes buddhahood is attained on the level of the Bounteous Array, endowed with the essence of the three bodies and five pristine cognitions. It says in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

One who desires the Bounteous Array of Yogatantra
Is held to be liberated within three human lifetimes.

And in the *Lock of the Heart*:

Having purified the five propensities of the subject-
object dichotomy,
And, by the expressive powers of the five pristine
cognitions,
Having overpowered the level of the Bounteous
Array,
The result gathering the five enlightened families is
obtained.
The pure uncreated body of reality then
Acts in an uncreated manner on behalf of living
beings.
Its perfect rapture embodying the five kinds of seal
Fulfils the benefit of living beings as a bodhisattva,
And its ten thousand billion emanations
Teach everywhere in the presence of the six classes of
beings.

INNER TANTRAS OF SKILFUL MEANS

[219b.4-221a.1] Secondly, there is the vehicle of the inner tantras of skilful means (*nang-pa thabs-kyi rgyud-kyi theg-pa*), concerning which it is said in the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness*:

The inner [vehicle] is held to be threefold:
Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga.

It therefore comprises the Mahāyoga tantras, the Anuyoga transmissions and the Atiyoga esoteric instructions.

Concerning the distinctions between these three, the master Zurcungpa said in reply to a request made by Lencap Parwa:[341]

> Mahāyoga appears as the miracle of awareness. Anuyoga appears as the expressive power of intrinsic awareness. Atiyoga is awareness, manifest in and of itself. Therefore, Ru Garap Dorje[342] said:
>
> *They refer respectively to a miracle,*
> *To expressive power and to the self-manifest.*

This means that [the three] are particularly distinguished according to their view: Mahāyoga realises all things to be the miraculous events of mind-as-such, in which appearance and emptiness are indivisible; Anuyoga realises all things to be the expressive power of mind-as-such, in which the expanse and pristine cognition are indivisible; and Atiyoga realises all things to be manifest in and of themselves as mind-as-such, the naturally present pristine cognition which is without creation or cessation from the beginning. This was asserted to be the most precious point by both Dātik [Cośāk of Nakmore] and Len [Śākya Zangpo of Chuwar].[343]

Kyo Kongbupa [Kyotön Śākye of Kongbu][344] also said that:

> They have a greater or lesser degree of emphasis:
> Mahāyoga lays great emphasis on conduct,
> Anuyoga lays great emphasis on contemplation,
> And Atiyoga lays great emphasis on the view.

Then, Lharje Rok Sherap-ö has said that:

> Mahāyoga is creative because the deity is gradually created by means of three contemplations. Anuyoga is perfecting because the deity is created in a perfect manner without relying on that [threefold creative phase]. And Atiyoga, the Great Perfection, is uncreatable because it is liberated from both the creation and perfection phases.
>
> Or else, Mahāyoga is greatly motivated with respect to the ten categories of tantra, Anuyoga is so motivated to a lesser extent, and Atiyoga is liberated from motivation.

And in the words of Menyak Jungdra [or Khyungdra]:[345]

> Though the three aspects of creation and perfection are present in them all, Mahāyoga emphatically teaches the creation

> stage, Anuyoga emphatically teaches the perfection stage, and the Great Perfection is effortless in both respects.

Cel Lotsāwa Künga Dorje also eloquently asserted this to be the distinction between their verbal definitions.

[Finally], the great, all-knowing Longcenpa [in his *Great Chariot*] has said:

> The Father tantras of Mahāyoga are the natural expression of the skilful means of appearance, intended on behalf of those requiring training who are mostly hostile and possessed by many ideas; the Mother tantras of Anuyoga are the discriminative awareness of the perfection stage which is the reality of emptiness, intended for the benefit of those who are mostly desirous and delight in the tranquillity of the mind; and the Atiyoga is revealed as the natural expression of their non-duality, intended for the benefit of those who are mostly deluded and who are energetic. Therefore the *Great Array* says:
>
> > *For one who would transcend the mind*
> > *There is the creative phase,*
> > *For one who would possess the essence of mind*
> > *There is the perfecting phase,*
> > *And for those who are supreme and most secret*
> > *There is the Great Perfection.*

And also in *Mind at Rest* (*sems-nyid ngal-gso*), he has said:

> Mahāyoga emphasises vital energy and the skilful means of the creation stage.
> Anuyoga emphasises the seed and discriminative awareness of the perfection stage.
> Atiyoga emphasises the pristine cognition in which everything is without duality.

Mahāyoga

[221a.1-224a.2] Among them, first the vehicle of Mahāyoga is considered under the three headings of essence, verbal definition and classification. As to [the essence]: Its nature is such that liberation is obtained through a union of realisation and experience in the indivisible meaning of the superior truth, by emphatic reliance on the creation stage of skilful means.

Secondly, [as to the verbal definition]: The [Tibetan] *rnal-'byor chen-po* is derived from the [Sanskrit] *Mahāyoga* which means great union. It is so called because it unites the mind with the non-dual truth and is thus superior to the outer Yogatantra.

Thirdly, Mahāyoga is classified according to the six topics, of which the first, the entrance, is twofold: The former refers to the empowerment. There are four empowerments which are to be conferred because three higher, supreme uncommon empowerments (*thun-min mchog-dbang gong-ma gsum*)[346] are added to the common vase empowerment (*thun-mong-pa bum-dbang*). It is said in the *Subsequent Root Tantra of the Magical Net*:

> There are the master, the secret,
> And the discriminating [empowerments],
> And, immediately afterwards, the fourth.

Five empowerments are also enumerated when the vase empowerment (*bum-dbang*) is divided into its aspects of beneficence and ability (*phan-nus gnyis*).[347] The *Sequence of the Activity of Indestructible Reality* (*Vajrakarmakrama*, P 4761) says:

> Its aspects become fivefold
> Because [the vase empowerment]
> Confers beneficence and ability on one.

The latter is the actual entrance which is effected by means of three contemplations, namely, the yoga of great emptiness which is discriminative awareness (*shes-rab stong-pa chen-po'i rnal-'byor*), the illusory compassion which is skilful means (*thabs snying-rje sgyu-ma*), and the seals which are subtle and coarse (*phyag-rgya phra-rags*). Therefore, Mahāyoga is the path which emphatically teaches the creation stage. In this respect, it is also said in the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness*:

> The entrance is the threefold contemplation.

And in the *Miraculous Key of Further Discernment*:

> The entrance of Mahāyoga
> Is effected by the threefold contemplation.

Secondly, the view [of Mahāyoga] refers to the ultimate truth as that in which awareness, appearing without conceptual elaboration, is held to be spontaneously present as the essential basis; and all the ideas which are the expressive power of this awareness itself are held to be the relative truth, manifest in and of themselves as a maṇḍala of buddha-body and pristine cognition. Neither of these truths refers in a biased manner to either appearance or emptiness because their essence is an indivisible sameness. If it is conventionally expressed by the term "indivisible", its indivisibility is free from the range of perception because it transcends the objects of thought and expressions which apprehend it. In this respect, the *Array of the Path of the Magical Net* says:

The superior, indivisible truth of sameness,
Though revealed everywhere by synonyms,
Is in truth beyond objects of speech and thought.

And in the *Sequence of the Path*:

And in order to loosen[348] attachment to that description,
It is unthinkable and inexpressible
Within the two conventional truths.

Thirdly, as to moral discipline: The later translations of the secret mantra claim it refers both to the conduct based on the knowledge of the fourteen basic violations of the commitments which are to be guarded (*bsrung-bya'i dam-tshig rtsa-ltung bcu-bzhi*) and to the conduct based on the knowledge of the nature of the commitments of the five meats and the five nectars which are to be practised (*spyad-bya'i dam-tshig sha-lnga bdud-rtsi lnga*).

In the terminology of the ancient translations, the commitments of Mahāyoga are said to number twenty-eight.[349] The *Miraculous Key of Further Discernment* says:

Concerning the limits guarded by Mahāyoga,
There are three basic commitments
And twenty-five ancillary ones which are kept.

Now, the three basic commitments are those of buddha-body, speech and mind (*sku-gsung-thugs-kyi dam-tshig gsum*). As for the ancillary ones, the above text says:

There are those to be practised,
Those not to be renounced,
And those to be adopted.
There are those to be known
And those to be attained.

Fourth, concerning meditation: There are two traditions, one emphasising the class of means for attainment (*sgrub-sde*), and the other emphasising the class of tantra (*rgyud-sde*). The former includes five classes of means for attainment of the deities of pristine cognition, namely, the Means for Attaining the Body of the Sugatas by Relying on the Four Centres of Mañjuśrī the Body (*'jam-dpal-gyi sku 'khor-lo bzhi-la brten-nas bde-gshegs sku'i sgrub-pa*); the Means for Attaining the Lotus Speech by Relying on the Three Neighs of Hayagrīva (*rta-mgrin-gyi rta-skad thengs-gsum-la brten-nas padma-gsung-gi sgrub-pa*); the Means for Attaining the Indestructible Reality of Mind by Relying on the Genuine and Unique Accomplishment, the Awareness and Naturally Present Pristine Cognition which is Yangdak the Mind (*yang-dag-gi thugs rig-pa rang-byung-gi ye-shes yang-dag grub-pa gcig-pu-la-brten-nas*

thugs rdo-rje'i sgrub-pa); the Means for Attaining Nectar Attributes which Perfectly Reveal All Things of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as the Enlightened Attributes of Mahottara (*che-mchog-gi 'khor-'das-kyi chos-thams-cad yon-tan-du rdzogs-par ston-pa bdud-rtsi yon-tan-gyi sgrub-pa*); and the Means for Attaining the Enlightened Activity of Vajrakīla which Emphatically Teaches the Skilful Means for Training Malicious Beings by the Rites of Sorcery of Vajrakīla (*phur-pa'i mngon-spyod-kyi las-kyis gdug-pa-can 'dul-ba'i thabs gtso-bor ston-pa phur-ba phrin-las-kyi sgrub-pa*). Also included in this section are the three common classes of means for attainment, namely, the Means for Attaining the Liberating Sorcery of Mātaraḥ (*ma-mo rbod-gtong*), the Malign Mantra (*drag-sngags dmod-pa*) and the Mundane Praise (*'jig-rten mchod-bstod*).

Concerning the latter [i.e. the class of tantras]: Mahāyoga is generally classified according to three kinds of tantra, namely, Father, Mother, and Non-Dual. In the Father tantras such as the *Guhyasamāja* there is held to be experiential cultivation in a manner which is non-conceptual with respect to radiance and emptiness because they emphasise the area of skilful means according to the creation stage and also the vital energy according to the perfection stage connected with it.

In the Mother tantras such as *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra* and *Yangdak* (NGB Vol. 25), the conceptual elaboration of the creation stage is diminished, and there is held to be experiential cultivation in a manner which is non-conceptual with respect to bliss and emptiness, and in which the perfection stage of discriminative awareness emphasises the seed or seminal point of enlightened mind.

Then in the Neutral tantras such as the *Magical Net* (T 832-7, NGB Vols.14-16) the phases of creation and perfection are coalesced and there is held to be experiential cultivation in a manner which emphasises the blissful, radiant and non-conceptual pristine cognition that is developed through the energy channels, currents and seminal points according to the perfection stage, and above all, the supreme pristine cognition of inner radiance.

In this context, [meditation] is explained with reference to the *Root Tantra of the Secret Nucleus*. Accordingly, the *Three Stages* (*rim-gsum*, P 4742)[350] says:

> There are said to be the two particular kinds of
> meditation:
> The sequence of symbolic meditation
> And the nature of just what is.

Thus there is both symbolic and non-symbolic meditation.

The former comprises both the creation and perfection stages. As for the creation stage: It refers to the experiential cultivation in which the deity and ideas are meditated on as indivisible by emphasising the gradual creation of the maṇḍala through the three contemplations. It

is subdivided into the devotional meditation (*mos-bsgom*) and the definitive perfection (*nges-rdzogs*). The former is exemplified by the experiential cultivation which, though firmness in contemplation has not been obtained, completes the ritual branches of the creation stage during the course of a single evening session of meditation on a [particular divine] form.[351] The latter refers to the five yogas belonging to [the paths of] provision and connection which are endowed with corruption, and the four kinds of awareness-holders who are without corruption.

The perfection stage refers to both the esoteric instructions through which [the energy channels, currents and seminal points] are grasped and trained within the "upper door of one's own body" (*steng-sgo 'ju-'dul-gyi man-ngag*), and the esoteric instructions which concern the display of the three realms through "the lower door" [or sexual centre of one's partner's body] (*'og-sgo khams-gsum rol-pa'i man-ngag*). Therefore it says in the *Three Stages*:

> There are oral instructions
> According to the upper and lower doors.

Secondly, non-symbolic meditation refers to the contemplation of reality, just as it is.

Then, fifth, as to conduct: Anything belonging to saṃsāra can be practised without attachment since it is retained by the foundation of skilful means. It says in the *Miraculous Key to the Storehouse*:

> The Mahāyoga of the creation phase
> Engages in the rites of "liberation" and sexual practices[352]
> And the five nectars which are sacramental substances,
> Through the conduct which observes great skilful means.

Sixth, as to the result: In this lifetime or in the intermediate state [after death], the embodiment in which the five buddha-bodies are spontaneously present is actualised. It says in the *Guhyasamāja* (Ch.13, v.118):

> This, the supreme nature of the Transcendent Lord,
> Originating from the undivided three buddha-bodies,
> Adorned with the ocean of pristine cognition,
> Will be obtained in this very lifetime.

And in the *Seminal Point of Pristine Cognition*:

> Otherwise, immediately after abandoning [this body],
> The result will be accomplished without any effort.

Anuyoga

[224a.2-228a.3] The vehicle of the Anuyoga transmissions (*lung anu-yoga*) is considered under the three headings of essence, verbal definition

and classification. As to [the essence]: Its nature is such that liberation is obtained through a union of realisation and experience of the truth in which the expanse [of reality] and pristine cognition are without duality, by emphatic reliance on the perfection stage of discriminative awareness.

Secondly, [as to the verbal definition]: The [Sanskrit] *Anuyoga* is rendered [in Tibetan] as *rjes-su rnal-'byor* or subsequent yoga because it emphatically reveals the path of desire in pursuit of discriminative awareness (*shes-rab rjes-chags-kyi-lam*).

Thirdly, Anuyoga is classified according to the six topics, of which the first, the entrance, is twofold. The former is empowerment, which refers to the thirty-six empowerment ceremonies subsumed by the four categories of outer, inner, attaining and secret [empowerments] in the maṇḍalas of Anuyoga (*phyi-nang-sgrub-gsang-bzhis bsdus-pa'i dbang-chog sum-cu-rtsa-drug*). It says in the *All-Gathering Awareness*:

> The outer empowerment and the inner empowerment,
> The attaining empowerment and the secret
> empowerment
> Are respectively complete with ten aspects,
> With eleven, with thirteen and with two aspects.

According to some, the eight hundred and thirty-one ancillary empowerments,[353] which are derived from the basic thirty-six just mentioned, are the empowerments of the nine vehicles. Therefore, it is said in the *Summation of the Meaning of Empowerment* (*dbang-don bsdus-pa*):

> Derived from the six vehicles including Yogatantra,
> The outer empowerment is to be conferred as a
> continuous stream.

And in the *Analysis of the Meaning of Empowerment* (*dbang-don rnam-par 'byed-pa*):

> The ten empowerments bring about
> Possession of the enlightened family,
> The eleven empowerments bring about
> The inner secret meaning,
> The thirteen empowerments are known
> As those of the "great guru",
> And the two empowerments perfect
> The empowerment of the nine vehicles.

How is it, one might then object, that these become the particular empowerments of Anuyoga [which is only one of the nine vehicles]? There is indeed no contradiction because, in accord with the claims of learned gurus, they are called the empowerment of the nine vehicles

(*theg-dgu'i dbang*) in so far as they correspond to nine sequences of the vehicle. There is no basis, however, for the opinion expressed by ordinary exponents of the empowerment for the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* [that they actually are the empowerments of the nine vehicles]. If they were, it is absurdly implied that one would have to admit the higher Atiyoga empowerment to be gathered within the Anuyoga empowerment. By way of illustration, the uncommon doctrinal terminology of the inner [tantras] is not found in the outer tantras. The great awareness-holder Terdak Lingpa has therefore said:

> If one must refer to the fusion
> Of the basic rites of Anuyoga
> With the details of the particular doctrines of the eight [other] vehicles,
> How would these [other vehicles] then define the illustrative basis of Anuyoga [in particular]?

There is therefore no contradiction inasmuch as he is of the former opinion [expressed by learned gurus].

The latter [aspect of the entrance into Anuyoga] is the actual entrance, which is effected by means of the non-duality of the expanse and pristine cognition. It says in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

> Having entered into the expanse and pristine cognition
> Which, according to Anuyoga, are held to be indivisible...

What, one might ask, is the nature of the entrance? It is effected in the manner not of the creation but of the perfection stage. It says in the *Lock of the Heart*:

> The uncreated expanse itself is pristine cognition.
> Pristine cognition, awareness, is the expanse itself.
> The supreme bliss of this non-dual display
> Is not entered gradually.
> In all the [divine] seals of apparitional existence,[354]
> The great seal of apparitional existence is immediately encountered
> In the manner of a fish leaping from the water.

Secondly, as to the view: All things are one's own mind, and that itself is the pure celestial space of the mother Samantabhadrī, whose nature is uncreated and free from conceptual elaboration. It is also called the primordial maṇḍala (*ye ji-bzhin-pa'i dkyil-'khor*). In this respect, the *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* also says:

> Since that which has emerged from the mind is emptiness,
> All that has emerged from it is empty.

This uncreated [reality], unceasing in all respects, is the awareness which radiates as a maṇḍala of naturally present light. It is called the pristine cognition that is Samantabhadra or the spontaneously present maṇḍala of natural expression (*rang-bzhin lhun-grub-kyi dkyil-'khor*). The same text says:

> Unseen upon inspection,
> It itself appears everywhere.

The essence of these two maṇḍalas, which radiate without differentiation, is the supreme bliss of their offspring wherein the expanse and pristine cognition are without duality, the fundamental maṇḍala of enlightened mind (*byang-chub sems-kyi dkyil-'khor*). As the above-cited text again says:

> That which is called the way of secret mantra is the real nature, in which appearance and non-appearance are without duality, which is liberated from the essence of that dichotomy, and does not objectively refer to the middle [ground].

Therefore, all things are regarded as primordial buddhahood in the fundamental maṇḍala of enlightened mind, the indivisible nature of the three kinds of maṇḍala. [The *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*] again says:

> Since everything is therein identical,
> The supreme bliss of primordial buddhahood
> Is itself the nucleus without creation or cessation.
> The three maṇḍalas where there is neither activity nor agent,
> Are accomplished from the beginning, spontaneously present.

And in the *Turquoise Display*:

> From the celestial space of Samantabhadrī, or apparitional existence,
> The uncreated maṇḍala, Samantabhadra, arises.
> In its arising, there is nothing that arises.
> The supreme bliss of father, mother and offspring
> Is spontaneously perfect.

It is further held that the unimpeded expressive power of Samantabhadra's display arises as the body of a deity. The *All-Gathering Awareness* says:

> In the primordially evolved great perfection of Samantabhadra,

In this maṇḍala of the outer, inner and secret arrays,
Apparitional existence is an expanse of pure male and
female deities.

And in the *Miraculous Key to the Storehouse*:

According to Anuyoga, the perfection phase,
The components, psychophysical bases and activity fields
Are held to be uncreated, in a perfect manner,
In the maṇḍala of male and female deities.

Thirdly, concerning moral discipline, the *Summation of the Meaning of the Secret Sūtra* says:

It is commitment which apprehends the basis.
It guards and attains
The basic and ancillary aspects and so forth,
In order to discipline the three media.

In this way, there are basic and ancillary commitments and so forth which are to be guarded and attained by means of the three media [body, speech and mind].

When these commitments are classified, there are said, according to the sixty-sixth chapter of the *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* to be nine enumerations, namely, four commitments definitive to the important sūtras (*gal-mdo nges-pa'i dam-tshig bzhi*), twenty-eight common commitments (*thun-mongs-gi nyi-shu rtsa-brgyad*), four superior commitments (*lhag-pa'i bzhi*), twenty-three relating to discipline (*brtul-zhugs-kyi nyer-gsum*), twenty concerning attainment (*sgrub-pa'i nyi-shu*), four relating to continuity of the path of conduct (*spyod-lam rgyun-gyi bzhi*), five Māras which are to be renounced (*bdud-lnga spang-ba*), four enemies to be destroyed (*dgra-bzhi gzhom-pa*), and the commitment of the view (*lta-ba'i dam-tshig*).

If, on the other hand, these are subsumed, they are gathered into the commitments which are acquired immediately with no limits to be guarded (*bsrung-mtshams med-pa cig-car-ba'i dam-tshig*) and the commitments which are acquired gradually and have limits to be guarded (*bsrung-mtshams-can rim-gyis-pa'i dam-tshig*). It says in the *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*:

That in which there is no pledge to be guarded
Is the firm commitment of reality.

And:

This commitment is most amazing,
Since it is the most uncommon of all;
But for all those of weak volition
There are limits to be guarded.

Fourth, on the subject of meditation, the *Summation of the Meaning of the Secret Sūtra* says:

> Its essence is of skilful means
> And discriminative awareness.

Meditation therefore comprises both the path of skilful means (*thabs-lam*) and the path of liberation (*grol-lam*). The former refers to the yoga in which there is meditation connected with the four or six centres forming the "upper door" [of the body, *steng-sgo*], and to the skilful means which develops co-emergent, pristine cognition by relying on the meditative absorption associated with the two secret centres [of the male and female consorts] forming the "lower door" (*'og-sgo mkha'-gsang gnyis*). As the above text says:

> Through skilful means of esoteric instructions,
> Such as concerns the "source of all display",
> One enters therein.

As for the latter, [the path of liberation]: It comprises both the array of truth and the display of its signs (*don bkod-pa-dang rtags-kyi rol-pa*). The first refers to the non-conceptualising contemplation that is free from conceptual elaboration. It is an absorption derived from the disposition of the nucleus of reality, just as it is, uncontrived by the meditating intellect. In this respect, the *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* says:

> Having established the intellect just as it is
> In the corresponding reality,
> There is an unwavering recollection
> Derived from that inexpressible disposition.

The second, [the display of its signs], refers to contemplation of the deity that is endowed with conceptual elaboration. It is the experiential cultivation which, by the mere recitation of mantra, emphasises immediate meditation in which the world and its contents distinctly radiate as the maṇḍala of deities, in the [immediate] manner of a fish leaping from the water. Such is also said in the *Miraculous Key to the Storehouse*:

> In the vehicle of Anuyoga
> There is uncreated meditation in a perfect manner,
> After merely the nucleus [of the mantra syllables] has been
> recited.

And in the *All-Gathering Awareness*:

> Pure apparitional existence is an expanse of male and female
> deities.
> The elements and elemental components

Are spontaneously perfect father and mother consorts.

Concerning the path of definitively perfect meditation in general, [the Anuyoga] includes both corrupt and uncorrupt forms. The former comprises the yoga of the spiritual warrior who aspires (*'dun-pa sems-kyi rnal-'byor*) and the yoga which reveals the great enlightened family (*rigs-chen 'byed-pa'i rnal-'byor*); and the latter comprises the yoga which confers the great liberating inspiration (*dbugs-chen 'byin-pa'i rnal-'byor*), the yoga which obtains the great prophetic declaration (*lung-chen thob-pa'i rnal-'byor*) and the yoga which perfects great expressive power (*rtsal-chen rdzogs-pa'i rnal-'byor*).

Fifth, as to conduct: The conduct of Anuyoga is one which, in general, emphasises sameness. The *Miraculous Key to the Storehouse* says:

The Anuyoga of the perfection phase
Is the perfect rapture of the expanse
And pristine cognition.

If classified in detail, there are three kinds of conduct, namely, consecration or blessing, overpowering and skilful means. The *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* says:

The conduct which consecrates,
The conduct which overpowers,
And the conduct of skilful means
Are exemplified respectively by space and by a king,
And by the water which quenches a fire.

Sixth, concerning the result: Within one lifetime the essence is actualised, in which the twenty-five resultant realities are indivisible and spontaneously present. This is the body of supreme bliss, which is the embodiment of the four buddha-bodies. The *Tantra of the Supreme Seminal Point* (*thig-le mchog-gi rgyud*) says:

Mind-as-such or inner radiance is supreme bliss,
Without dividing the expanse and pristine cognition in two.
Whoever meditates on it will attain
The result of perfect buddhahood in this lifetime.

And in the *Miraculous Key to the Storehouse*:

The vehicle of Anuyoga,
Within one lifetime and without interruption,
Definitively proceeds to the buddha level.

Atiyoga

[228a.3-229b.6] The vehicle of Atiyoga, the esoteric instructions, is considered under the three headings of essence, verbal definition and

classification. As to the first, [the essence]: It is the skilful means through which the truth of primordial buddhahood is directly liberated, and it is endowed with a nature which is free from renunciation, acceptance, hope and doubt.

Secondly, [the verbal definition] is that [the Sanskrit] *Atiyoga* is rendered [in Tibetan] as *shin-tu rnal-'byor* or highest yoga because it is the culmination of the perfection stage of both the creation and perfection phases, and because it is the summit of all vehicles.

Thirdly, Atiyoga is classified according to the six topics of which the first, the entrance, is twofold. The former refers to empowerment which here is the maturation effected by the empowerment of the expressive power of awareness (*rig-pa'i rtsal-dbang*) and so forth.[355] The latter is the actual entrance which is effected by not entering anything. The *All-Accomplishing King* says:

> Since with respect to the doctrine
> There is nothing to be done,
> It is entered effortlessly.

Secondly, as to the view, it is held that all things subsumed by apparitional existence, saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, are effortlessly the primordial buddhahood in the essence of a supreme seminal point, the body of reality, which is naturally present, supreme, pristine cognition. It is said in *Vajrasattva the Great Space* (*rdo-rje sems-dpa' nam-mkha' che*, NGB Vol.2):

> Having been effortlessly liberated
> Through the naturally present pristine cognition,
> The path of liberation is indeed revealed.

And in the *Great Garuḍa* (*khyung-chen*, NGB Vol.1):

> The naturally present pristine cognition
> Universally abides, without conception, just as it is.

Thirdly, on the subject of moral discipline, the commitments which include nothingness and plainness are not to be transcended. The *Miraculous Key of Further Discernment* says:

> The commitments of Atiyoga
> Are nothingness and plainness,[356]
> Uniqueness and spontaneous presence.
> Their meaning should not be transcended.

Fourth, as to meditation, the *Great Array of the Highest* says:

> For those who hold to the mind
> There will be the Mental Class;

For those who hold to space
There will be the Spatial Class;
For those who do not strive after stages
There will be the Esoteric Instructional Class.

In this way, there is the Mental Class (*sems-sde*) which pertains to the absorption in awareness and emptiness, the disposition of the buddha-body of reality. There is the Spatial Class (*klong-sde*) which pertains to the absorption in the disposition of reality without activity or effort; and there is the Esoteric Instructional Class (*man-ngag-gi sde*) which pertains to the absorption in the disposition of reality, primordially liberated and free from renunciation and acceptance.

In general, the meditation which accords with the tradition of the Great Perfection is gathered into two categories, namely, Cutting Through Resistance (*khregs-chod*) and All-Surpassing Realisation (*thod-rgal*). It is said in the *Pearl Necklace*:

Cutting Through Resistance
And All-Surpassing Realisation
Are experientially cultivated.

According to the former [Cutting Through Resistance]: There is absorption without wavering from the disposition of the primordially pure view. The *Great Garuḍa* says:

It is established because it spontaneously abides.

And the master Garap Dorje says:

The nature of mind is primordially buddha.
In the mind, as in the sky,
There is no creation or cessation.
Having realised the genuine truth
Of the sameness of all things,
If it is established without being sought,
That is meditation.

By meditating in that way there are four creative stages of the path:

There are the abiding and unwavering states,
Sameness and spontaneous presence.

As for the All-Surpassing Realisation (*thod-rgal*): Through reliance on the six essentials (*gnad-drug*), the four visionary appearances gradually arise, and thereby the goal is reached. These [four] are, namely, the visionary appearance of the direct perception of reality (*chos-nyid mngon-sum*), the visionary appearance of increasing contemplative experience (*nyams-gong-'phel*), the visionary appearance of reaching the limits of awareness (*rig-pa tshad-phebs*) and the visionary appearance of the cessation [of apparitional] reality (*chos-nyid zad-pa*).

Fifth, in conduct: There is conduct without acceptance and rejection because all that appears arises as the display of reality. It is said in *Vajrasattva the Great Space*:

> Since there is nothing to be done, actions are terminated.

And in the *Miraculous Key to the Storehouse*:

> Concerning the conduct of Atiyoga:
> The forceful conduct practised
> By one endowed with the vital force of view and meditation
> Resembles the conduct of a madman.
> Anything whatsoever is practised without impediment.

Sixth, as to the result: The goal is reached, abiding from the present moment on the level of the spontaneously perfect Samantabhadra. By reaching the limit of the four assurances (*gding-bzhi*), saṃsāra is liberated in nirvāṇa. This is also said in the *Miraculous Key of Further Discernment*:

> Concerning the result of Atiyoga, the Great Perfection:
> In the primordial nucleus which is enlightenment,
> The unattained result is mature in itself.

This completes the anthology which explains the definitive order of the resultant secret mantra, the vehicle of indestructible reality, the fourth and, for the while, the last exegetical part of this book, the *Feast in which Eloquence Appears*, a definitive ordering of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Conclusion

1 *Concluding Remarks*

[229b.6-232a.4] With the hope of somewhat benefitting those persons who pursue the subject-matter of this book with fresh intellects, I have condensed and succinctly emphasised the words of the great, all-knowing doctrinal master Longcenpa, and those of Locen [Dharmaśrī] Chöpel Gyamtso of Mindröling, the paṇḍita Gyurme Tsewang Chokdrup of Katok, Jamgön [Kongtrül] Lodrö Thaye, Dodrup Jikme Tenpei Nyima and Zecen Gyeltsap Gyurme Pema Namgyel.[357]

Although the definitive order of the sūtras and the mantras may appear repetitive because it has been divided into two parts, one according to the overall meaning and the other according to the meaning subsumed in their particular sections, it is with a view to easy comprehension that the opportune recapitulations have been added in a way which will facilitate understanding.

As for those whose intellects are still unsatisfied by this mere [abridgement], who wish to thoroughly investigate the limits of study and reflection, the thousand petals of their intellects should be impartially liberated by relying on the extensive eloquent compositions of the prior learned and accomplished masters such as the following: the scriptures of the all-knowing Trime Özer [Longcenpa] which, in the manner of a treasury of precious gems containing the numerous extraordinary riches of a kingdom, excellently comment on all the definitive, profound essentials of tantra, transmission and esoteric instruction endowed with the six superiorities of the ancient translations, with an insight which perceives reality independently, just as it is;[358] his *Mother and Son Cycles of Innermost Spirituality* (*snying-thig ma-bu'i skor*);[359] the writings on the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Cycle of the Tantra of the Magical Net* (*'dus-pa mdo-dang sgyu-'phrul skor-gyi yig-cha*) which were composed by [Locen Dharmaśrī], the brother of the great awareness-holder Terdak Lingpa; and the scriptures of Jamgön Mipham Mawei Senge [Mipham Rinpoche].

2 *Dedicatory Verses*

Again it might be said:

From the taintless ocean, profound and wide, of the tradition
Of the ancient translations which are the ultimate perfection
of the Conqueror's teaching,
I have extracted the essence, an excellent vase of exegesis,
A nectar stream satisfying the lot of those new students
who wish to know it.

The *Feast in which* the teaching's definitive order is
narrated
By relying on the sacred *Eloquence* of the past,
Approaching with smiles of superior aspiration, which
Appears,
Brings forth a springtime of supreme delight to a host of
fortunate beings.

If there are mistaken points herein, the fault is mine.
May those who are learned and honest be kind to
show restraint.
All that is eloquent, through the grace of the guru,
Is but my respect and service for the teaching.

May the grievous clouds which thunder with the verses
of indestructible reality,[360]
Profound essentials of the highest unsurpassed
vehicle,
And nakedly expose their mysteries and so forth,
Be dispelled by the whirlwind of the three roots'
blessing
In the inexpressible space of reality's expanse.

May all the merit obtained herein by my labour
Be dedicated to the expansion of the teaching.
Abiding long in the world, may the nucleus of the teaching
Adorn the lands with oceans of enlightened attributes.

May I, too, in all my lives,
In the manner of the spiritual warrior, Lord of Secrets,
Hold the secret repository of the Conqueror's teaching,
And, roaring the lion's roar of the profound truth,
May I churn the depths of existence by moving therein.

May fundamental reality in its natural state,
Free from the Fears (Jikdrel) of change,
Possessing the nucleus of *Pristine Cognition* (*Yeshe*)
Which encompasses all worlds, animate and inanimate,
Secure all things in supreme bliss
By the seal of imperishable mind's *Indestructible Reality* (*Dorje*).[361]

3 *Colophon*

This book, the abridged definitive ordering of the teaching of the Nyingmapa, or Ancient Translation School of the secret mantra, entitled *Feast in which Eloquence Appears*, begun by the vagabond Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje in his sixty-third year on Friday 3 June 1966 (fifteenth day of the fourth month (*sa-ga*) of the Fire Horse Year or *zil-gnon*), was composed with effort at all times; and it was brought to completion on Thursday 29 September (fifteenth day of the auspicious eighth month or *khrum-stod*) in the Citadel of Lotus Light (*padma 'od-kyi grong-khyer*) on the summit of Mount Rincen Pung, known as the supreme pilgrimage place of Kalimpong, which is an extension of the secret land of Sikkim. The first draft was prepared by the scribe Rikdzin Dorje, a venerable *mantrin* from Kurelung in Bhutan. May the nucleus of the teaching thereby secure the destiny of abiding long without decline. *Sarvadā maṅgala-śrī jayantu*! ["May glorious good auspices ever be victorious."]

> *Oṃ Svasti*:
> This definitive order of the ocean-like teaching
> Of the Ancient Translation School,
> Which reveals the extensive meaning with few words,
> Was prepared in its final xylographic edition
> Through the unending generosity to the doctrine
> Of the faithful Pelhün Yülgyel[362] of Tingri.
> By virtue of this merit may the precious teaching
> Multiply and increase until the end of time, without
> decline.
> May the great drumbeat of the doctrine
> Of definitively secret exegesis and attainment
> Resound throughout the whole world.
> Above all, may the father and mother
> Who gave birth to this benefactor,
> Along with his relations and all living beings,

Become naturally liberated of the two obscurations,
And then swiftly complete the two provisions
And actualise the two buddha-bodies.
May the two benefits resplendently blaze
With spontaneously present good auspices.

May these meaningful expressions of Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje be victorious. This xylograph is preserved at the monastery of Zangdok Pelri in Kalimpong.

Book Two
History of the Nyingma School

Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje

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Detailed Contents of Book Two

PART SIX: THE CLOSE LINEAGES OF THE TREASURES [*6*]

PART EIGHT: THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DOCTRINE [*8*]

CLOSING STATEMENTS

Translators' Introduction

In the traditional view, the Buddhist religion made its first appearance in Tibet during the reign of Lha Thotori Nyentsen at some time prior to the mid-fifth century of our era. According to some, a collection of scriptures and symbols consecrated to Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of compassion, simply fell onto the roof of the palace, but others maintain that an Indian or Central Asian Buddhist monk made his way to Tibet with a translator. The country, however, was not yet ripe for the teaching of the Buddha's doctrine. Tibet was still not literate, much less prepared to import an alien civilisation.

The fact of the matter was that in the middle part of the first millenium Tibet was an island in the midst of a Buddhist sea. In India the great monastic universities of the Gangetic plain were at the height of their development. In China Buddhist learning and devotion had acclimatised themselves to an East Asian environment, and, all along the great trade routes linking China to India and to the West, wealthy oases patronised the spread of the genuine doctrine (*saddharma*). So during the seventh century when Tibet, under the leadership of King Songtsen Gampo, burst onto the international scene as a full-fledged empire, she found the unifying feature throughout the known civilised world to be Buddhism.

Songtsen Gampo is revered in Tibet as the father of Tibetan civilisation as we know it. He gave his people law and literacy, an improved technology and a new range of occult skills. Most of all, however, he gave them the basis for the growth of the universal religion of the Tathāgata, which reached its first fruition during the reign of Songtsen Gampo's descendant Trhisong Detsen. He and his grandson Relpacen generously sponsored the missionary work of Indian, Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist masters, who, in collaboration with a growing Tibetan Buddhist clergy, refined the literary Tibetan language into a precision instrument for the expression of the profound depths of scripture and commentary. Their achievement in translating, with astonishing accuracy, a vast literary corpus into Tibetan is certainly to be ranked

among the great intellectual and spiritual monuments of mankind. Moreover, the Tibetans were not content to make of their new religion an intellectual exercise alone: yogin, monk and layman alike undertook to realise through meditative experience the perennial truths which the Buddha taught.

These new developments did not, however, meet with the approval of all factions of Tibetan society and a reaction set in. Relpacen was assassinated in 841 (or 838) and his elder brother Langdarma, who detested Buddhism, ascended the throne. The latter persecuted the monastic establishments until, not long after, he himself was assassinated. The ensuing chaos culminated in the final collapse of the dynasty and the end of the Tibetan empire.

Despite the hardships a few dedicated Tibetan monks did manage to keep their faith alive during that troubled age. Also, married yogins, who lived within the community and had suffered less in the persecutions, preserved all they could of Buddhist learning and lore. By the mid-tenth century Buddhism was in an ascendant phase once more: Tibetans in search of the doctrine began to travel to Nepal and India for instructions, and, perhaps encouraged by the eastward spread of Islam and the resurgence of Hinduism in India, Indian Buddhist masters began to journey to Tibet to instruct enthusiastic young disciples, who lived in communities largely supportive of their spiritual endeavours.

In the story related thus far there appears a major boundary, one that it is crucial to be aware of in order to appreciate the special position of the Nyingma or Ancient Translation School of Tibetan Buddhism, the history of which constitutes the subject-matter of the present book. On the one side there is the Buddhist religion of the imperial period, transmitted and redacted under royal patronage when Tibet was at the peak of its political and military stature, and when Buddhism itself was at its zenith as the religion of pan-Asian civilisation. On the other side of the boundary we see a politically disunified and weakened Tibet finding its own refuge in, and providing at the same time a refuge for, an enlightened doctrine tenuously existing in a fundamentally inhospitable world.

While all schools of Tibetan Buddhism trace some of their roots back to the earlier period, the Nyingmapa distinguish themselves by their assertion that they alone represent the complete unadulterated teaching of Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Śāntarakṣita and the other accomplished masters of India who, under the patronage of King Trhisong Detsen, transmitted the whole of their spiritual knowledge to Tibetan disciples of such remarkable calibre as Vairocana, Yeshe Tshogyel and the king himself. The Buddhist teachings which have been transmitted within the Nyingma school are elaborated in some detail by Dudjom Rinpoche, in his *Fundamentals of the Nyingma School* (*bstan-pa'i rnam-gzhag*) which constitutes the first part of this volume.

As Tibet passed through the first of its sixty-year calendrical cycles (1027-87), the political fragmentation of its society was mirrored in the development of a number of new independent Buddhist schools, each adhering to its own special system of meditative experience and tracing its lineage back through different masters. Most important among them were the Kadampa school, which based itself on the teachings of the saintly and accomplished Bengali scholar Atiśa, who came to Tibet in 1042 and remained there until his death in 1054, and whose teaching emphasised the cultivation of the pure enlightened attitude of the greater vehicle (*Mahāyāna*); the Path and Fruit (*lam-'bras*) school, which was introduced by the Tibetan translator Drokmi and rooted itself in the esoteric teachings of the accomplished master Virūpa; and the Kagyü school, derived from the precepts of Marpa Chöki Wangcuk, who had mastered the innermost instructions of the yogas taught by the Indian adepts Nāropā, Maitripā and others. These schools in their turn gave rise to numerous sub-schools. The Kagyü, for instance, is usually said to have four great and eight minor subsects within its aegis. At the same time other small and distinctive traditions flourished, the foremost among them being the Shangpa Kagyü, founded by Khyungpo Neljor; Pacification and the Object of Cutting, both tracing themselves back to the Indian master Phadampa; and various schools emphasising the *Kālacakra Tantra*. In the midst of these developments the Nyingma teaching maintained its own identity and its unique and treasured precepts.

The pattern of religious development in Tibet gradually yielded four major Buddhist schools: the Nyingma, Kagyü, and Sakya schools, and, in addition, the Gelukpa, founded by the great Je Tsongkapa (1357-1419), which based itself to a large extent on the teachings of the older Kadampa school. The first of these is here treated in detail, but like a gem in Indra's Net it reflects all the others as well.

In the conflicting and often violent political currents of post-imperial Tibet the various spiritual traditions, for better or worse, could not but become to some extent entangled in mundane power struggles. Thus, it was for the better that the Khön family, rising to prominence in Sakya, took a special interest in the Path and Fruit tradition, which has been preserved primarily by their school, the Sakyapa. But it was certainly for the worse that the hierarchs of Drigung, one of the Kagyü subsects, involved themselves in thirteenth-century Mongol politics only to bring about their own destruction at the hands of the Sakyapa's Mongol patrons. For some centuries Tibetan life was to be dominated by shifting alliances of religious and political parties. An unfortunate outcome has been a legacy of sporadic, bitter sectarianism.

At the same time greater minds saw beyond the rivalries and factionalism. Maintaining the integrity of their own traditions, they freely learned from and taught adherents of other traditions as well. All of

the Tibetan schools can boast of such figures. In the pages of the present history we will encounter the likes of Rongzompa, Longcenpa, Terdak Lingpa and others who exemplified Nyingma ideals while affirming the common ground shared by all Buddhist traditions.

None the less, the Nyingmapa did suffer in the temporal sphere owing to their determined aloofness from the political scene. The distant lineage of the transmitted precepts (*ring-brgyud bka'-ma*), which was traced back in a direct succession to the ancient period, grew increasingly fragile with each new generation. This state of affairs, however, had been foreseen by the ancient masters: Padmasambhava, in particular, had responded by filling the land of Tibet with spiritual treasures which awaited rediscovery by individuals of appropriate vision. So it was that as the distant lineage waned there arose a close lineage of rediscovered spiritual treasures (*nye-brgyud gter-ma*) to meet the needs of a new age. Since this proved to be a perfect medium for maintaining the continuity and blessing of the ancient translations, most practising Nyingmapa at the present time adhere to meditative cycles which were revealed in this way. Moreover, from the seventeenth century onwards major Nyingmapa monasteries were founded and restored to preserve the vast array of such treasures as well as all that survived of the distant lineage, thereby guaranteeing the ongoing vitality of the tradition.

Thus there are now two methods of transmission through which the Nyingma teachings have been handed down. The distant lineage of the transmitted precepts (*ring-brgyud bka'-ma*) has synthesised the major texts and teaching cycles of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga under the heading *Trio of the Sūtra, Magical Net and Mental Class* (*mdo-sgyu-sems-gsum*). These are respectively the Anuyoga *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the Mahāyoga *Tantra of the Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class* of Atiyoga. In addition, the close lineage of treasures or rediscovered teachings (*nye-brgyud gter-ma*) has transmitted the doctrines known as the *Trio of the Guru, Great Perfection and the Great Compassionate One* (*bla-rdzogs-thugs gsum*), which synthesise the teaching cycles relating to Guru Padmasambhava (*bla*), the Great Perfection (*rdzogs*) and the Great Compassionate One, Avalokiteśvara (*thugs*).

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE TEXT

The *History* is divided into eight parts. The first of these is a general account of the origins and development of Buddhism in India, emphasising the life of Śākyamuni Buddha, the patriarchs of the teaching, its preservation, and the expansion of the greater vehicle.

Part Two describes the origins of the three inner classes of tantra – the Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga. These are the characteristic teach-

ings of the Nyingmapa *par excellence*, and here the beginnings of their three main lineages are surveyed: the lineage of the intention of the Primordial Buddha, Samantabhadra, the symbolic transmission of the awareness holders, and the aural transmission of individual human beings.

Part Three gives an account of the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet during the reigns of Songtsen Gampo, Trhisong Detsen, and Trhi Relpacen by Padmasambhava and Śāntarakṣita, along with an account of the continuation of the Nyingmapa tradition through to the restoration of monastic Buddhism in Central Tibet during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

Part Four treats the introduction into Tibet of the three inner classes of tantra, but deals primarily with the lives of the masters of the Great Perfection, from Vairocana (*circa* eighth century) through to Longcenpa (1308-63).

In Part Five the subject-matter is the previously mentioned distant lineage of transmitted precepts, which was maintained at an early date by Nyak Jñānakumāra (*circa* late eighth century), Nup Sangye Yeshe (mid-ninth century) and the masters of the Zur family (eleventh century onwards). The lineage was continued by the Rong tradition in Central Tibet and the Kham tradition in the Sino-Tibetan border regions until the time of Terdak Lingpa (1646-1714), and descended to the present Author in an unbroken line.

Part Six outlines the history of the close lineage of the rediscovered spiritual treasures, providing an account of their meaning and purpose along with brief biographies of the most important treasure-finders down to Mipham Rinpoche (1846-1912).

Part Seven considers the polemical attacks which have been launched against the Nyingma tradition in the past and summarises the responses to these in order to introduce the reader precisely to the view that the Nyingmapa have traditionally held.

The eighth and final part provides a chronology for the book as a whole and an account of the prophecies concerning the future development of Buddhism.

THE LITERARY TRADITION OF THE *HISTORY*

It will be seen from the above that the central parts are the fourth to the sixth, which comprise some three-quarters of the work as a whole and which provide the actual accounts of the history of the peculiarly Nyingma teachings in Tibet. The historical traditions of the Great Perfection, considered in Part Four, were redacted in much of their present form as early as the fourteenth century by Longcenpa and his disciples. Those of the distant lineage of transmitted precepts, abridged

in Part Five, were fairly well established by the time Gölo Zhönupel composed his *Blue Annals* (1478) and reached the form in which they are found here in the works of such seventeenth-century authors as Rikdzin Pema Trhinle and Locen Dharmaśrī. Finally, the contents of Part Six were established by a succession of masters, the most recent being Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Thaye (1813-99). There were therefore three major historical traditions connected with the lineages of the Nyingma school in Tibet, and these have been masterfully anthologised by Dudjom Rinpoche in this work.

The similarities at certain junctures between this and earlier histories have been noted by a number of contemporary scholars: Parts One to Five, for example, often correspond to the second part of Gyurme Tshewang Chokdrup's *Catalogue of the Collected Tantras*, and Part Seven to the third part of the latter, which similarly borrows from earlier works. It is important to recognise that Tibet was free from the concepts of ownership of the written word which form the bases for our copyright laws, and so Tibetan authors borrowed from one another with perfect freedom, the guiding principle being that the insights of enlightened masters of the past are always worthy of repetition. The works upon which Dudjom Rinpoche has drawn have, in accordance with tradition, been listed in a special section at the end of the book (pp. 965-6).

As the foregoing remarks suggest, the Tibetan historian acts very much as a compiler or anthologist of material that has been handed down by his or her tradition. It would be wrong, however, to see in Tibetan religious historiography merely an uncritical repetition of old stories; for its canons are most certainly not those of modern western historiography, and any attempt to judge the former in terms of the latter will always lead to the conclusion that Tibetan historiography is defective in the manner of its pre-Renaissance counterpart in the West.

As we read the biographies found in Dudjom Rinpoche's *History*, however, another observation forces itself upon us: many of these stories, which certainly do treat of historical figures, their studies, meditations, and actions on behalf of the Buddhist religion, function as allegorical accounts of the specific spiritual traditions in which they are written. Nyak Jñānakumāra (pp. 601-5), for example, appears motivated in his practice by a search for vengeance, but "his intention turned to reality itself and he was completely unable to perform the [wrathful] rite". Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa (pp. 825-34) lives different stages of his life according to the different stages of esoteric empowerment. The examples could be multiplied indefinitely. Viewed with sufficient sensitivity to the tradition it becomes clear that the spiritual paths taught abstractly in doctrinal texts are here mapped concretely through the lives of individuals. These accounts thus tell us as much of Tibetan religious beliefs, values and insights as can any other available sources. History, as understood in the contemporary West, is here

clearly subservient to a spiritual end, but this should not prevent our appreciating these biographies as sources of inspiration and practical guidance for those who pursue the spiritual path outlined in them, and equally as a record of their world.

The historian, too, can find a wealth of data concerning the background, education and teaching careers of many Nyingma masters as well as information on the major monasteries and retreat centres. The text should therefore be explored with receptivity to the many levels on which it is written, abandoning rigid preconceptions of what history should or should not be.

The hard facts given in the *History* – names, places, titles and dates – are reproduced with fidelity to the sources upon which it is based. The translators have endeavoured to identify the persons, locations and literary works concerned and to provide the reader with the results of their researches. This material is occasionally given in the Notes in Volume Two, but the reader should also refer to the Glossary of Enumerations, Bibliography and indexes. We have avoided the temptation to fill the work with endless annotation, where specialised studies are in fact required. Accordingly, the annotations we have provided are intended primarily to clarify obscurities and problems in the text, to point out rare lexical items, and to direct the reader to secondary sources which treat specific topics in detail.

We have also endeavoured to convert all Tibetan dates to the western calendar. Here some difficulties arise of which the reader should be aware. The Tibetans only fixed the use of their characteristic sixty-year cycle to begin in 1027, the year given for the translation of the *Kālacakra Tantra* into the Tibetan language. Hence, for the whole period following 1027 Tibetan chronology is a relatively straightforward matter, and where errors do occasionally occur they may, for the most part, be readily corrected. For the period preceding 1027, however, the Tibetans often utilised only a twelve-year cycle, which was not well suited for the calculation of long spans of time. When Tibetan historians of the thirteenth century onwards attempted to convert the records of the imperial period into the sixty-year reckoning many discrepancies and errors arose, and it is not always a simple task to detect and correct them. Contemporary scholars have made admirable use of Chinese, Arabic and other chronicles in bringing light to bear on the problem, though many difficulties do remain. The course adopted by the translators, then, has been to leave the traditional dates for the pre-1027 period as they are given in the text, and to provide the alternative dates suggested by recent scholarship in the Notes. For the post-1027 period occasional errors in dating have been corrected in the body of the text with the Author's consent.

In addition, the precise chronological tables drawn up by Dieter Schuh in *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Tibetischen Kalenderrechnung* have permitted us to give exact calculations of dates following 1027 which include the day and month. A word of caution is in order, however, because Schuh has provided us with the calculations not of one, but of four calendrical systems, and as he himself has noted it is essential that one exercise discretion in deciding, in any given case, which system is to be used. The four systems are Phakpa, originating in the thirteenth century; Tshurpu, from the early fourteenth century; old Phukpa, from 1447 onwards; and new Phukpa, which became the official system of the Tibetan government in 1696. Our procedure has been to follow old Phukpa for the period from 1447 until 1695 and new Phukpa for the period which follows unless there are very strong reasons for preferring one of the other systems. For the period from 1027 until 1446 the choice of Phakpa or Tshurpu must be made on a case by case basis, and in some instances neither one seems quite right. When this problem occurs old Phukpa has been used even though it is anachronistic to do so, the maximum error possible being seldom more than one month. Future research may eventually resolve these difficulties.

The formal title of this volume is *A Clearly Elucidated History of the Precious Teachings of the Vehicle of Indestructible Reality according to the Earliest of All Teachings of the Conqueror in the Land of Snows, the Ancient Translation School, entitled Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra* (*gangs-ljongs rgyal-bstan yongs-rdzogs-kyi phyi-mo snga-'gyur rdo-rje theg-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che ji-ltar byung-ba'i tshul dag-cing gsal-bar brjod-pa lha-dbang gYul-las rgyal-ba'i rnga-bo-che'i sgra-dbyangs*). Devendra is said to be the form taken by the Buddha when dwelling among the gods. His drum not only ensures divine victory, but rouses the gods from the slumber of complacency and reveals to them the impermanence of even their celestial condition.

The text was composed in 1962 by His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje, the late head of the Nyingma school, after his arrival in India as a refugee. It was intended, as the Author clearly states, to give stability to the Nyingma tradition during that particular crisis situation. It has now seen many editions, the present translation following the third, which comprises four hundred and twenty-three Tibetan folios (eight hundred and forty-six pages) and occupies the first volume in the Author's *Collected Works* (Kalimpong, 1979).

GYURME DORJE & MATTHEW KAPSTEIN

The Text

A Clearly Elucidated History of the Precious Teachings of the Vehicle of Indestructible Reality according to the Earliest of All Teachings of the Conqueror in the Land of Snows, the Ancient Translation School, entitled Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra

gangs-ljongs rgyal-bstan yongs-rdzogs-kyi phyi-mo snga-'gyur rdo-rje theg-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che ji-ltar byung-ba'i tshul dag-cing gsal-bar brjod-pa lha-dbang gYul-las rgyal-ba'i rnga-bo-che'i sgra-dbyangs

Verses of Invocation

[2.1-10.6] Always frolicking in pristine cognition,
The pure, unchanging, peaceful expanse,
Where there is no trace of elaboration,
May the unequalled Guru conquer the world!

The sun of all-knowing pristine cognition alone
Is never obscured by elaborations:
May he protect us, for he sheds a thousand rays of spiritual and temporal well-being
On the illusory city of the world, which arises dependent on causes.[363]

Cool, soothing camphor and nectar do not compare
With this gift that cures delusion's unbearable fever,
The panacea that destroys the plague of the world:
May that jewel of true doctrine, transmitted and realised,[364] be our victorious crown!

I praise, above all, the supreme community,[365]
The banner of the teaching,
Supported by a golden shaft of superior aspiration,
Flying the exquisite cloth of the three correct trainings,
And beautified by the jewelled peak of exegesis and attainment.

Primordially pure, just what naturally is, the supreme body of reality, the all-embracing nucleus – this is the essence, awareness and emptiness, Samantabhadra;
Ceaseless transformation, pristine cognition's expressive play, arisen as a billowing, magical net – this is his natural expression, bliss and emptiness, Vajrasattva;
Loving compassion, teaching each in accord with his needs at appropriate times, with an unqualified intention – this is his spirituality, appearance and emptiness, Vajradhara;

In devotion I bow to the gurus of the six lineages – intentional, symbolic, aural, and the rest – the teachers of the supreme vehicle, who are inseparable from these three buddha-bodies.[366]

You embody everything, always delighting, in an authentic and secret great maṇḍala endowed with supreme bliss.
To your many disciples you respond appropriately, appearing in a blazing form before wild ones, and before the peaceful and passionate as is fit;
And from the limitless union of your forms and abodes, arrayed like great thunder-clouds, you bring a satisfying and fertile shower of the two accomplishments.[367]
O mighty warrior, glorious Heruka, favour me with acceptance! and grant that I accomplish the indestructible reality of your body, speech, and mind.

There is nothing at all, animate or inanimate, that is not bound in the seal of this beauty, emptiness; there is no buddha who has not relied on you.
In the guise of a passionate lover you entice those who lust after form, for it is said that the pristine cognition of unchanging, supreme bliss may be known by this means.
You are a messenger to those who desire supreme accomplishment, and the sole mistress of my circle, for I have good fortune, O Vajra Queen!
Before you I bow, in the realisation of co-emergence, the common savour of all.
Embrace me tightly in the alluring play of great bliss, and let us make love!

I give obeisant worship to the host of India's great scholars,
The agents of the Conqueror, who revealed the Conqueror's teaching,
And equalled the Conqueror himself, like Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and others,
Who commented on [the Buddha's] intention, and arrived at philosophy's limits.

To the numberless host of accomplished masters I bow:
To Saraha, Lūipā, Kṛṣṇacārin, Ghaṇṭapāda and the rest,
Who arrived at the indestructible level, by the indestructible path,
So that they equalled Vajradhara's intention.

O Lord of the World,[368] renowned as Songtsen Gampo,
You were the lord who ushered in the very first dawn of the Conqueror's teaching

In the dark Land of Snows[369] beyond the pale.
Who is it that would leave your feet, even on becoming enlightened?

Body complete with major and minor marks, released from a lotus bud in Sindhu Lake, containing the seed-syllable HRĪH, the pristine cognition that is the knowledge and love of the Lord of Sukhāvatī Field:[370]
You are neither born, nor do you die, while saṃsāra exists, but by the dance, the indestructible discipline of great bliss,
You cut off, or take into your following, all conscious beings within the three spheres.
This being the unobstructed expression of your power, you can be compared with yourself alone in this world.
Although all the conquerors equally love living beings, only you, Skull-garlanded Master,[371] have been so kind as to protect the afflicted Tibetans; so I revere you with all my heart.

You were the sole spiritual son of the Śākya King,[372] O heroic Lord of Secrets,[373] who strictly maintained his vows, and was renowned as the great Bodhisattva.
Endowed with unlimited brilliance, retention, and mastery of the ten powers, you wilfully lived for nine hundred years to illuminate the Land of Snows.
You planted well the banner of the Tripiṭaka's teaching as the ornament of Central Tibet, and gave birth to a line of the Conqueror's family that had no precedent.
Thinking of you, Śāntarakṣita, who had the meritorious fortune to become the first venerated priest in Tibet, I bow down in faith, time and time again.

In the Cold Land that was obscured by darkest ignorance, you, whose sceptre is discernment's sword,[374] assumed a kingly guise,
And lit anew the illuminating lamp of the Conqueror's precious teaching, so that this frontier land achieved even greater fortune than India.
If the mass of such wondrous grace were given form, the vast universe would be too small a vessel!
Knowing that here and now whatever enjoyment is found in this storehouse of profoundly significant, wish-granting gems is thus due to your power alone, lord Trhisong, I have faith.

A hundred times I praise the Tibetan translators and Indian scholars,
Who flawlessly translated, revised and established
The immaculate scriptures of the Conqueror, and the commentaries on their intention,

And so opened for the Land of Snows a hundred doors of spiritual and
temporal well-being.

I give my heart's faith to the host of supreme, accomplished masters,
awareness-holders,
Who maintain the indestructible lineage of supreme transformation,[375]
Delighting in whatever appears in the maṇḍala of supreme bliss,
Intoxicated by the nectar of esoteric instructions, distilled from the
intention of the three lineages.

Moreover, in devotion I here praise
All who appear as agents of our Guide, the Conqueror,
Who glorify the teaching and living beings without bias
By their liberating careers of learning, dignity and accomplishment.

Ḍākinīs and protectors of the transmitted doctrine, bearers of secrets!
Not wishing to divulge this profound history,
Please understand that the teaching now nears final rest,
And with joyful smile grant your consent.

In this most degenerate age the sun of the Conqueror's teaching is almost
concealed by gathering black storm-clouds of disorder;
And the extraordinary tradition of the supremely secret vehicle, to which
even accomplished persons take recourse, has virtually disappeared.
At the present time there are few who have mastered the lives of those
who attained realisation, and those few rarely repeat the account.
For that reason I will endeavour to set this forth, so that some small part
of the ancient tales, might be kept from disappearing.

Part One
The Origin of the Precious Teaching of the Conqueror in this World

Introduction

[10.6-12.3] It is my pleasure to relate briefly here, in pure and clear language, how the precious doctrine of the vehicle of indestructible reality – the unsurpassed, most secret nucleus of the entire teaching of our Teacher, the Sugata – originated and developed in the world at large and especially in the Land of Snows. So at the outset I must explain how, generally speaking, the precious teaching of the Conqueror came into the world.

The world systems of the universe, which are like vessels, supports created by the oceanic extent of the buddhas' compassion and the deeds of sentient beings, are spread throughout the infinite reaches of space. Therein, the place enjoyed by the buddha-body of perfect rapture, Vairocana the Great Glacial Lake, is the Buddha-field whose Foundation and Centre are Adorned with Flowers. Within each pore of the conqueror [Vairocana] residing there, there appear oceanic systems, numerous as grains of dust. Upon the lotuses which float in the perfumed oceans in the palms of his hands, there are twenty-five world systems situated one above the other. And here, in the thirteenth among them, the world of Patient Endurance,[376] there is a great trichiliocosm consisting of one billion worlds, each with four continents.

Of the four continents, each one of which has two subcontinents, the one to the south is Jambudvīpa, the Rose-Apple Continent, so called owing to the presence of the Jambu or rose-apple tree.[377] Its central country is Magadha, where there is the self-originated Indestructible Seat, Vajrāsana. Here one thousand supreme emanational bodies will come forth one after the other, as if forming a rosary, attain buddhahood and turn the wheel of the doctrine. Thus, they make of this Auspicious Aeon[378] an illuminated world. At the present time, the light of the precious teaching of the Fourth Guide[379] spreads throughout the world.

How this came to pass may be considered in four parts: (1) the coming of our Teacher, the Buddha; (2) the collection of his transmitted

precepts by councils; (3) the line of patriarchs of the teaching; and (4) the preservation of the teaching and the expansion of the greater vehicle (*Mahāyāna*).

1 *The Coming of Buddha, Teacher of the Doctrine*

[12.4-13.3] Concerning this topic, the different philosophical systems hold many conflicting opinions, for they were conceived in accord with the varied intellectual capacities of those who required instruction.

THE OPINION OF THE ADHERENTS OF THE LESSER VEHICLE

Among these, the pious attendants of the Vaibhāṣika school[380] maintained that after developing a supremely enlightened attitude our Teacher gathered, for three "countless" aeons,[381] the provisions [of merit and pristine cognition] such as may be gathered on the path of provisions.[382] Then, as prince Siddhārtha, an ordinary individual who, in this his final birth, was still bound [to things mundane], he attained, on the basis of [his prior completion of] the greater path of provisions, the connecting path and the paths of insight, meditation, and no-more-learning during a single sitting at Vajrāsana; and thus he realised buddhahood. So it says in the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* (Ch.6, v.24ab):

> In the last stage of meditation
> The buddha and the self-centred buddha (*pratyekabuddha*)
> Obtain total enlightenment seated in one position.[383]

Thus, they claim that the buddhahood of the Teacher is like [the enlightenment of] the self-centred buddha, who is sharp-witted and enjoys solitude. Though they consider the Bodhisattva in his last birth to have been an ordinary individual, they refer to his previous births as having been "in accord with liberation";[384] and they say [*Treasury of the Abhidharma*, Ch.4, v.118]:

> Though they are not sublime,
> Parents, invalids, teachers of religion,
> And the Bodhisattva in his last rebirth
> Are said to be worthy beyond measure.

THE ORDINARY OPINION OF THE GREATER VEHICLE AND OF THE TANTRAS

[13.3-16.2] According to the usual opinion of the greater vehicle, however, after developing an enlightened attitude and gathering the provisions for three "countless" aeons, the holy Śvetaketu, a son of the gods and a bodhisattva of the tenth level[385] who was bound to take birth once more, was born as the prince Siddhārtha. He was a bodhisattva of the tenth level in his final birth, and he attained buddhahood in this world. In the *Sūtra of the Array of Attributes* (*Āryamañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūhasūtra*, T 59) it says:

> From the time I first developed the unsurpassed enlightened attitude I gathered the provisions with great effort for a period of three "countless" aeons. Then, gazing upon the blind, unguided creatures of this age when life endures for one hundred years, I attained buddhahood here in Jambudvīpa, and turned the inconceivable wheel of the doctrine...

While some works concerning the way of secret mantra are in general agreement with this description, they maintain, in particular, that when Siddhārtha dwelt on the bank of the Nairañjanā River absorbed in fixed contemplation, he was roused and summoned by the tathāgatas. Leaving his conventional body behind, the body of his pristine cognition journeyed to the Akaniṣṭha heaven,[386] where he received empowerment from all the tathāgatas. Thus, he attained buddhahood by means of the five awakenings, and only afterwards did he demonstrate the attainment of enlightenment at Vajrāsana. Just so, the master Buddhajñānapāda [in the *Point of Liberation*] says:

> Though Śākyamuni gathered merit for three countless aeons,
> He still did not realise this truth.
> At Nairañjana, then, he became absorbed
> In the contemplation of nothing at all,[387]
> When the sugatas of the ten directions
> Obstructed his impulsive desire,
> And bestowed the profound, clear, non-dual teaching[388]
> That is perfectly pure like the sky.
> At midnight he meditated on just what is,
> As have all the previous conquerors,
> And at dawn's first light he gained perfect realisation.
> Then, in order to teach living beings,
> He dwelt at the Point of Enlightenment[389]
> And vanquished the great host of Māra.
> To take sentient beings into his fold
> He then turned the wheel of the doctrine.

Moreover, the master Āryadeva [in the *Lamp which Subsumes Conduct, Caryāmelāpakapradīpa,* T 1803] says:

> Awakening is twofold:
> It is held to be outer and inner.

Āryadeva thus maintains that the outer awakening is the attainment of buddhahood by way of desirelessness, and the inner awakening is the attainment of the body of coalescence, which comes about when the body of reality, which is inner radiance, is made manifest by means of the four kinds of desire.

According to the special view of the greater vehicle, however, after attaining buddhahood in the Akaniṣṭha-Ghanavyūha realm the buddhas reveal the attainment of buddhahood in the Pure Abode[390] and at Vajrāsana, successively. In the *Sūtra of the Bounteous Array* it says:

> When the perfect buddhas attain enlightenment,
> They do not perform the buddhas' deeds
> In the realm of desire until they have attained
> Buddhahood in the supreme realm of Akaniṣṭha.
> But having journeyed to the Ghanavyūha realm,
> The buddhas create ten million emanations;
> And always absorbed in yoga they delight
> With each one of those emanations,
> Just as the moon shines on all lands.
> Thus, within their domains they come forth to teach
> Each one in accord with his or her needs.

And the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch. 10, vv. 38ab; 39cd) says:

> Abandoning even the Pure Abode,
> The perfect Buddha attained buddhahood
> In the pleasant Akaniṣṭha-Ghanavyūha realm,
> And an emanation attained buddhahood here.

In short, all who are said to attain buddhahood in the realms of desire and form do so only to show the way to those who require instruction.

THE SPECIAL POSITION OF THE NYINGMA TRADITION

[16.3-18.2] Here, [our tradition favours] the unsurpassed teaching that is the essence of definitive meaning, according to which our Teacher realised enlightenment because, in the original expanse, or ground, pristine cognition that is intuitively aware has been free throughout beginningless time. In the radiant realm of reality [the Buddha] abides in that state in which the bodies [of buddhahood] and pristine cognition are free from both conjunction and disjunction,[391] his intention being of the

same savour as that of all the buddhas of the three times. Without departing from this the Tathāgata appears, for the sake of sentient beings, as the inconceivable play of the emanational body. Thus, he trains those who require instruction as befits them individually, through infinite enlightened activity which establishes them in the three degrees of enlightenment. It says in the *Tantra of the Array of Wish-granting Gems* (*yid-bzhin rin-po-che bkod-pa'i rgyud*):

> The Buddha who preceded all,
> Vajradhara, Conqueror, Most Secret,
> Frolics in worlds beyond concept.
> At all times, without number, before and after,
> He benefits the world in various ways,
> In uncountable peaceful and wrathful forms,
> As a hunter, a whore, or some other.
> Now in this Auspicious Aeon
> He will become the Thousand Guides;
> And thus will he in various ways
> Benefit countless beings.

Also, it says in the *Root Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (Ch.3, vv.1-2):

> The Six Sages Embodying Awareness,[392] who are said to be the "blessing of great spirituality", issue forth from the indestructible body, speech and mind of the tathāgatas. After issuing forth, each one of these great sages, transcendent lords, acts on behalf of the five classes of beings, by means of the four kinds of instructions, in each of the infinite great trichiliocosms in the ten directions of the six worlds, those of the lateral [cardinal points], zenith and nadir, which [exist] owing to the force of the [world-forming] deeds [of those beings].

This is not only said in the tantra texts of the secret mantra, but the profounder sūtras are in agreement. The *Lotus Sūtra* (Ch.15, v.1) says:

> Ten billion aeons, an inconceivable number,
> And even that does not measure those past
> Since I attained supreme enlightenment.
> Thus, I am always teaching the doctrine.

And the *Sūtra of the Meeting of Father and Son* says:

> Great warrior, learned in skilful means,
> You have been the Conqueror in one billion aeons
> In order to mature sentient beings,
> And though you have revealed yourself thus as the Buddha,
> Even today, my Guide,
> You reveal yourself as manifold buddhas.

THE BODY OF EMANATION

[18.2-20.2] Analysing the body of emanation, which responds to the natures of those requiring instruction, the *Ornament of the Sūtras of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.9, vv.63-4) says:

> The countless emanations of the buddhas
> Are held to be the body of emanation.
> They have perfectly accomplished both goals[393]
> And abide in every form,
> Constantly demonstrating artistry and birth,
> Great enlightenment and also nirvāṇa;
> The buddhas' body of emanation
> Is the great means to liberation.

Thus, appearing in various guises, in the animate and inanimate worlds, [the forms of the body of emanation] are countless. None the less, if they must be summarised, three are said to be foremost, namely, those of artistry, of birth, and of supreme emanation.[394] Concerning the way in which the deeds of the great and supreme bodies of emanation are performed, the *Root Tantra of the Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul rtsa-rgyud*) says that they benefit beings by four kinds of instruction:

> They instruct by means of the great merits of the body, which reveals the activities from conception until the attainment of nirvāṇa.
> They instruct by means of knowledge conveyed in speech, which reveals the limitless mass of the doctrine.
> They instruct by means of direct perception of mind; for they benefit the world by intuiting directly all that is intelligible by means of the six supernormal cognitive powers.
> They instruct by means of inconceivable miraculous abilities, the enlightened attributes and activities which reveal inconceivable emanations of body, speech, and mind, as befits each and every one who requires instruction.

Among those deeds which "instruct by means of the great merits of the body" it is impossible to enumerate exactly, or otherwise to qualify, the deeds of the Teacher's emanational body. It is a topic beyond conception. In the sūtras of the greater vehicle, too, all manner of quantities are mentioned which contradict one another and do not lend themselves to summarisation, but here we are primarily concerned with the twelve deeds which the Buddha performed here in Jambudvīpa. Regarding this, the *Treatise on the Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.2, vv.53cd-56) says:

> Not departing from the body of reality,
> Through the diverse nature of his emanations

He reveals these deeds to impure realms
For the duration of the world's existence:
He is actually born [among the gods],
And he descends from the Tuṣita realm,
Enters the womb and takes birth,
Becomes proficient in the arts,
Enjoys the company of his consorts,
Renounces the world, practices asceticism,
Reaches the Point of Enlightenment,
Vanquishes Māra's host, attains
Perfect enlightenment, [and turns] the wheel of the doctrine.
He then demonstrates [final] nirvāṇa.

THE LIFE OF ŚĀKYAMUNI[395]

[20.2-40.6] Our teacher appeared in the beautiful, divine Tuṣita heaven as the son of the gods, the holy Śvetaketu. He taught the doctrine to the gods and dwelt among them. Once, the courtyard [of the heavenly palace] spontaneously resounded with the music of verses inspiring him to fulfil the prophecies of Dīpaṃkara Buddha. The holy Śvetaketu then sat on the finest throne in the exalted mansion of the doctrine and, in order to demonstrate the act of taking birth in Jambudvīpa, made five special considerations of continent, family, father, mother, and time. Then he consoled the gods, saying, "Having been born from the womb of Māyādevī in Jambudvīpa, I will reveal the profound nectar [of the doctrine]. I will overcome eighteen sophists and establish many beings in liberation."

Then, in the form of a young, ash-gray elephant, as described in the Veda of the Brahmans, the Bodhisattva entered the womb of his mother Māyādevī while she was observing a purificatory fast (*poṣadhā*).[396] He transformed the womb into a celestial palace, beautiful to behold, free from the propensities of mundane existence, fit to be enjoyed by the sons of the conquerors, and there he taught the doctrine of the purification of the birthplace to many hundreds of billions of gods and men. He spent ten full months there to illustrate the certain succession of the ten [bodhisattva] levels.

When the time came for the Lumbinī Grove to receive the merit of the world, his body, enlightened in twenty ways and lustrous as a polished golden doorbolt, emerged painlessly from his mother's right side. Then, as a son of the royal family is anointed, or as an indication that he had awakened to the family of enlightenment and was identical to all the buddhas, such as Akṣobhyavajra, a host of deities appeared in the sky and they bathed him eagerly, all at once.[397] Celestial deities

lauded him with songs of praise, and Brahmā and Indra made him comfortable with the robes they offered.



Śākyamuni

As soon as he was born, the Bodhisattva took seven steps in each of the four directions, in order to show that he was about to embark upon the path of the four immeasurables. It is said that lotus blossoms offered by the gods sprung from his footprints and shone brilliantly. At the same time, the flowers in the Lumbinī Grove bloomed spontaneously. In addition, five hundred Śākya princes, including Nanda, were born, as well as eight hundred maidens, including Yaśodharā, five hundred servants, including Chandaka, and five hundred excellent riding horses, including Kaṇṭhaka. The whole earth trembled and a brilliant light shone everywhere. Four minor kings boasted that these were signs heralding the birth of their own sons.

Furthermore, the Bodhi Tree appeared in the centre of the continent, along with five hundred gardens and five hundred treasures, so that all of King Śuddhodana's desires were fulfilled. Therefore he named his son Sarvārthasiddha, "All Aims Accomplished".[398] The oracles predicted that he would become a universal monarch conquering the four quarters if he were to remain a householder, but that if he were to

renounce the life of a householder in favour of homelessness, he would become a buddha. His mother passed away seven days after he was born. The Bodhisattva was then entrusted to thirty-two nurses, including Mahāprajāpati, who raised him in infancy.

Afterwards he lived in the palace, during which time he studied and completely mastered many arts; for instance, writing and mathematics under [the tutelage of] Sarvamitra, Kṛmivarman and others, and elephant-riding under Mātulasulabha. His father then ordered three Śākya families, including that of Daṇḍapāṇi, to give their daughters to be his consorts. But they said, "Lord! girls of our families belong only to skilled athletes." His father was ashamed, but the prince said, "In the three world realms no one dares compete with me in archery or in the arts!"

With this assertion of his ability he rang the bell to announce a contest of skills with the fierce and impetuous Śākya youths, all of whom departed for the outskirts of the city. Then Devadatta, in a very jealous mood, killed an elephant which had been brought from Vaiśālī as an offering to the prince, with a single powerful blow of his palm. Nanda threw the elephant forcibly outside the gates. To match the strength of both, the Bodhisattva, without leaving his chariot, seized the elephant's tail with his big toe and hurled it over seven walls into the countryside. For this the gods in admiration praised him.

The contestants then competed to pierce seven palm trees, seven iron walls and seven cauldrons, one after the other, with a single arrow. Devadatta pierced three, Nanda pierced five, but the prince's arrow pierced them all. On the spot where his arrow alighted a fountain of water sprang forth, which possessed the eight qualities [of pure water] and was called the "Arrow-born Well". Similarly, in skilful contests of youthful prowess, elephant-riding, swimming like swans on the wide river, and in all the sixty-four crafts, no athlete could compete with the Bodhisattva.

The master among world-knowers sometimes trains people by following convention. Thus, in order to abandon the misdeeds which result from sensual dependence he married sixty thousand worthy ladies, namely, Gopā, Yaśodharā and Mṛgajā – who were free from the five defects of womankind and possessed the eight virtues – together with their respective retinues of twenty thousand. With them he enjoyed the sensual pleasures as if they were illusory. But even such enjoyment introduced him to perfect renunciation. His turn from mundane existence to the doctrine began when the sound of cymbals awakened the power of his former prayers. For consolation he went all around the city with Chandaka as his charioteer. On seeing the four omens of birth, old age, sickness and death his heart felt utterly distressed, and he said [*Buddhacarita*, Ch.4, v.86]:

> Old age, sickness, and death –
> If those three did not exist,

I would delight in the sense objects,
Which are exceedingly pleasurable.

Thus, having been disgusted by the reality of suffering, by which the most excellent succumb to impermanence; and accompanied by the suffering of change, embraced by the all-pervading conditions of mundane existence, and pursued by the suffering of pain itself, he vowed to renounce the world.[399]

At that time King Śuddhodana's retinue feared that the prince might become a monk. Therefore, they had the outskirts of the city vigilantly patrolled by the watchmen and gatekeepers, so that he could not go anywhere. On the final night he bowed to his father and, guided by his solemn vow, removed the obstacle posed by the [previous] lack of parental consent. Riding upon Kaṇṭhaka the prince galloped through the sky with the assistance of the four guardian kings. Then, near the Sacred Stūpa[400] he cut off his hair and thus shed the evidence that he was not a monk. He then exchanged his linen dress for the saffron robe.

In Vaiśālī and Rājagṛha, under Arāḍakālāma and Udraka, two sophists who were celebrated for their instructions, he studied the contemplations of nothing at all and of the pinnacle of existence,[401] and he attained states as high as those of his masters. But knowing that those contemplations and practices were not the path to liberation from the evils of mundane existence, he persevered in ascetic contemplation for six years with five noble companions on the banks of the wide Nairañjanā River. During each of the first two years he ate a single grain of rice. During each of the next two years he drank a single drop of water. And during the last two years he took nothing whatsoever.

Then the gods called to him in verse. The conquerors of the ten directions and their spiritual sons aroused him from the lower path and urged him to the Point of Enlightenment. Then, to remove his exhaustion, he enjoyed a little solid food, at which his five companions went off to Vārāṇasī in disillusionment.

He himself then set off for Vajrāsana in Magadha. On the way a brahman girl, Sujātā, served him with the honeyed cream of five hundred cows. Instantly his body became lustrous as a polished golden doorbolt, and he made Sujātā's merit inexhaustible. While on the road he received a handful of grass, as soft as a peacock's throat, from the grass-cutter Svāstika, and with it he proceeded towards the Indestructible Seat. At the Bodhi Tree in the centre of Vajrāsana, self-originated through the blessing of all the buddhas, he spread out the grass mat and, sitting upon it with his legs crossed, made this vow [*Sūtra of Extensive Play*, Ch.19, v.57]:

Let this body of mine dry up.
Let this heap of skin and bones decay.

I will not move from this position,
'Til the enlightenment, hard to gain,
After so many aeons, be attained!

Then in the evening twilight he composed himself in the contemplation which defeats Māra's host. He churned all the domains of Māra, and enveloped them with formidable rays of light. The evil Māra, appearing in the guise of a hunter, approached him and said, "Devadatta has seized power in Kapilavastu. He has destroyed the royal palace and the Śākyas have surrendered. Why do you sit here?"

"To become a realised buddha," he answered.

"But the perfect realisation of buddhahood is the result of immeasurable provisions [of merit and pristine cognition], and you have only lived the happy, joyful life of a prince."

The Bodhisattva replied, "By just one ephemeral offering you became lord of the realm of desire.[402] As I have completed the two provisions during limitless aeons, how can I not become a buddha?"

The lord of passion raised two fingers and reproached him, saying [*Sūtra of Extensive Play,* Ch.21, v.87]:

You bear witness to the ephemeral offering I made here,
But you have no witness yourself.
Without a witness you have already lost,
Whatever it is you say!

Then the Bodhisattva struck the earth with his hand, which had been formed by a hundred meritorious acts, and said [*Sūtra of Extensive Play,* Ch.21, v.88]:

This earth bears witness to all beings;
She is just and impartial to animate and inanimate alike.
This earth is my witness, I do not lie.
O Earth, come, be my witness here!

As soon as he had spoken, Sthāvarā, the goddess of the earth, raised her pure golden figure from the ground, and, taking in her hand a single particle, said, "I can count the whole earth [in fractions like this], but I cannot estimate the number of heads and limbs sacrificed by this worthy son. Thus, the time has come for him to become a perfectly realised buddha." With these words she became invisible, and the evil Māra weakened and departed for his own domain, in utter disgrace.

When he arrived there Māra mustered his army, one thousand trillion strong, striking fear and terror into those who lack the supreme understanding that [all appearances] are illusory, and he prepared for battle. But a military machine cannot crush one who has conquered the real enemy, the emotional defilements, and who perceives with a sky-like

mind the insubstantiality [of all things]. Thus, without even a thought of anger or arrogance, the Bodhisattva remained absorbed in the contemplation of great loving kindness,[403] and, indeed, the swords and missiles hurled by Māra fell as a shower of flowers, and the harsh noises and battle-cries became songs of praise. In this way, the poisonous tree of desire was felled. The flowers of the Five-arrowed One wilted. The rocky mountain of pride crumbled. Martial spirit collapsed. The crocodile banner was lowered, and the chariot of Smara beat a hasty retreat.[404] Thus, the deceitful one and his army were scattered in utter confusion.

Māra then made his seven daughters attempt to seduce the Bodhisattva with the deceits of lust, having transformed them into seven beauties. They tried to ensnare him in the noose of a seductress' thirty-two wiles, with Puṇḍarīkā's coquetry, Menakā's dangling necklace, Subhūṣaṇā's tightly-bound girdle, Keśamiśrā's tinkling bracelets, and so forth.[405] But they stood not a chance of moving even the tips of the Bodhisattva's hair. When he transformed them into seven old women they repented and implored his forgiveness, whereupon he restored them to their original appearances.

Then the time of his awakening arrived. At midnight he became absorbed in the contemplation of the fourth meditative concentration.[406] At dawn, when the drum of victory was about to be beaten, he developed the supernormal cognitive powers of clairvoyance and of the exhaustion of corruption, and fully realised the four truths. As he became a perfectly realised buddha, the whole earth trembled and all the psychophysical bases which were to be purified of the subject-object dichotomy awakened to the pristine cognition free from duality, in the impeccable mansion of the body of reality, which is the "middle way"[407] and inner radiance. In this world there was a lunar eclipse. Rāhula and Ānanda were also born.

Seven weeks after he had attained buddhahood in this way the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika offered him honey. The great kings of the four directions offered him begging bowls made of everything from precious gems to stone. But he rejected [the precious ones] as being unfit implements for a renunciate and accepted only the worst. Then he gave his benediction [to these patrons]. To indicate that the profound nectar [he had realised] was beyond the grasp of sophists, he said [*Sūtra of Extensive Play*, Ch.25, v.1]:

> I have found a nectar-like doctrine,
> Profound, calm, simple, radiant and uncompounded.
> If I teach it no one will understand;
> I will remain right here in the forest, in silence.

Thus, he created a reason for the special merit of encouraging the turning of the wheel of the doctrine.

When Brahmā remembered the Tathāgata's former aspirations he approached him, and offered encouragement in verse [Ch.25, v.9d and v.11ab]:

> O Sun among teachers! Why remain indifferent today?
> I pray that you beat the great drum of the genuine doctrine,
> And blow well on the true doctrine's conch...

Scattering sandalwood powder he went off to his own domain to summon Indra. Afterwards, he and Indra together presented a precious gem to the Buddha and prayed [Ch.25, v.17]:

> Like the full moon released by Rāhu,[408]
> Your mind is liberated, O Sage.
> Arise, O victor in battle,
> And with the light of discriminating awareness
> Dispel the darkness of the world.

But the Buddha denied this request. Once again Brahmā considered that there would be great merit if he were to repeat the request. He offered a golden wheel with a thousand spokes, and reminded the Tathāgata in verse that he had previously learned the nature of defilement through contact with the impure religion of Magadha.[409] Thereupon the Buddha accepted the wheel and said [Ch.25, v.34]:

> Brahmā, I will open the portal of nectar-like instruction
> For those who live in Magadha,
> Who are attentive, faithful, and discriminating,
> Non-violent, and constantly attentive to the doctrine.

As soon as the Tathāgata had spoken, the word that he had agreed to turn the wheel of the doctrine was heard as far away as Akaniṣṭha. At that, the gods assembled, each with his or her own offering.

The Tathāgata considered that the first vessel for the profound nectar-like instruction should be easy to train, easy to purify, and endowed with unobstructed intelligence. He knew that Arāḍa and Udraka were [such vessels], but they had passed away. Then, remembering his former aspirations, the Tathāgata regarded his five noble companions and set out for Vārāṇasī. The five had rebuked him and agreed not to salute, saying, "The ascetic Gautama is lax. He has eaten much and has abandoned renunciation."

While the Tathāgata was on the way, a brahman named Upajīvaka carelessly and rashly said to him, "Gautama, who granted you the vow of celibacy?"

The Tathāgata replied [Ch.26, v.1]:

> I have no preceptor.
> I am without equal.

Alone, I have become a perfect buddha,
Whose [passions have] cooled,
Whose corruptions are exhausted.[410]

After three such exchanges he continued on his way to Vārāṇasī. When he arrived there, the agreement of the five companions spontaneously vanished, like the constellations by day. They said, "Long-living Gautama,[411] your senses are clear, and your complexion is pure. Is this a manifest sign that you have realised pristine cognition?"

As they regarded him still as an equal, he dispelled their ignorance, saying, "Do not call the Tathāgata 'long-living', or misfortune will surely follow for a long time. I have obtained a nectar-like doctrine. I have attained buddhahood. I have come to know everything!"

A thousand jewel thrones then appeared there. The Tathāgata bowed reverently before the thrones of the Three Buddhas of the Past, and radiantly sat down upon the fourth throne, whereupon the other thrones vanished. On behalf of the five noble companions and eighty thousand gods he turned the wheel of the doctrine of the middle way which abandons both extremes, and which concerns the four truths, repeating them three times and in twelve ways.[412] Then he fully ordained the five noble companions as monks, so that there arose the great monastic community, a matchless canopy over the world. All those assembled perceived the truth.

[The first wheel of the doctrine[413] emphasises] the Vinayapiṭaka [*Transmissions of the Vinaya, 'dul-ba'i sde-snod*, T 1-7], which, beginning with those sections which teach mainly the training of superior moral discipline, includes, among other topics, the Vinaya of the Vinayapiṭaka, which establishes and defines the transgressions and natural offences; the sūtras of the Vinayapiṭaka, which describe the sequence of yogic practice involving contemplation and purity of conduct; and the Abhidharma of the Vinayapiṭaka, which provides extensive analysis of the aforementioned topics.

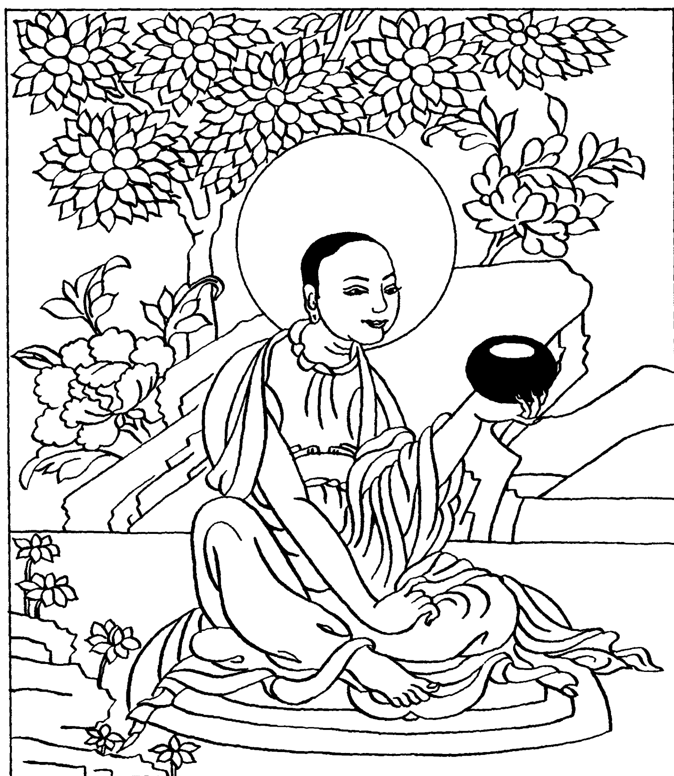
Then on Vulture Peak,[414] which is a perfect location, the Tathāgata turned the wheel of the doctrine which concerns signlessness, the intermediate transmitted precepts, on behalf of the four ordinary assemblies – namely, those of the five thousand arhats such as Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, the five hundred nuns including Prajāpati, the host of laymen and laywomen including Anāthapiṇḍada and the laywoman Viśākhā, and a multitude of gods, nāgas, and gandharvas. In addition, he turned this [wheel] on behalf of a special assembly – a multitude of bodhisattvas who had attained the great levels, including Bhadrapāla, Ratnasambhava, and Jāladatta. This wheel of the doctrine emphasises the Sūtrapiṭaka, which teaches mainly the training of superior mind and includes the Vinaya of the Sūtrapiṭaka, which sets forth the bodhisattva's vows; the sūtras of the Sūtrapiṭaka, which describe profound and vast contemplations;

and the Abhidharma of the Sūtrapiṭaka, which contains analyses of the levels, paths, retentions, and contemplations.

Then in the sundry abodes of gods and nāgas, for the sake of innumerable monks, nuns, gods, nāgas and bodhisattvas, the Tathāgata turned the wheel of the doctrine of definitive meaning, which is the wheel of the final transmitted precepts. This doctrinal wheel emphasises the Abhidharmapiṭaka, which mainly teaches the training of superior discriminative awareness and includes the Vinaya of the Abhidharmapiṭaka, which concerns how to subdue the conflicting emotions easily, with little hardship; the sūtras of the Abhidharmapiṭaka, which show how to penetrate the nature of reality; and the Abhidharma of the Abhidharmapiṭaka, which contains analyses of the components, psychophysical bases, activity fields, sense organs, consciousness, and the nucleus of the tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*), which is naturally pure.

Concerning this, it says in the *Sūtra of the Array of Attributes*:

> Totally unspoken by me,
> The doctrine has spread among sentient beings.
> To all those who seek a gradual path



Śāriputra

It appears in just that way.
For those who penetrate it instantaneously,
The varied doctrine appears in full.
This is the greatness of speech
That fulfils every aspiration to the heart's content.

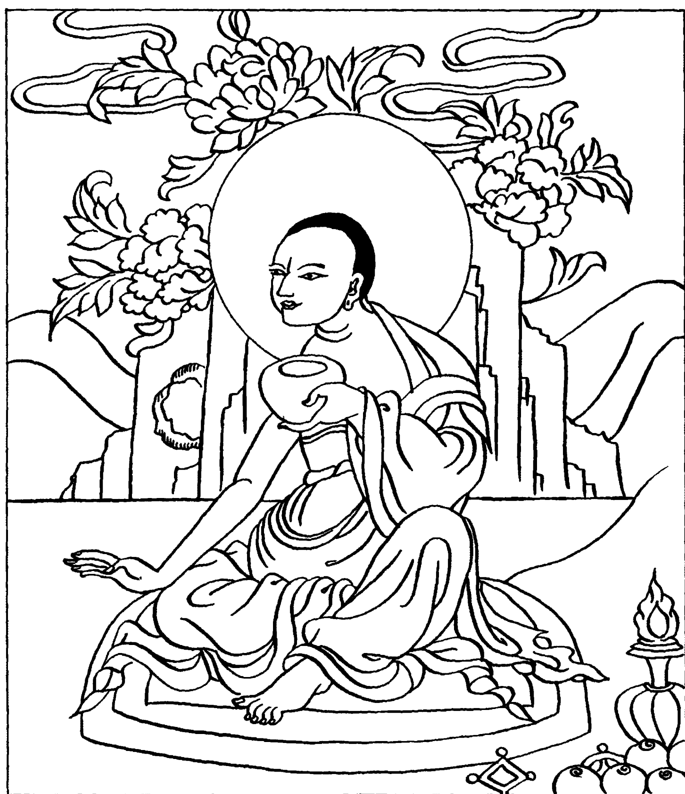
It is a special feature of that buddha-speech, which transcends the particulars of sound and word, that, depending on one's capacity, the three doctrinal wheels may be heard simultaneously or gradually by those beings whose fortune it is to penetrate them so. It is never possible for ordinary persons to imagine the extent of approaches to the doctrine, or the number of vehicles, the means of training, or the time sequences, associated with the Buddha's immeasurable activity.

So it was through the boundless ocean of the doctrine, which includes the three vehicles, that some were established in the teaching of the path and result;[415] some were secured in the happiness of gods and men; and others, too, were delivered and protected from great fears of a mundane sort.[416] In short, through the infinite play of enlightened activity, his great miraculous abilities and so on, the Tathāgata planted the seed of liberation and omniscience, like a catalyst in an alchemical transmutation, in all sentient beings who saw, heard, touched, or thought of him. Moreover, he made his actual disciples, even the gandharva Pramoda and the homeless mendicant Subhadra, enter into the precincts bounded by skilful means and great compassion. Then, considering his final act, he went to Kuśinagara.[417]

Concerning that final act: The Tathāgata's body, pleasant to behold, was free from such common attributes as the tendency to shout, laugh, or yawn. Once, when Prajāpati heard a sneeze emerge from his glorious throat, she prayed, "May the Buddha live for three countless aeons!" Her prayer, reverberating through space, was heard as far away as Akaniṣṭha, and the gods also echoed it. The Buddha said to Prajāpati, "You have done no good. Instead of praying for the duration of the doctrine, you have obstructed the spiritual practice of many lazy people!" So, as an act of penance, Prajāpati passed into nirvāṇa along with five hundred female arhats.

At about that time the Tathāgata's two supreme disciples, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana went to visit the hells. Teachers and preceptors of extremist doctrines,[418] who were reaping the fruits of their misdeeds, sent a verbal message through them to their followers, saying that they had erred in their philosophy. Śāriputra was the first to repeat the message, but the followers ignored him, showing no hostility. After that Maudgalyāyana said, "Your teachers sent this message to you because they have come to suffer in the Avīci hell."[419]

"This message insults not only ourselves", they said, "but also our teachers and preceptors. Crush him!"



Maudgalyāyana

So they beat Maudgalyāyana's body until it was as a broken reed. Śāriputra wrapped him in the fold of his robe and carried him into the city of Vṛkṣaraju. Knowing that Maudgalyāyana would not live, Śāriputra went on to glorious Nālanda, thinking, "I cannot bear even the news of a friend's death. How, then, the sight?" Thus, he entered nirvāṇa early in the morning along with eighty thousand arhats. That same evening Maudgalyāyana passed into nirvāṇa along with seventy thousand arhats. And so, like fires which have run out of fuel, did many other arhats enter nirvāṇa.

The Buddha then entrusted the teaching along with the four [monastic] assemblies to the elder Mahākāśyapa. Removing his upper garment, he said, "Behold, O monks, the body of the Tathāgata! It is as difficult to see a tathāgata as it is to see an *udumbara* blossom.[420] Be silent, O monks! Just as this body is subject to destruction, so too is all that is compounded."

In this way he encouraged lazy disciples to enter the doctrine with the motive for renunciation. Then, next to a pair of sal trees, his intention turned to final nirvāṇa.

When Mahākāśyapa arrived there from the nāga realm he prayed before the Buddha's remains, and the funeral pyre ignited by itself. The relics became fragmented and were suitably divided into eight parts, which came to form the cores of eight stūpas.[421]

Finally, it says in the *Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*:

> The Sage, supreme being,
> Lived for one year each
> At [Vārāṇasī], the site of the wheel of the doctrine,
> And at Vaiśālī, Makkolam, and the god realms,
> Śiśumāra Hill, and Kauśāmbī,
> Āṭavī, Caityagiri,
> Veṇupura, as well as Sāketa,
> And the city of Kapilavastu.
> He passed twenty-three years in Śrāvastī,
> Four years in Bhaiṣajyavana,
> Two years in the Jvālinī Cave,
> And five years in Rājagṛha.
> He had spent six years practising austerity
> And twenty-nine years in the palace.
> So it was that the Conqueror,
> The supreme and holy Sage,
> Passed into nirvāṇa at the age of eighty.

2 *The Collecting of Transmitted Precepts by Councils*

[40.6-41.2] There are both ordinary and special explanations of the compilation of the true doctrines, the teachings delivered by the Teacher. According to the ordinary vehicle three successive councils were convened.[422]

THE FIRST COUNCIL

[41.2-42.3] Shortly before the Teacher's own nirvāṇa, when Śāriputra with eighty thousand other arhats, and Maudgalyāyana with seventy thousand arhats, passed into nirvāṇa, and again when the Transcendent Lord himself entered nirvāṇa along with eighty million arhats, the gods cried out, saying, "All the powerful monks have passed into nirvāṇa and the true doctrine has become like the smoke from a dead fire. The monks do not proclaim even the Tripiṭaka."

In response to this derision a council of five hundred arhats was convened in the Banyan Cave at Rājagṛha, during the summer monsoon retreat the year after the Buddha's nirvāṇa, under the patronage of King Ajātaśatru. During this council Upāli compiled the Vinayapiṭaka, Ānanda the Sūtrapiṭaka, and Mahākāśyapa the entire Abhidharmapiṭaka. As far away as Akaniṣṭha the gods perceived this and exclaimed, "The gods will flourish! The antigods will decline! The teaching of the Buddha will endure for a long period of time!" Likewise, it says in the *Minor Transmissions*:

> During the summer which followed
> the Teacher's nirvāṇa,
> In a secret cave in Rājagṛha,
> Ajātaśatru provided sustenance
> For a council of five hundred arhats,
> And the Tripiṭaka was compiled.

THE SECOND COUNCIL

[42.3-42.6] When one hundred and ten years had passed after the first compilation of the scriptures, the monks in Vaiśālī were indulging in the following ten transgressions [*Minor Transmissions*]:

> Permitting: [exclamations of] "*alas!*"; *celebrating* [the arhats];
> The *deliberate practice* [of agriculture]; [sipping "medicine" from] a *pot* [of ale]; [the misuse of the sacred stored] *salt*;
> [Eating while on] the *road*; [desecration of offerings with] *two fingers*; *stirring* [curd and milk together as an afternoon beverage]; [a new] *mat* [without an old patch];
> And [begging for] *gold* [or silver]. These are held to be the ten transgressions.[423]

In order to put an end to this, seven hundred arhats, including Yaśaḥ, held a council under the patronage of the religious king Aśoka, and the ten transgressions were rejected. They recited the complete Tripiṭaka once, and also observed a harmonious and auspicious purificatory fast.

THE THIRD COUNCIL

[43.6-45.6] Starting from the time of King Vīrasena, the grandson of King Dharmāśoka, and son of Vigataśoka, the monks Mahādeva, Bhadra, the elder Nāga and Sthiramati, all of whom had come under the influence of Māra, appeared in succession. They proclaimed five basic points:

> [Arhats may] answer others, remain unknowing,
> Harbour doubts and inquire discursively;
> And they may support themselves.
> This is the Teacher's teaching.

In this way, they taught a false doctrine, which caused dispute among the members of the *saṃgha*, during the latter part of King Vīrasena's life, throughout the lives of Nanda and Mahāpadma, and during the early part of the life of Kaniṣka; that is, during the reigns of four kings.[424]

Since the Teacher had not allowed the Vinaya to be written down, differences arose over a long period of time in the recitation of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* (T 2), owing to which there was a division into eighteen schools.[425] It happened in this way: Because the elder Nāga spread the dispute, the Mahāsaṅghikas, Sthaviras, and Sammitīyas split off from the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition; and these then became the four basic schools. Later, Sthiramati spread the dispute widely and the four sects gradually divided into eighteen. It is said that the Mūlasarvāstivāda

had seven branches; the Mahāsaṅghika, five; and the other two, three each. Afterwards, when the controversy had somewhat subsided, and the schools existed independently, the third council was held under the patronage of King Kaniṣka. At that council, it was proven that all eighteen schools were pure, on the basis of this passage drawn from the *Sublime Sūtra of the Teaching Given in a Dream* (*Āryasvapnanirdeśasūtra*, T 48):

> The perfectly realised Buddha Kāśyapa said to King Kṛkī,[426] "Your majesty, the dream in which you saw eighteen men pulling on a sheet of cloth means that the teaching of Śākyamuni will become divided into eighteen schools. But the cloth itself, which is liberation, will remain undamaged."

At that same council the Vinayapiṭaka was written down. They also wrote down those texts from the Sūtrapiṭaka and Abhidharmapiṭaka which had not been set down before, and corrected those which had been recorded previously. This was the purpose of the third council.

As this account is not given in the *Minor Transmissions*, there are many different opinions. The Kashmiri schools maintained that the council was convened in Kashmir in the Karṇikāvana Temple by the noble Pārśva and five hundred arhats, Vasumitra and four hundred supremely venerable monks, and five hundred bodhisattvas. And it is said that most of the Central Indian scholars claimed that five hundred arhats and five thousand supremely venerable monks assembled in the Kuvana Temple of Jālandhara Monastery. At present, the account best known in Tibet states that about four hundred years after the Teacher's nirvāṇa five hundred arhats and five hundred, or sixteen thousand, bodhisattvas assembled and held a council. And the *Flame of Dialectics* (*Tarkajvālā*, T 3856) says: "When two hundred years had passed from the Teacher's nirvāṇa, the elder Vātsīputra compiled the doctrine."[427]

The period of four hundred years [mentioned above] agrees with this if each solstice is counted as one year. But, after comparing this chronology with the succession of kings, it seems to me that the period of two hundred years may be too short.[428] It appears, therefore, that this must be further examined. Moreover, many different places are claimed as the venue of the council, for example, Śrāvastī, Kusumakūṭārāma in Jālandhara, and Kuvana Monastery in Kashmir.

THE COUNCILS OF THE GREATER VEHICLE[429]

[45.6-46.4] As for the special councils of the greater vehicle, it says in the *Flame of Dialectics*:

> The greater vehicle was taught by the Buddha, since the original compilers were Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, Guhyapati, Maitreya, etc.

In the *Sūtra of Inconceivable Secrets,* Vajrapāṇi is called the compiler of the teachings of the Thousand Buddhas, and an ancient annotation[430] says that one million sons of the Conqueror assembled on Vimalasvabhāva Mountain, which lies to the south of Rājagṛha. There Maitreya compiled the Vinayapiṭaka, Mañjuśrī the Sūtrapiṭaka, and Vajrapāṇi the Abhidharmapiṭaka. It also says in the piṭaka of the greater vehicle that the sections dealing with the profound view were compiled by Mañjuśrī, and the sections on the extensive conduct by Maitreya.[431]

3 *The Patriarchs of the Teaching*[432]

MAHĀKĀŚYAPA

[46.4-49.5] The Teacher appointed Mahākāśyapa to be his successor, indicating this by allowing him to be the one to fold the master's seat. Also, the teaching was entrusted to the great and exalted Sixteen Elders. Kāśyapa was born as the son of the brahman Nyagrodhaketu, in the brahman village of Nyagrodhikā in Magadha, in answer to a prayer addressed to the divinity of the Nyagrodha [Banyan] Tree. For this reason he was named Nyagrodhaja [Banyan-born], though his family name was Kāśyapa. He married a beautiful maid with a golden complexion, who was named Kapilabhadrī. But they regarded each other only as brother and sister; not even for a moment did the thought of lust arise.

When his parents died, Kāśyapa abandoned his possessions, which included nine hundred and ninety-nine hamlets, sixty million pieces of gold, and eighty golden granaries, as if they were mere grass. For himself he kept only two robes of Benares linen. He sent Kapilabhadrī to the Nirgrantha [Jains],[433] while he went to the Teacher, who was residing near the Bahuputraka Caitya shortly after attaining buddhahood. As soon as they met, he recognised his teacher, and three times made this request: "You, Lord, are my teacher! And I am the pious attendant of the Transcendent Lord!" The Lord responded thrice, saying, "Indeed, I am your teacher; and you are my pious attendant!" At this, he was fully ordained, and eventually he came to be revered as the supreme observer of the ascetic virtues.[434] He took the Teacher's robe, which had come from a trash heap, and offered to the Teacher his Benares linen. This happened about the same time as the Teacher descended from the realm of the gods, and many gods had arrived in Jambudvīpa to receive his nectar-like instruction.[435]

Kāśyapa compiled the transmitted precepts well and protected the teaching. For over forty years he advanced the teaching by establishing many disciples in liberation. Then he thought of entering nirvāṇa and said to Ānanda, "You should know that the Teacher entrusted the

teaching to me before he passed into nirvāṇa. When I have passed into nirvāṇa, you must protect the teaching. You, in turn, should entrust it to Śāṇavāsika."

Then Kāśyapa worshipped the stūpas which held the remains and tooth-relics of the Buddha. He climbed Mount Kukkuṭapāda in the south, and spread out his grass mat in the centre of an open area. Wearing the robe of the Transcendent Lord, which had come from a trash heap, he consecrated his body so that it would not decompose



Mahākāśyapa

until Maitreya's attainment of buddhahood. And, with a display c many miracles, he passed into nirvāṇa. The gods then worshipped hin and closed up the mountain; but they opened it when King Ajātaśatrı came to see the remains.

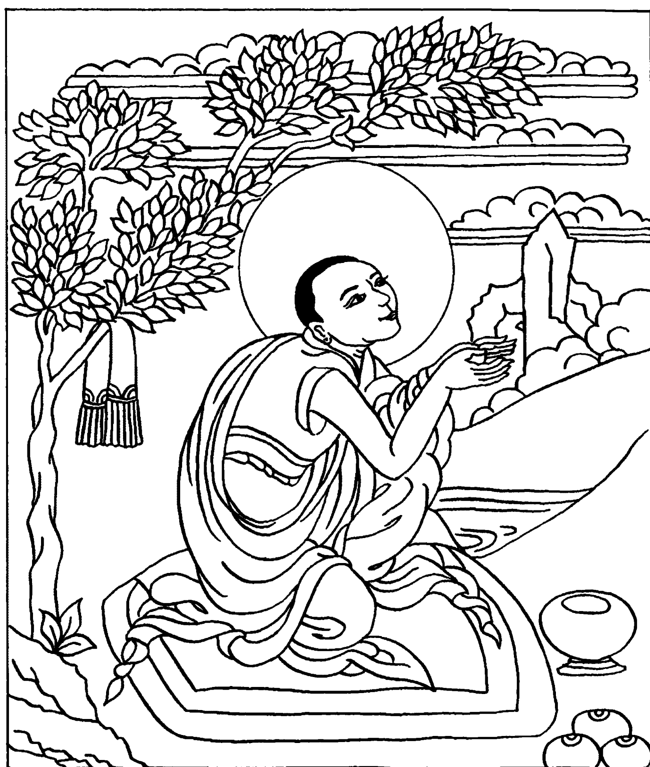
On that occasion Ajātaśatru dreamed that the royal family on hi mother's side had passed away forever. When he awoke he heard tha Kāśyapa had entered nirvāṇa, whereupon he set out for Moun Kukkuṭapāda, together with Ānanda. A yakṣa opened up the mountain The king bowed to worship the body and prepared for a cremation but Ānanda said, "It is consecrated to remain until the teaching perioc of Maitreya. In Maitreya's first assembly he will come here with nin‹

hundred and ninety million pious attendants and, holding Kāśyapa's body in his hand[436] and showing it [to all], he will say, 'This was the supreme observer of the ascetic virtues among Śākyamuni's pious attendants, and the robe he wears was that of the Teacher. There is no one here who maintains the ascetic virtues of a mendicant as he did.' Then Kāśyapa's body will display great miracles and dissolve entirely into space, and Maitreya's attendants will undertake the ascetic virtues and become arhats. Therefore, you cannot cremate this body."

In accordance with this advice, the king turned away and the mountain was resealed. On its peak, he erected a stūpa dedicated to the remains.

ĀNANDA

[49.5-51.2] Ānanda was the son of the Teacher's paternal uncle, Amṛtodana. He and Rāhula were both born at the time of the Teacher's attainment of buddhahood. In his sixth year, when the master met with his own son [Rāhula], Ānanda was entrusted to Kāśyapa, who possessed



Ānanda

the ten powers, and he received gradual ordination according to the current rite.[437] He became the Teacher's personal servant and was revered as supreme for his retention of what he had heard. He protected the teaching for more than forty years, and then said to Śāṇavāsika, "The Teacher entrusted the teaching to Kāśyapa and he, in turn, entrusted it to me. When I too have passed away you must protect the teaching."

Ānanda predicted that Naṭa and Bhaṇṭa, the sons of a merchant, would build a monastery on Urumuṇḍa Mountain, in the region of Mathurā, and that they would become its patrons. He directed Upagupta, the son of the incense-seller Gupta, to be ordained there and entrusted with the teaching. When King Ajātaśatru heard the news he came with his army [in order to take leave of Ānanda]. The people of Vaiśālī, who had been apprised of this by a deity, accompanied the army to meet him. When Ānanda reached the middle of the River Ganges, a *ṛṣi* with a retinue of five hundred requested ordination from him. Ānanda materialised an island in the middle of the Ganges and gave the ordination there. The *ṛṣi* immediately became an arhat, and so became known as arhat Madhyāhnika (Midday), or Madhyāntika (Midway).

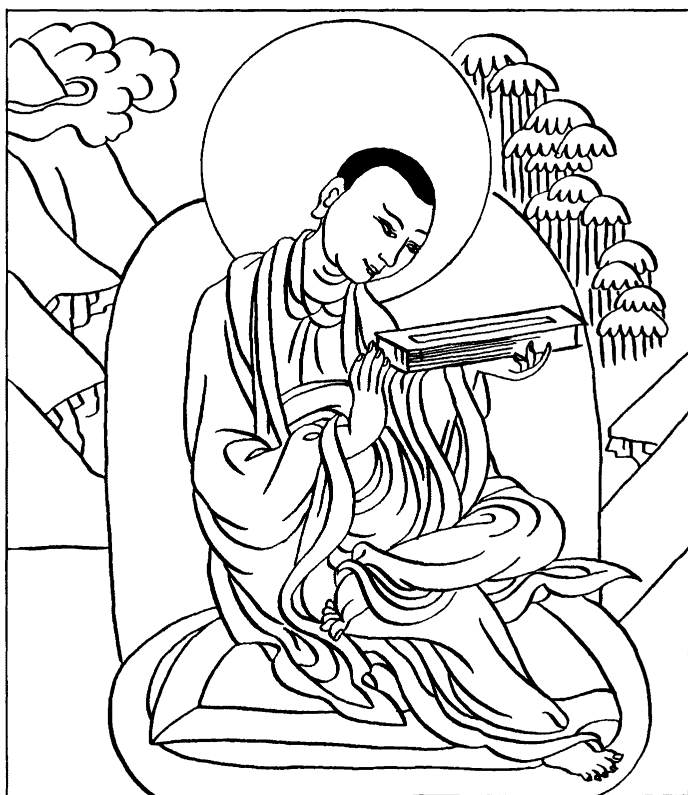
Madhyāhnika requested permission to enter nirvāṇa before his preceptor, Ānanda, who answered, "The Teacher has predicted that you will spread the teaching in Kashmir; so do just that!" When he had promised to do so Ānanda displayed many miracles and passed away. Half of his relics were taken by Ajātaśatru, the other half by the people of Vaiśālī, and they erected stūpas at Vaiśālī and at Pāṭaliputra.

ŚĀṆAVĀSIKA

[51.2-52.1] Śāṇavāsika was an arhat who was learned in the Tripiṭaka. His patron was the religious king Aśoka. Concerning that king, the *Root Tantra of Mañjuśrī* (*Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*, T 543) predicted that he was to appear one hundred years after the Teacher's nirvāṇa, to live for one hundred and fifty years, and to worship stūpas for eighty-seven years.

Assisted by a yakṣa called Ratha, the king fulfilled the Teacher's prophecy by extracting relics from seven stūpas which held the Buddha's remains, and then by building eight hundred and forty billion stūpas of seven precious stones in all parts of Jambudvīpa.[438] The arhats praised his achievements saying:

> King Aśoka who lives in Pāṭaliputra
> Has vastly increased the seven stūpas.
> Mightily, too, he has adorned this earth
> With manifest objects of prayer.



Śāṇavāsika

After consecrating those stūpas and entrusting the teaching to Upagupta, Śāṇavāsika passed into nirvāṇa.

UPAGUPTA

[52.1-52.6] In the *Minor Transmissions* the Teacher had predicted:

> One hundred years after my nirvāṇa Upagupta, a son of the incense-seller Gupta, will be ordained as a monk. He will become a buddha who is without the marks of one,[439] and he will perform the deeds of a buddha.

Upagupta received ordination from Yaśaḥ and became an arhat learned in the Tripiṭaka. Once, while he was teaching the doctrine to a congregation, the evil Māra distracted his audience by displaying magical transformations and so prevented them from achieving the goal. Thereupon, Upagupta transformed three corpses into flower garlands and bound them round Māra's head. When Māra produced an evil thought, they appeared as corpses and exuded a foul stench; but when he produced a wholesome thought, they appeared to be flowers. It is said



Upagupta

that owing to this crown, which no one could cast off, Māra was subdued by Upagupta and promised to avoid evil thoughts thereafter.

So many became arhats through Upagupta's seven instructions that a cave, eighteen cubits long and twelve cubits wide, was completely filled with four-inch sticks, one for each of them. Since the Teacher's nirvāṇa there had been no larger gathering of arhats that this. Upagupta himself entered nirvāṇa after entrusting the teaching to Dhītika.

DHĪTIKA, KṚṢṆA, SUDARŚANA, MADHYĀHNIKA AND THE SIXTEEN ELDERS

[52.6-55.1] The sublime Dhītika was also an arhat learned in the Tripiṭaka. After entrusting the teaching to the sublime Kṛṣṇa of Pāṭaliputra (*dmar-bu-can*) in Magadha, he passed into nirvāṇa.

Kṛṣṇa, too, was an arhat learned in the Tripiṭaka. After protecting the teaching completely he entrusted it to Sudarśana and entered final nirvāṇa. Some include Madhyāhnika among the patriarchs as well, but in our opinion there were only seven patriarchs before Nāgārjuna.[440]

In particular, the great Sixteen Elders, who resided with five hundred arhats and others in various lands throughout the four continents and in the Trayatriṃśa heaven,[441] protected the precious teaching; and in so doing they visited China during the reigns of T'ang T'ai-tsung, Qubilai Qan, and the emperor Yung-lo. Some say that they could be seen by all, but others maintain that the common folk could not see them, their bodies being rainbow-like.[442]



Madhyāhnika

So it was that the teaching was propagated throughout sixteen great cities of Jambudvīpa during the Teacher's lifetime. None the less, because there were not yet cities in Kashmir, the Teacher had predicted that Madhyāhnika would establish the teaching in Kashmir one hundred years after his nirvāṇa, for it was a most restful place and one suited to meditation. Accordingly, nearly twenty years after Ānanda had passed into nirvāṇa, the arhat Madhyāhnika went to Kashmir, knowing that the time had come to fulfil the prophecy. In one cross-legged posture he covered nine valleys, which converged in a lake. The nāgas were furious. They caused an earthquake and a terrible rain storm, but they could not move even a corner of his robe. He transformed the shower of arrows and missiles which they hurled at him into flowers,

whereupon the nāgas said in amazement, "What is your command?"

"I have come to this land to fulfil a prophecy of the Teacher. Please give this land to me."

"We will offer up the land covered by your sitting position. How many followers do you have?"

"Five hundred arhats."

"If even one of them is missing we will take back the land."

To this the elder replied, "Those depending on alms are supported in a place where there is sponsorship. Therefore householders must also be settled here."

Madhyāhnika had a sorcerer construct a magical city there, and he consecrated it to be both perfectly glorious and imperishable. He settled numerous people there and, having brought saffron from Gandhamādana Mountain, consecrated it so that saffron would grow there for the duration of the teaching. The place with its many towns became the delightful country that is renowned today as Kashmir.[443]

4 *The Preservation of the Teaching and Spread of the Greater Vehicle*

[55.1-60.4] After the Teacher's nirvāṇa a limitless number of great pious attendants, individuals who were like the Buddha himself, came forth to protect the teaching. Such were the host of arhats like Uttara and Yaśaḥ, the venerable monks like Kāśyapa, and the great brahmans like King Sujaya and Kalyāṇa. They were masters who served the teaching, who were illustrious for their learning, dignity and excellence, and who had attained the qualities of realisation. None the less, in the opinion of the pious attendants of the Sautrāntika school,[444] the first to compose [authoritative] treatises must have been the arhats who composed the *Great Treasury of Detailed Exposition*. But, according to the greater vehicle, the first to do so were Maitreyanātha and the master Nāgārjuna, since other commentators rely on treatises which follow their expositions of the path.[445]

According to the Teacher's own predictions, the three authors of fundamental texts were: Nāgārjuna, the Second Buddha, who was the disciple of the great brahman Saraha, and who set in motion the profound way of philosophical vision; the sublime Asaṅga, who was the disciple of the venerable Maitreya, and who spread throughout Jambudvīpa the extensive tradition of conduct; and the master Dignāga, who had been taken into the following of Mañjughoṣa and thus attained accomplishments which overcame all opposing forces, and who revealed the way of the knowledge [through logical analysis] of what is implicit in actuality.

Their three commentators were: the master Āryadeva, disciple of Nāgārjuna, who was born miraculously from a lotus; Asaṅga's younger brother, the master Vasubandhu, who committed to memory nine million and nine hundred thousand verses and thus crossed the ocean of learning; and Dignāga's [indirect] disciple, the glorious Dharmakīrti, who instantly broke the resolution of non-Buddhists, having followed in the footsteps of [Dignāga's pupil] the disputant Īśvarasena.

The masters and their disciples mentioned above are collectively known as the "six adornments of Jambudvīpa". Usually Nāgārjuna and

Asaṅga are esteemed as the "two supreme ones", and the six adornments are made up of the remaining four, with the addition of the masters Guṇaprabha and Śākyaprabha.[446] Śāntideva, the great son of the conquerors who was the subject of seven wonderful episodes, and Candragomin, who was learned in the sciences and their branches and achieved the accomplishments, are hailed as the "two marvellous masters". And there were innumerable other masters who attained full command of the meaning of the Buddha's scriptures, and who mainly elucidated the teaching of the Transcendental Perfections.

In general, as soon as the transmitted precepts of the dialectical vehicle, which deals with causes, had been compiled, the texts of the greater vehicle, which could not have been apportioned [their place in the Tripiṭaka], were introduced by devout men, gods, and spirits to their own domains. Those preserved in the human world were propagated gradually. Some of those preserved in the non-human worlds were introduced to the human world and propagated by holy personages.

Concerning the greater vehicle in particular: It transpired that shortly after the time of King Mahāpadma, Candrarakṣita became the king of Oḍiviśa. It is said that the sublime Mañjuśrī entered his house in the guise of a monk, taught some doctrines of the greater vehicle, and left behind a book. Adherents of the sūtra tradition believe that it was the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Eight Thousand Lines*, but followers of the mantra tradition believe it to have been the *Summation of the Real*. Regardless of which one it was, it is said that this was the first appearance of the greater vehicle in the human world after the Teacher's nirvāṇa. This must be held to have occurred before the third council. Therefore, the position universally adhered to by most contemporary scholars, namely, that all the transmitted precepts were committed to writing during the third council must be erroneous, for it is contradicted by this report.[447]

As for the tantrapiṭaka of the secret mantra: A discrepancy developed in the accounts of the ancient and new traditions [of Tibet], due to the changes that had taken place in India between the period when the doctrine was yet undiminished and the subsequent period of varied growth and decline. The opinion of our Ancient Translation School of the secret mantra texts will be explained below in detail.[448] In the opinion of the new tradition of secret mantra, the Teacher himself taught the tantras to Indrabhūti, the king of Oḍḍiyāna. It is also held that Vajrapāṇi entrusted them to him. In any case, whoever it was, the king had the tantras written down, and he taught them to the people. All the inhabitants of the land, even mere insects, became accomplished and vanished in the rainbow body. Then the land of Oḍḍiyāna became a desolate land, which the nāgas transformed into a lake. The Lord of Secrets [Vajrapāṇi] revealed the tantras to them and brought them to

maturity. As a result they gradually changed into men, and, living in a village by the shore of the lake, they persevered in practice and became accomplished. When their sons and daughters became ḍākas and ḍākinīs, the land became renowned as "Oḍḍiyāna, the Land of the Ḍākinīs".

Eventually the lake dried up and a self-created temple of Heruka appeared. In its stores, the volumes of the tantras were preserved. Subsequently, most of the tantras were taken from it by accomplished masters: the *Guhyasamāja* by King Vasukalpa; the *Hevajra* by Nāgārjuna; the *Mahāmāya* and *Bhairava* tantras (T 468 & 470) by Kukkuripā; and so forth.

Similarly, there are many slightly different legends, for instance, that of Celuka and others obtaining the *Kālacakra Tantra* from the land of Shambhala, or from other lands, and propagating it. However it may have been, innumerable accomplished masters appeared: the glorious Saraha and the eighty-four accomplished masters;[449] Buddhajñānapāda and the twelve masters who were renowned at Vikramaśīla; the six paṇḍitas of the gates; and the elder and younger Kālacakrapāda. They secured innumerable fortunate beings in spiritual maturity and liberation, primarily by means of the secret mantra teachings of the greater vehicle.[450]

Thus it is not possible to describe here, in a few words, the numberless liberated careers of those who sustained the Conqueror's precious teaching, its transmission and its realisation, in India. Relying on the illumination of [other] well-known histories and elegant tales, may the lotus of reverence and enthusiasm [toward the doctrine] fully blossom!

This completes the general explanation of the origins of the Conqueror's precious teaching in the world, the first part of this book, *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra*, which is a history of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Two
The Rise of the Precious Teaching of Secret Mantra

Introduction

[63.1-63.3] Now the rise of the precious teaching of secret mantra, or the vehicle of indestructible reality, will be explained in particular. This part has three sections: (1) where, and by whom, the doctrinal wheel of the secret mantra was turned; (2) how the transmitted precepts were collected by the compilers; (3) the emergence of this teaching in the human world.

1 *The Turning of the Secret Mantra Wheel*

[63.3-64.2] According to our special tradition there were three great descents of the teaching [of the secret mantra tradition]. It says in the *Exegetical Tantra of the Oceanic Magical Net*:

> The intentional, symbolic and aural lineages are respectively those of the conquerors, bodhisattvas and yogins.

That is to say, the three lineages to be explained are: the intentional lineage of the conquerors; the symbolic lineage of the awareness-holders; and the aural lineage of mundane individuals.

THE INTENTIONAL LINEAGE OF THE CONQUERORS

[64.2-69.2] Samantabhadra, who completely encompasses both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, and who is the all-pervading lord, embodying the sixth enlightened family,[451] appears in the indestructible Great Akaniṣṭha realm, the utterly pure expanse that is manifest in and of itself,[452] in the form of Vajradhara, perfectly endowed with the signs and marks of buddhahood. There, his intention is the pristine cognition of just what is, the inconceivable abiding nature of reality, entirely free from verbal expression; and through its blessing he confers realisation upon the Teachers of the Five Buddha Families, the nature of whose assembly is no different from his own, and upon the assembly that appears as the countless maṇḍalas of self-manifesting peaceful and wrathful conquerors. This is conventionally referred to as the "speech of the buddha-body of reality". It says in the *Penetration of Sound*:

> Thus, in the celestial expanse of reality,
> There appeared the natural sound,
> Blessed by the speech of the Great All-Pervader...[453]

And in a *Commentary on the Secret Nucleus* (*snying-'grel*):

The Teacher, who is the body of reality, communicates to the assembly, which is the ocean of pristine cognition, by unborn speech of genuine meaning.



Samantabhadra and Consort

In particular, according to the profound and extensive teachings whose perspective is that of the Indestructible Nucleus of Inner Radiance:[454] The doctrinal wheel is turned without straying from the single savour [of all that arises] in the vast equilibrium of reality, which transcends all objects of speech and of thought. This even transcends [sublime notions] such as that "the place, teacher, assembly, and doctrine have emanated from the infinite expanse of pristine cognition or naturally present awareness, whose nature is a spontaneous precious enclosure or vast self-manifesting array of the three buddha-bodies."

None the less, to the great sublime beings who have arrived at the end of the tenth level it appears that, in a special Akaniṣṭha realm,[455] where extraneous objects of rapture are fully enjoyed, [Samantabhadra], in the form of [Vajradhara] the Lord of the Sixth Buddha Family and those of the Teachers of the Five Buddha Families, keeps the doctrinal wheel of the inexpressible vehicle of Unsurpassed Yoga (*Anuttarayogatantra*) in perpetual motion, by means of intentional symbols, on

behalf of an assembly of the great bodhisattvas who possess extraordinary awareness, such as Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, and Mañjuśrī; beings who are themselves the products of purity of sense and sense object.[456] In the *Secret Nucleus* (Ch.6, v.14) it says:

His body appears as Vairocana Buddha
In the supreme realm of unsurpassed Akaniṣṭha.
Without an utterance from his supreme speech,
His body reveals all doctrines
To the assemblies of bodhisattvas.

It is also said that this realm is the Akaniṣṭha of the Mahāvaśavartin, which lies beyond the Pure Abodes.[457] The *Magical Net of Indestructible Reality*, too, says:

Abandoning the Pure Abode,
In the supreme realm of Great Akaniṣṭha,
Is the spontaneously present body of
The lord of the buddha families, with his *mudrā*.
Transcending unity and diversity, this is
The common form of all buddhas.
He is the original treasure of the greater vehicle
Who appears at each instant to those disciples
Who have abandoned all obscurations.

In the same way, in the ordinary Akaniṣṭha, which appears to bodhisattvas on the ninth level; and in the imputed Akaniṣṭha, which appears to bodhisattvas on the eighth level;[458] and in the palaces of great liberation, that are the expanse of reality, the glorious womb of the Vajra Queen,[459] there appear to the senses of Rudra,[460] Bhairava and other malicious disciples the forms of the foremost [Herukas], such as Mahottara Heruka, Kumāravīrabalin, Padmanarteśvara, as well as Hevajra, Cakrasaṃvara, and Kālacakra. These each reveal their indestructible realms and, through their transformations, emanate the maṇḍala of their respective assemblies. And, by means of the imperishable sound of pure vibration, each one turns the wheel of the doctrine. In the *Root Tantra of the Gathering of the Sugatas* (*bder-'dus rtsa-rgyud*, NGB Vol.31) it says:

I am king of the great,
And I am both teacher and listener.

And in the *Hevajra Tantra* (Pt.2, Ch.2, v.39ab):

I am the teacher, and I am the doctrine.
Endowed with my own assembly, I am even the listener.

Similarly, in conventional places such as Tuṣita, Mount Sumeru, Oḍḍiyāna, and Shambhala, [the Buddha] also taught the Kriyā, Caryā,

and Yoga tantras, either in the guise of a passionless monk, or as a universal monarch. In the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (Ch.6, v.13) it says:

> When he appears in various different forms
> Corresponding to the different [beings].
> He does not stray from just what is,
> But appears variously through the power of deeds.



Vajradharma

2 *The Collecting of Transmitted Precepts by Different Compilers*

[69.2-70.4] Although the compilers [i.e. recipients] of most Unsurpassed [Yoga] tantras were separate [from those who taught them], the compilers of the majority of the truly secret tantras, such as the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus*, were none other than their respective teachers; for the teacher and his assembly were of identical intention. Accordingly, in the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* one finds the words, "Thus have I explained", and in the *Root Tantra of Cakrasaṃvara*, "Then, I will explain what is secret". The *Verification of Secrets* (*Śrīguhyasiddhi*, T 2217) also says:

> The teacher of tantra is the indestructible reality of mind.
> It is teacher as well as compiler.

Furthermore, most tantras on the Great Perfection, and related topics, were compiled by [bodhisattvas] like the Lord of Secrets [Vajrapāṇi] Vajradharma,[461] Vajragarbha, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and the emanation Garap Dorje; and by a host of ḍākas and ḍākinis like Pūrṇopaśānti; as well as by a host of disciples including devas, nāgas, yakṣas, and others of sundry genus.

It has been said that the Lord of Secrets collected all the tantras alone. But those who requested [the teaching of] particular tantras also became their compilers. Thus, the *Kālacakra* was compiled by Sucandra, the *Hevajra* by Vajragarbha, the *Emergence of Cakrasaṃvara* by Vajrapāṇi and the *Vajraḍāka* (T 370-1) by Varāhī.

3 *The Emergence of this Teaching in the Human World*

[70.4-5] This section has two parts: (1) the symbolic lineage of the awareness-holders; (2) the aural lineage of mundane individuals.

THE SYMBOLIC LINEAGE OF THE AWARENESS-HOLDERS

This comprises both: (1) its origination among non-human awareness-holders; (2) its origination among both human and non-human awareness-holders.

The Origination of the Symbolic Lineage among Non-Human Awareness-holders[462]

[70.5-72.4] Within the assemblies of bodhisattvas or sons of the conquerors, the Teacher appeared as the emanations who are [the Lords of] the Three Families [i.e. Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi]. They symbolically instructed and taught disciples who were, respectively, devas, nāgas, and yakṣas.

In other words, in the youthful and handsome form of Tīkṣṇavajra, Mañjuśrī instructed the deva Yaśasvī Varapāla in the realm of the gods. The latter, in turn, instructed the deva Brahmaratnaprabha. The teaching was then transmitted successively through Prajāpatibrahmā, Brahmasarvatāra, Brahmaśikhandara, and Indraśakra, who instructed a mass of one hundred thousand awareness-holders among the devas.

In the form of Amṛtabhaiṣajya, Avalokiteśvara instructed the nāga king Kālagrīva in the domain of the nāgas. The teaching was then transmitted successively through the nāginī Khandülma, the nāginī Dültsangma, the nāga Manorathanandin, and the nāga Takṣaka, who instructed a mass of one hundred thousand awareness-holders among the nāgas.

And in an awesome and menacing form, Vajrapāṇi instructed the yakṣa Samantabhadra in the domain of the yakṣas. Then, the teaching



Avalokiteśvara



Mañjuśrī



Vajrapāṇi

was transmitted successively through the yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, the yakṣa Yaśasvī Varapāla (*grags-ldan mchog-skyong*),[463] and the yakṣa Ulkāmukha (*skar-mda'-gdong*), who instructed a mass of one hundred thousand awareness-holders among the yakṣas.

All those instructed, in turn, instructed their own congregations, as a result of which they and their followers attained to the level of Vajradhara.

Concerning the Great Perfection: It is said that Adhicitta (*lhag-sems-can*), the son of the god Bhadrapāla, who resided in the Trayatriṃśa heaven, had four special dreams. Accordingly, Vajrasattva, being consecrated by all the buddhas of the ten directions and three times and by all the buddhas of the five families, bestowed upon Adhicitta, the son of the gods, the "empowerment of the vase that is the Conqueror's means"[464] and granted him the esoteric instructions of the Great Perfection. So it was that the Great Perfection spread in the realm of the gods. As it says in the *Point of Liberation* of Buddhajñānapāda:

> Starting from then the definitive meaning was taught,
> When this supreme truth was transmitted

From mouth to mouth, and from ear to ear,
To those who were endowed with good fortune.

The Origination of the Symbolic Lineage among Human and Non-Human Awareness-holders

[72.4-77.3] In the *Sūtra of the Declaration of Enlightened Intention* (*Sandhivyākaraṇatantra*, T 444) the Teacher is asked:

O Transcendent Lord! you have indeed taught
The three guiding vehicles.[465]
Why, then, do you not teach the definitive vehicle,
In which the spontaneous presence
Of the cause and the fruit is enjoyed,
And which cannot be requested from other buddhas?

To this he replied:

Having turned the wheel of the doctrine of causes
For those who are intent upon cause,
The short path of the vehicle of indestructible reality
Will make its appearance
In an age that has not yet come.

In accordance with this prophecy, twenty-eight years after the supreme emanational body of the Teacher in this world [Śākyamuni] had passed into nirvāṇa, five noble ones of the genuine enlightened family – namely, the god Yaśasvī Varapāla, the nāga king Takṣaka, the yakṣa Ulkāmukha, the ogre Matyaupāyika and the human awareness-holder Vimalakīrti the Licchavi[466] – each learnt by supernormal cognitive powers that, in this world, the Lord had passed into nirvāṇa. They then aroused themselves from their inner meditative absorptions and miraculously assembled on the peak of Malayagiri in Laṅkā. There, they cried out in twenty-three verses of lamentation beginning:

Alas! when the light from the Teacher's lamp
Is gone from the whole universe,
Who will dispel the world's darkness?

So they wept to the point of exhaustion.

The Transcendent Lord had predicted that the secret mantra would become renowned throughout the world at some future time and, as that time had arrived, Vajrapāṇi, the Lord of Secrets, appeared there in person; for he had been empowered by the Buddha to teach the secret mantra. He instructed the five noble ones, as well as most of the community of awareness-holders, repeating the teachings of the secret mantra vehicle which the Teacher had previously conferred in the Akaniṣṭha realm, and elsewhere. The ogre Matyaupāyika inscribed

them in a golden book with melted beryl; and then by the seven powers of his intention the book was concealed, invisibly sealed in space.

The land of Laṅkā, where Malayagiri is situated, is not that Laṅkā also known as Cāmara, which is a subsidiary continent of Jambudvīpa. Rather it is an island isolated by the ocean on the south-east coast of Jambudvīpa, where, on the invitation of Rāvaṇa, the ten-headed lord of Laṅkā, the Transcendent Lord taught the extremely extensive *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* at the request of Mahāmati. Apart from that island, the teaching was propagated to some extent in both ancient and recent times on the islands of Tāmralipti, Yāvadvīpa [Java], Dhanaśrīdvīpa [Sumatra], Payigudvīpa [Burma] and so on.

Laṅkā, in particular, was so called because in ancient times it was under the sway of the ogre Rāvaṇa. Later the country was depopulated of ogres, and today it is called Siṅghala [Ceylon] because it was seized by the merchant Siṃha.[467] When the great master Kaṇhapāda went there he subdued a great ogress called Viśvarūpī, together with her five hundred followers, and propagated the mantra teaching. Later the master of the greater vehicle, Laṅkājayabhadra, was born there, and the master Candragomin also visited that land. When Śāntipā and the great scholar Vanaratna went there in turn, they also propagated the mantra teaching.

In antiquity, when the human king Rāma destroyed the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, he reached Laṅkā by building a stone bridge across the ocean from India to the island. Even today huge rocks are clearly visible in the ocean. Sometimes ships change course lest they collide with the rocks; and it takes a whole morning to walk along the outcropping of red stone, which is said to have been stained by the blood of the ten-headed ogre when he was slain.

In the centre of Laṅkā there is a ravine called Sumanakūṭa, "Mount Pleasant".[468] No ordinary person can reach it because it is surrounded by a chain of rocky hills. The great master [Padmasambhava] and his disciples went there and stayed for six years before returning to India. While that mountain is usually known by the aforementioned name, it in fact possesses all the qualities of the Malaya Mountain, which is a ferocious wilderness. It has been described as follows:

On its peak dwells the king of powerful craft.
On its face is a dog-shaped white rock.
It's adorned with the likeness of a lion
Leaping through space.
At its base grow eight medicinal roots:
Illness and disease do no harm here.
On the summit there is the eyrie and nest
Of the solitary Kalantaka bird,
Which dwells apart from all others.

The peak is of easy access to those of good
fortune,
But to the unfortunate completely impregnible.

Laṅkā is more sublime than other islands by virtue of other praiseworthy qualities: Near the base of the mountain just mentioned, to the north of it, there are many stūpas containing relics of the Tathāgata, for instance, the great Caitya of Guṇavera. On its western side is a tree called Buddhaśaraṇa under which the Tathāgata remained in contemplation for seven days. That land, whose rivers are filled with pearls, treasuries with jewels, forests with elephants, and houses with voluptuous girls, is the very one famed by the name of Siṅghala.

In a dense forest called Kaṇḍala, in the north-east, there is a cavern which houses Śrīpāduka,[469] an enormous footprint of the Buddha. It is said that during the regular festival held at the footprint twelve thousand monks congregate; and that from ancient times up to the present day the teachings of both the lesser and greater vehicles have been widespread.

THE AURAL LINEAGE OF MUNDANE INDIVIDUALS

[77.3-78.4] After the third council, in the time of King Kaniṣka's son, five hundred masters who proclaimed the greater vehicle came forth. All of them received precepts transmitted by the Lord of Secrets and others and they all acquired miraculous powers. They were invited to the west by King Lakṣāśva, who built a temple on the summit of Mount Abu, and requested them to live there. He also caused five hundred intelligent members of his court to be ordained and to study the doctrine of the greater vehicle under those five hundred masters. The king thought that the piṭaka should be written down and he asked how large they were. The masters replied, "Speaking generally, they are innumerable, but these here comprise ten million [verses altogether]." To this, the king responded that they should be written down, despite the large quantity. And so he had them all committed to writing and then presented them to the masters. From this time on the greater vehicle was widely propagated. There were also a great many who secretly practised Kriyātantra and Caryātantra. Numerous tantra texts, concerning the way of mantras, were brought from different lands and propagated by those masters.

Concerning the Unsurpassed [Yoga]tantra: Until a later period, only a few supremely fortunate beings, those who had attained to all-surpassing [realisation], received teachings from their preferred deity or some other. They practised these teachings in solitude and attained accomplishment. Since neither the specific instructions were set forth,

nor the sequence of the lineage established at all, no one ever knew their names; so how could there have been a public spread of their teachings?

4 *The Lineage of Mahāyoga, the Class of Tantras*

KING JA AND KUKKURĀJA

[78.4-85.2] When the Lord of Secrets turned the doctrinal wheel of the secret mantra for the five noble ones on Malayagiri, King Ja of Sahor,[470] who practised the outer tantras of the way of secret mantra, had, at the very same time, seven wonderful dreams, as follows:

> The signs of the buddhas' body,
> Speech, and mind dissolved [into his own];
> And a bejewelled book descended.
> He engaged in a doctrinal discussion.
> Everyone revered him as a saint.
> He performed a great rite of worship.
> Jewels fell down, as does rain.
> And it was prophesied that he would attain
> To the level of buddhahood.

King Ja was prophesied by the Teacher in all sorts of sūtras and tantras. The *Subsequent Tantra of the Emergence of Cakrasaṃvara* (*Saṃvarodayottaratantra*) says:

> One hundred and twelve years from now,
> When I have vanished from here,
> A quintessential doctrine,
> Renowned in the three divine realms,
> Will be revealed by the Lord of Secrets
> To one who is named King Ja,
> Who will appear by virtue of great merits
> At Jambudvīpa's eastern frontier.[471]

Similar quotations are also found in the *General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*.

Some say that King Ja was none other than Indrabhūti the Great, who had been empowered by the Teacher himself, but others maintain

that he was that Indrabhūti's son. Some even believe him to have been an intermediate Indrabhūti.[472] Thus, there are various dissimilar opinions; but, because ordinary persons cannot imagine the emanations of great sublime beings, perhaps they are all correct! And yet, upon examining the chronology, we find he is described as the contemporary of master Kukkurāja. For this reason he may well be an intermediate Indrabhūti. Moreover, the great accomplished master Kambalapāda



King Ja, Indrabhūti

and this king are contemporary, whether or not they are in fact one and the same person. He is also the approximate contemporary of Vidyāvajra, Saroruha, and Jālandharipā.

In any case, while the king was sitting absorbed in the meditative cultivation of the yoga of the lower tantras, a volume containing the great texts of the way of secret mantra, including the *Buddhasamāyoga* and a one-cubit-tall image of the Lord of Secrets actually fell upon the royal palace, just as in his dream. Then, having performed prayers, he intuitively understood the chapter entitled the "Vision of Vajrasattva" and, relying on that and on the image of Vajrapāṇi, he practised for seven months. As a result he had a vision of Vajrasattva and received from him the empowerment of pristine cognition. Thus he came to

understand the symbolic conventions and meanings of that volume in their entirety.

At the same time, the Anuyoga texts were revealed in Ceylon. As it says in the prediction found in the fifth chapter of the *Tantra which Comprises the Supreme Path of the Means which Clearly Reveal All-Positive Pristine Cognition* (*kun-bzang ye-shes gsal-bar ston-pa'i thabs-kyi lam-mchog 'dus-pa'i rgyud*, NGB Vol.3):

> The Mahāyoga tantras will fall onto the palace of King Ja.
> The Anuyoga tantras will emerge in the forests of Siṅghala.

Then King Ja taught the book to master Uparāja, who was renowned as a great scholar throughout the land of Sahor, but he could not understand their symbolic conventions and meaning. The king then taught them to the master Kukkurāja. He intuitively understood the chapter on the "Vision of Vajrasattva", from the *Tantra of the Magical Net of Vajrasattva*, and practised it, whereupon Vajrasattva revealed himself and predicted that the Lord of Secrets would reveal the meanings of this tantra thereafter. When he had practised more, the Lord of Secrets actually appeared and granted him the complete empowerment of the authentic teaching and of all vehicles. Then he told him to request the verbal teaching from the Licchavi Vimalakīrti. It is said that, following the transmitted precepts of the Lord of Secrets, master Kukkurāja divided [the Mahāyoga tantras] into the *Eighteen Great Tantrapiṭaka* (*tantra chen-po sde bco-brgyad*) and taught them to King Ja.[473]

In the king's own composition, the *Array of the Path of the Magical Net*, he says:

> In the eastern domain of Indrabhūti,
> At Vajrakūṭa in India,
> I, the noble Indrabhūti,
> Practised the *Magical Net*,
> Having been taught by the Lord of Secrets himself.
> I actually realised Vajrapāṇi,
> With his retinue of fifty thousand.
> Being empowered in wholesome action,
> By the practice of disciplined conduct,
> I was free from sin, and reached [an exalted] level.

Just so, although the king himself had attained realisation, he demonstrated the way of realisation by relying upon Kukkurāja. This was in order to prevent charlatans from entering this path at will.

Now, the renowned master Kukkurāja, whose name means "king of dogs", and who is also called Kuttarāja in some legends, taught the doctrine by day in the guise of a dog to a thousand warriors and yoginīs, and by night went to the charnel grounds with them to perform feast offerings and other sacramental practices. After practising in this way

for twelve years he finally attained the accomplishment of the Great Seal.

Others say that while the master was abiding in such practice he went to Oḍḍiyāna and once more gave a detailed explanation of the *Five Inner Tantrapiṭaka* (*nang-rgyud sde-lnga*) including the *Buddhasamāyoga*; which were drawn from the *Eighteen Great Tantrapiṭaka* [of the Mahāyoga]. In this way, he finally attained the supreme accomplishment by following the *Tantra of the Hidden Point of the Moon* (*Candraguhyatilakatantra*, T 477).

This master was an adept of the *Buddhasamāyoga Tantra*. He wrote many treatises, including the *Six Arrays of Esoteric Meaning* (*Ṣaḍguhyārthadharavyūha*, T 1664-9), and the *Fivefold Rite for Entering into All Maṇḍalas* (*Sarvamaṇḍalānuvartipañcavidhi*, T 1670).

Now, in the peculiar terminology of the Ancient Translation School, the inner tantras are universally regarded as forming three classes: the Mahāyoga, [which deals primarily with] the stage of creation; the Anuyoga, [which deals primarily with] the stage of perfection; and the Atiyoga, [which deals primarily with] the Great Perfection.



Kukkurāja

The first of these, the Mahāyoga, has two divisions: the class of tantras [*tantravarga] and the class of means for attainment [*sādhanavarga, NGB Vols. 20-33]. Of these, the former, which consists of the great tantrapiṭaka, is divided into eighteen: the five great tantrapiṭaka of buddha-body, speech, mind, attributes, and activity – these are the ground and the roots; the five tantrapiṭaka concerned with the means for attainment – these are the branches; the five tantrapiṭaka concerned with conduct – these are also branches; the two supplementary tantras which make up the omissions; and the single tantrapiṭaka which summarises the meaning of all the others.[474] King Ja taught all of these to Kukkurāja. From the latter they were transmitted successively to Śakraputra, or Indrabhūti the younger, who was the king's son; Siṃharāja; Śakrabhūti, or Uparāja; and finally to the daughter Gomadevī. By practising the path on which the two provisions [of merit and pristine cognition] are achieved [rapidly], they and their respective retinues reached the level of Vajradhara. As it says in the *Sequence of the Path* :

> Then to the east of Jambudvīpa,
> Which rests on the Indestructible Seat,
> In a holy palace of precious gems,
> In an auspicious and sacred room,
> Kukkurāja and Indrabhūti,
> Together with Siṃharāja, Uparāja,
> Daughter Gomadevī, and others,
> Received the empowerment of the *Magical Net*.
> They actually attained the maṇḍala as an assembly,
> And manifestly reached the level of Vajradhara.

King Ja wrote the *Array of the Path of the Magical Net*, the *Two Stages* (*Śrīguhyagarbhakramadvayoddeśa*, P 4771), et cetera. He also composed many other definitive texts which bring out the most secret meaning: the *Commentary on the Root Tantra of Cakrasaṃvara* (*Śrīcakrasaṃvaratantrarājasambarasamuccayanāmavṛtti*, T 1413); the *Verification of Pristine Cognition* (*Jñānasiddhi*, T 2219); the *Verification of Co-Emergence* (*Sahajasiddhi*, T 2260) and so forth. Nearly all of the tantras and instructions that were widespread among the great accomplished masters of India came from this royal master. He gave the transmitted precepts on supreme bliss and on inner radiance to the accomplished master Bālapāda, or Jālandharipā, who in turn transmitted the lineage to Kṛṣṇacārin and his retinue of disciples. Tilopā and Nāropā and all their disciples came forth from this lineage.[475] It is also the source of the transmitted precepts concerning the action seal (*karmamudrā*), which were passed down from daughter Gomadevī to King Ja and Kukkurāja, and from them to the masters Līlāvajra and Buddhaguhya.

LĪLĀVAJRA[476]

[85.2-87.6] The master Līlāvajra was born in the country of Ṣaṃṣara. He was ordained in Oḍḍiyāna and studied the Tripiṭaka. He was particularly learned in the philosophical tenets of Asaṅga, and he also knew all of the ordinary sciences. On an island in Oḍḍiyāna called Madhima he practised the *Sublime Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī*. When he was approaching accomplishment a ray of light emanated from the face of a painting of Mañjuśrī and illuminated the island for a long time, owing to which the master was called Sūryavat, "Sun-like".



Līlāvajra (or Vilāsavajra)

On another occasion, when a practitioner of perverse doctrines, who required the five sense organs of a Buddhist scholar as sacraments for his practice, came to kill the master, Līlāvajra appeared in various forms, such as those of an elephant, horse, boy, girl, buffalo, and peacock. Unable to recognise him, the fanatic went away. Owing to this incident, the master became renowned as Viśvarūpa, "Everyform".

Near the end of his life he vastly benefitted living creatures in Oḍḍiyāna. The master was learned and accomplished, generally speaking, in all the tantrapiṭaka, and in the *Magical Net* cycle, in particular.

He also lived for ten years at Nālandā, where he preserved the teaching of the way of mantras. He composed many treatises and expounded them in detail. [His works include]: a *Commentary on the Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī* (*'jam-dpal mtshan-brjod-kyi 'grel-ba*, T 2533) according to the interpretations of the Unsurpassed [Yoga]tantra; the *Sequence of the Supreme Point* (*Mahātilakakrama*, T 1290), concerning the stage of perfection of Hevajra; a *Commentary on the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, based on the Guru's Instruction (*Śrīguhyasamājatantranidāna-gurūpadeśanavyākhyāna*, T 1910); the *Means for the Attainment of Co-Emergence* (*Śrīguhyasamājasahajasādhana*, T 1913); and other treatises dealing with sundry tantras. Concerning the system of the *Magical Net*, [he composed]: the *Parkap Commentary on the Secret Nucleus*;[477] the *Innermost Point* (*Cittabindu*, P 4723); the *Sixfold Sequence* (*Kramaṣaṭka*, P 4741); the *Clarification of Commitments*; the *Propensity for the Commitments* (*Samayānuśayanirdeśa*, P 4745) and so on. In the end he attained the body of indestructible reality. His ordination name was Śrīmad Uttamabodhibhagavat and his esoteric name was Līlāvajra. In the treatises, too, he is referred to as Līlāvajra, Sūryavat, or Viśvarūpa.

Under Līlāvajra the master Buddhajñānapāda studied the *Magical Net*, the *Buddhasamāyoga*, the *Guhyasamāja*, [the *Garland of Activity*, *Karmamālā*, NGB Vol.17][478] and the *Hidden Point of the Moon*, which are known as the *Five Inner Tantrapiṭaka* and are foremost among the *Eighteen Great Tantrapiṭaka*. He meditated upon them and attained mastery of pristine cognition. In the *Oral Instructions of Mañjuśrī*, he says:

> Then I went to Oḍḍiyāna, the birthplace of all virtues,
> Where there dwelt one famed as Līlāvajra.
> I learned much from him and pondered it...

While the venerable Līlāvajra was preserving the mantra teaching in Oḍḍiyāna, an outcaste boy met Āryadeva [in a vision].[479] By the latter's blessing the boy spontaneously understood the doctrine and expounded various texts concerning the way of mantras, which had been composed by the sublime Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, [who were spiritual] father and son. Mātaṅgīpā and Rakṣitapāda of Koṅkana also heard them from Candrakīrti in person; and they were the first to copy down his book, the *Clarifying Lamp*. In the same way, it is said that the scholar Rāhula met Nāgabodhi[480] [and also received similar doctrines]. Thus, the sublime Nāgārjuna's cycle of teaching on the *Guhyasamāja* first appeared during this period.[481]

BUDDHAGUHYA

[87.6-90.2] The master Buddhaguhya was born in Central India and was ordained at Nālandā. He and master Buddhaśānti were both dis-

ciples of Buddhajñānapāda during the early part of the latter's life. When Buddhaguhya was propitiating the sublime Mañjuśrī in the Vārāṇasī region, it so happened that a picture of Mañjuśrī smiled; the clarified butter of a red cow, which was required for this practice, began to boil; and some flowers that had wilted blossomed anew. He realised that these were signs of accomplishment, but he hesitated for a while, not knowing whether he should first offer the flower, or drink the ghee. A yakṣiṇī obstructed him with a slap on the face and he fainted for a short time. Then, on regaining consciousness, he saw that the picture was covered with dust, the flowers had wilted, and even the ghee had boiled over. None the less, he wiped off the dust, adorned his head with the flowers, and drank what remained of the ghee. Thereupon, his body became free from all infirmity; and he became strong and sharp-witted, and acquired mastery of the supernormal cognitive powers.

At about that time, he went on to Oḍḍiyāna, where he met the master Līlāvajra, under whom he studied the Yoga tantras, and the *Five Inner Unsurpassed Tantrapiṭaka*. He became particularly adept at the *Magical Net*. On another occasion he went with Buddhaśānti to meet the sublime



Buddhaguhya

Avalokiteśvara on Mount Potalaka. There they met Ārya Tārā, who was teaching the doctrine to a host of nāgas at the foot of the mountain; Bhṛkuṭī, who was teaching the doctrine to a host of antigods and yakṣas on the slope; and sitting openly on the summit was the sublime Avalokiteśvara. All were as plainly manifest as they themselves were.

Buddhaguhya also attained accomplishments there, like the ability to walk without his feet touching the ground. It was Ārya Tārā, too, who advised him to go to Mount Kailash in the Himalayas, and to practise the means for attainment there.

Returning from Mount Potalaka, Buddhaguhya taught the doctrine in and around Vārāṇasī for many years. Then, once again, the sublime Mañjuśrī exhorted him to follow Tārā's former advice. He proceeded to Mount Kailash and practised the means for attainment, whereby he directly perceived the great Maṇḍala of the Indestructible Expanse (*Vajradhātumaṇḍala*) many times, and could speak to the sublime Mañjughoṣa, just as to another man. Non-human beings also acted as his servants.

The master composed a great many works, including: the *Analytical Commentary on the Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (*gsang-ba snying-po-la 'grel-ba rnam-bshad-kyi 'grel*); the *Sequence of Indestructible Activity* (*Māyājālavajrakarmakrama*, P 4720); the *Significance of the Maṇḍala Doctrine* (*Dharmamaṇḍalasūtra*, T 3705); the *Holy Ornament* (*Tattvālokaparamālaṃkāra*, P 4735); the *Lesser Net* (*Sūkṣmajāla*, P 4734) and the *Greater Net* (*drva-chen*); the *Greater Sequence of the Path* (*Māyājālapathakrama*, P 4736) and the *Lesser Sequence of the Path* (*sgyu-'phrul lam-gyi rnam-bshad chung-ba*, DZ Vol.1); the *Stages of the Realisation of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities* (*zhi-khro mngon-rtogs rim-pa*); the *Introduction to Yoga*, which is the means for the attainment of the Maṇḍala of the Indestructible Expanse according to the Yoga tantras (*Tantrārthāvatāra*, T 2501); the *Abridged Commentary on the Tantra of the Awakening of the Great Vairocana* (*Mahāvairocanatantrapiṇḍārtha*, T 2662); the *Expanded Commentary on the Later Stages of Meditation* (*Dhyānottarapaṭalaṭīkā*, T 2670), et cetera.

Buddhaguhya's great kindness to Tibet will be described later on.[482] At the end of his life, he vanished bodily.

VAJRAHĀSYA

[90.2-91.1] Again, King Ja and Kukkurāja expounded [the *Guhyasamāja*] to the "Zombie" Sukhasiddhi,[483] and to the *ṛṣi* Bhāṣita. The former taught the master Vajrahāsya, who composed the commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* entitled *Apprehending the Entire Intention* (*Śrīguhyasamājaṭīkā*, T 1909), as well as the *Means for the Attainment of Supreme Bliss* (*Mahāsukhasādhana*, T 1911), and other works. He was the master of these teachings and expounded them. It is maintained

that in India there were twenty-four distinct teaching traditions of the *Guhyasamāja*, of which six were propagated in Tibet, the fourth of these being the *Guhyasamāja* tradition derived from Vajrahāsya's cycle of teachings.

Vajrahāsya bestowed the empowerment of *Cakrasaṃvara* on Vagīśvarakīrti, the "guardian of the western gate" at Nālandā, and expounded that tantra to him. He also conferred on him the instructions and further advice. By meditating on these esoteric instructions Vāgīśvarakīrti attained accomplishment; and in that very body he became a holder of the awareness of the Great Seal, the body of coalescence.

The master [Vajrahāsya] and the *ṛṣi* Bhāṣita both expounded the tantras to King Prabhāhasti of Sahor.

PRABHĀHASTI

[91.1-91.6] Prabhāhasti was born into a royal family in western India. He was ordained by master Śāntiprabha of Citavara, and by the great Vinaya master, Puṇyakīrti of Maru. He was given the name Śākya-



Prabhāhasti

prabha, and became learned in the entire Tripiṭaka. As the disciple of a great many holders of indestructible reality according to the way of mantra, for instance, master Vajrahāsya, he mastered all the tantras and obtained supreme accomplishment. His [esoteric] name according to the mantra tradition was Prabhāhasti. Śākyamitra, a disciple of this master, composed a commentary on the *Summation of the Real*, which is a Yoga tantra, entitled the *Ornament of Kosala* (*Kosalālaṃkāra*, T 2503). Both Prabhāhasti and Śākyamitra went to Kashmir where they vastly benefitted living beings. Master Buddhaguhya and the great master Padmasambhava studied under Prabhāhasti; but Padmasambhava also studied under King Ja himself.

PADMASAMBHAVA

[91.6-103.4] Concerning that great master [Padmasambhava]: There is a prophecy in the *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī* (vv.110cd-11ab):

> He is the glorious buddha, lotus-born,
> Possessing the store of all-knowing pristine cognition,
> A king displaying various magical feats,
> The great one endowed with the buddhas' gnostic mantras.

Actually, Padmasambhava is the emanation of the Buddha Amitābha, who embodies the indestructible speech of all the tathāgatas; but he seems to appear in different forms, because of the differences of fortune and acumen among those who are to be trained.

In the legend found in the transmitted precepts of Vajrakīla, and in some Indian versions, it is said that he was born as the son of either the king of Oḍḍiyāna, or of one of his ministers. Some say that he appeared in a lightning flash on the meteoric summit of Mount Malaya. But here, I will follow the well-known tale found in the revealed treasures, et cetera, which speak only of his miraculous birth.[484] According to them, the land of Oḍḍiyāna, which is to the west [of India], is surrounded by great oceans to the east, south, and north. In the southwest, towards the Land of Ogres, there is an island in a lake. There, in the bud of a multicoloured lotus, which had sprung up by the buddhas' blessing, a golden vajra marked with the syllable HRĪḤ emanated from the heart of Amitābha, the lord of the Sukhāvatī paradise. From it, there emanated forth an eight-year-old boy, who was adorned with the major and minor marks, and held a vajra and a lotus. The boy remained there teaching the profound doctrine to the gods and to the ḍākinīs of the island.

At that time the king of Oḍḍiyāna, Indrabhūti, had no son, so [in order to obtain one] he worshipped the Three Precious Jewels and exhausted his treasury by giving alms. He then ordered that the wish-ful-

filling gem be brought from an island. His minister of righteousness, Kṛṣṇadhara,[485] [who had been sent to fetch the jewel] first saw the boy on his return journey. Then the king met him and brought him to the palace to become his adopted son. He received the names Padmākara (Lotus-origin) and Saroruhavajra (Vajra of the Lake-born Lotus), and was requested to sit upon a throne of precious stones, which appeared by the power of the wish-fulfilling gem. He satisfied the entire populace with a rain of food, clothing, and jewels. By his youthful play, he matured numberless disciples. He married the ḍākinī Prabhāvatī, and defended the kingdom of Oḍḍiyāna according to the doctrine. Therefore, he became renowned as King Śikhin (Crested King).

Then he realised that by governing the kingdom he could not be of great service to others. He asked his father for permission to leave, but was refused. Therefore, while performing a dramatic dance, he pretended that a trident slipped from his hand and thus he "liberated" the son of an evil minister.[486] As punishment for murdering the minister's son, he was banished to live in charnel grounds. He practised asceticism [in the charnel grounds of] Śītavana, Nandanavana, and Sosadvīpa, where he received empowerment and blessing from the ḍākinīs Mārajitā and Śāntarakṣitā. When he had brought the ḍākinīs of the charnel grounds under his sway he became known as Śāntarakṣita (Preserver of Peace).

Then he proceeded to the isle of Dhanakośa, where, by practising the way of secret mantra through the symbolic language of the ḍākinīs, he brought the ḍākinīs of the island under his sway. When he practised in the Paruṣakavana (Coarse Wood), Vajravarāhī appeared in order to bless him. He bound all the nāgas of the ocean, as well as the planets and stars of the sky under an oath of allegiance. Warriors and ḍākinīs of the three abodes conferred their accomplishments upon him, and he became renowned as Dorje Trakpotsel (Expression of the Ferocious Vajra).

After that he went to Vajrāsana, where he performed various miracles. When the people asked who he was, he replied, "I am a self-born buddha!" But, not believing this, they insulted him. Seeing that much power was required [in order to overcome their doubts], he went to the country of Sahor, where he received ordination from master Prabhāhasti, and received the name Śākyasiṃha (Lion of the Śākyas).

Having received the teaching of the Yogatantra eighteen times, the deities [of those tantras] appeared to him in that very place. Guhyajñānā, the ḍākinī of pristine cognition, appeared in the form of the nun Ānandā and, at his request for empowerment, she transformed him into the syllable HŪṂ, and then swallowed him. In her stomach he was given the complete outer, inner, and secret empowerments, and was then expelled through her vagina. In this way, the three obscurations were removed.[487]



Padmasambhava

He studied all the sūtras, tantras, and sciences under the many scholars and accomplished masters of India, of whom the foremost were: the eight great awareness-holders, from whom he received the Eight Classes of Means for Attainment; Buddhaguhya, from whom he received the *Magical Net*; and Śrī Siṃha, from whom he received the Great Perfection. Training himself thus, he fully understood all doctrines after studying them only once. He could see the deities even without propitiating them. In this way, he became renowned as Loden Chokse (Intelligent Boon-seeker), and he demonstrated the ultimate attainment of a holder of the awareness of spiritual maturation.

Then he gained influence over Mandāravā, the daughter of King Ārṣadhara of Sahor, who possessed the marks of a ḍākinī. He took her to the Māratika Cave,[488] to serve as the consort for his practice; and for three months they practised the means for the attainment of longevity. Lord Amitāyus actually came there and empowered them,[489] and he consecrated them to be no different than himself. He granted them one billion rites of longevity, whereby Padmasambhava attained the accomplishment of an awareness-holder endowed with power over the duration of his own life.

Having thus attained the body of indestructible reality that is beyond birth and death, Padmasambhava went to subdue the kingdom of Sahor. When the king and his ministers tried to immolate him, he performed the miracle of [transforming the pyre into] a lake of sesame oil, in the midst of which he remained seated on a lotus. Thus he secured them in faith and introduced them all to the doctrine, so that they reached the level of no-return.[490]

Again, in order to convert the kingdom of Oḍḍiyāna, he went there begging for alms, but he was recognised by the inhabitants. The evil minister [whose son Padmasambhava had slain] and his associates tried to burn the master in a fire of sandalwood, but, displaying his miraculous powers, both he and his consort remained seated on a lotus surrounded by a lake, the master wearing a garland of skulls to indicate that he released sentient beings from saṃsāra. Therefore, he became renowned as Pema Thötrengstel (Lotus whose Expression is a Garland of Skulls).

He acted as the king's venerated guru for thirteen years, securing the whole kingdom in the doctrine. By bestowing the [empowerments which cause] maturation and the [guidance which causes] liberation, for [the teaching called] the *Ocean of Doctrine, the Gathering of Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-'dus chos-kyi rgya-mtsho*) he caused the king, queen, and all other fortunate beings to become holders of supreme awareness. Thus, he became known as Padmarāja (Lotus King).

According to a prophecy found in the *Sūtra of Magical Transformation of the Scope of Activity* (*Gocaropāyaviṣayavikurvāṇanirdeśasūtra*, T 146) he emanated as the monk Indrasena in order to convert King Aśoka. Having developed immutable faith, the king built ten million stūpas containing the relics of the Tathāgata throughout Jambudvīpa in a single night.[491]

Thereafter, Padmasambhava skilfully vanquished some powerful kings who were religious extremists, hostile to the teaching, by rites of exorcism. When one such king caused the master to eat poison he remained unharmed, and when he was thrown into the River Ganges the waters reversed their flow. He danced in the sky and became known as Khyeucung Khadingtsel (Youth who Flies like Garuḍa).

Moreover, he taught through countless other forms and manifestations: as Master Saroruha who introduced the *Hevajra Tantra*, the brahman Sarahapāda, and as Ḍombi Heruka, Virūpa, and the great Kṛṣṇacārin. He travelled to the great charnel grounds, such as Kuladzokpa, where he taught the doctrines of the secret mantra to the ḍākinīs. When he grasped the vital heart-mantras of all arrogant spirits, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, and charged them to protect the teaching, he became known as Sūryaraśmi (Sunbeam).

Once, when five hundred extremist teachers began to dispute the teaching at Vajrāsana, the master defeated them in a contest of debate and occult power. When they cursed him, he warded off their spells

by using the wrathful mantra which had been given to him by the ḍākinī Mārajitā. He brought down a mighty thunderbolt which "liberated" those teachers and set fire to their city. When he initiated the remainder of them into the Buddha's teaching and raised aloft the victory banner of the doctrine, he became renowned as Siṃhanāda (Lion's Roar). By that time, he had traversed the supreme path which destroys the three corruptions and he lived as an awareness-holder, controlling the duration of his own life.

Then, in the Yangleshö Cave,[492] near the border of India and Nepal, he took the Nepali girl Śākyadevī, the daughter of Puṇyadhara, the king of Nepal, to serve him in his practice. While he was performing the means for the attainment of the glorious Yangdak Heruka [Śrīheruka], in order to obtain supreme accomplishment, three very powerful demons obstructed him. For three years it did not rain. Plague and famine were rampant. So he sent [messengers] to India to fetch from his gurus the doctrines which remove obstacles. They dispatched two porters carrying the transmitted text of the *Vajrakīla Tantra*, which caused the obstacles to subside by themselves. Rain fell and the plague and famine finally ceased. The master and his consort both obtained the supreme accomplishment and became holders of the awareness of the Great Seal.

Yangdak Heruka confers great accomplishments, but, like a merchant who has many obstacles, he must be escorted. The means for the attainment of Vajrakīla is his escort. Seeing this, Padmasambhava composed many practical means for attainment which combine Yangdak and Vajrakīla. The master bound all mundane spirits, both male and female, including the sixteen protectors of the *Vajrakīla Tantra* (NGB Vol. 19, 27-9, T 439), under an oath of allegiance and appointed them to protect the doctrine.

Moreover, at one time or another, he taught the doctrine in accord with the needs of disciples in Hurmudzu, Sikodhara, Dhanakośa, Rukma, and other districts of Oḍḍiyāna; in Tīrahuti and other Tharu kingdoms; and in Kāmarūpa, and elsewhere. By the common accomplishments, too, he helped many sentient beings. He made water flow from dry riverbeds. He diverted a wide river underground. When great harm came to the Buddhist teaching because images of extremist deities spontaneously appeared in the south, east, and centre of India, he annihilated all three by the power of Vajrakīla. When a Turkish king led his army by boat over the River Nīla to invade Kañcī, where the Buddhist community was widespread, the master raised his index finger in a menacing gesture and five hundred vessels sank in the water. Subsequently, the Turkish danger came to an end.

Though it is not clear exactly when he visited the land of Draviḍa (*'gro-lding-ba'i yul*), he did gradually convert the human and non-human beings of that country, the ḍākinīs and so on, and had a temple con-

structed there. Teaching, study and meditation on the four classes of tantra, and particularly on the tantras of *Hevajra*, *Hidden Point of the Moon*, *Yangdak*, *Hayagrīva* (T 839), *Vajrakīla*, and *Mātaraḥ* (NGB Vols.30-1)[493] according to the tradition of this master remained widespread until a later period. In the legends of these [tantras] it is said that he travelled thence to the Land of Ogres in the south-west.

The aforementioned accounts are well known from sources of Indian origin. While it is generally said that Padmasambhava remained in India for three thousand and six hundred years, acting on behalf of the teaching and living creatures, scholars believe either that the years referred to are half-years, or that the statement is hyperbole.

Moreover, to convert Turkestan and China, Padmasambhava emanated as a king with supernormal cognitive powers, and as a powerful yogin. And emanating as the self-born child Tavihṛca in Zhang-Zhung, he caused many fortunate beings to attain the body of light, by means of the instructions of the aural lineage of the Great Perfection.[494]

Thus, it is impossible to measure the extent of his activity, which, through varied actions befitting those requiring training, secured all beings, inhabiting diverse countries and speaking diverse languages, on the path to liberation. And all this merely refers to those biographies which describe specific manifestations and names. In fact, if we disregard the difference between his direct and indirect action, [then it may be said that] there is no place that is not to be trained by this emanation. Thus, no one at all can express a limit to the liberating activity of those who abide in the state of coalescence.

So it is that great accomplished masters may make themselves disappear from the view of ordinary disciples and then, after a long time has passed, they may make themselves reappear, and then remain present for a long time. They may be invisible in some places and visible in others simultaneously. In one place they may demonstrate transference [of consciousness at death], and in another, the act of taking birth. In these and other ways their manifestations are infinite. Thus, once upon a time, Virūpa thrice appeared bodily after disappearing; Jālandharipā similarly reappeared five times; and the great Kṛṣṇacārin, after passing away in Devīkoṭa and being cremated by his disciples, reappeared elsewhere in his former body and acted to benefit the world. At the same time, it is said that he took new births in yet other lands and demonstrated in them the attainment of supreme accomplishment. So, just as a commoner's status cannot be applied to a king, it is impossible to determine exactly the chronology and dwelling places of these accomplished masters according to the conventions of ordinary people. That is because they are empowered with miraculous abilities, which accord perfectly with the faculties of will and attitude among sentient beings. It says in the *Sublime Sūtra which Comprises the Entire Doctrine*:

> Sentient beings who will an aeon of dissolution to become an aeon of evolution can indeed transform an aeon of dissolution into an aeon of evolution; and they experience an aeon of evolution. Sentient beings who will an aeon of evolution to become an aeon of dissolution can indeed transform an aeon of evolution into an aeon of dissolution; and they experience an aeon of dissolution. But really the dissolution and the evolution do not change into one another; for it is the will which changes in this way. Similarly, sentient beings who will one aeon to become just one morning may experience one aeon in one morning. And sentient beings who will one morning to become one aeon may experience just that. This is called the miraculous ability born of the bodhisattva's will.

How master Padmasambhava came to Tibet will be described below.[495]

5 *The Lineage of Mahāyoga, the Class of Means for Attainment*

[103.4] Concerning the latter class of the Mahāyoga, that of means for attainment, there are two traditions, that of the transmitted precepts and that of the revealed treasures.

HŪṂKARA AND THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPT OF YANGDAK (ŚRĪHERUKA)

[103.4-106.1] As for the first: The transmitted precepts of Yangdak the Mind, including the *Heruka Galpo* and so on, which belong to the family of Akṣobhya, that of buddha-mind, fell to master Hūṃkara. This master was born into a brahman family in Nepal. He became very learned in the Veda and in the non-Buddhist textual traditions; and he also achieved spiritual power. Later, he developed supreme faith in the Buddha's teaching and was ordained at Nālandā in Central India by the master Buddhajñānapāda and the scholar Rāhulabhadra. He trained and purified himself by studying everything from the teachings of Transcendental Perfection to those of the outer and inner classes of the secret mantra.[496] He received empowerment and obtained all the instructions and further advice. In particular, when he was empowered into the maṇḍala of the glorious Yangdak Heruka, his flower fell upon the wrathful deity Hūṃkara.[497] After meditating [on that deity] for a long time he developed an excellent contemplation of the two stages. Realising that he would become accomplished if he were to practise the means for attainment for six months, he required an outcaste girl with the complexion of a blue lotus, a girl possessing all the signs of a *mudrā* belonging to the vajra family to be his action seal (*karmamudrā*).[498] He sought and eventually found such a girl in another district. He proposed to her parents, but they said, "You're a brahman master! Are you crazy? As we're an outcaste family, we'll surely all be punished!"

He replied, "I need her to serve my practice. So we will not be punished for violating the vulgar caste system."

"In that case, you must give us the girl's weight in gold and silver."

Immediately, the master extracted a treasure from the ground and gave it to them. The master and his *mudrā* then performed the ritual service, further ritual service, and the rite of attainment in a cave for six months.[499] At dawn on the eighth day of the light-half of the month, the mighty sound of HŪM thundered in the sky; and he actually saw the entire maṇḍala, with Vajra Heruka and the other deities. Then he attained the supreme accomplishment of the Great Seal by the path of



Hūṃkara

the rite of great attainment. This accords with the first [time period mentioned in] the *Sequence of the Path of the Magical Net*, which gives the following explanation:

> The genuine accomplishment of empowered awareness
> Will be achieved in six or twelve months,
> Or in fourteen, or in sixteen.

Master Hūṃkara benefitted many beings by [his teachings on] the three aspects of creation and perfection [together with their coalescence], and by other mantras and tantras as well. He also composed many treatises on the two stages, such as: the *Yangdak Rulu Golden Rosary*

(*yang-dag ru-lu gser-phreng*), the esoteric instructions of the *Buddhasamāyoga* entitled *Elucidation of the Significance of the Four Limbs* (*Caturaṅgārthālokanāma*, T 1676), and the *Definitive Verification of the Means for the Attainment of the Great Heruka* (*Saṃsiddhimahāśrīherukasādhananāma*, T 1678).

In the end, Hūṃkara flew off bodily, like the king of garuḍa,[500] to the Buddha-field of Akṣobhya.

The masters Avadhūti and Buddhaśrīśānti of Oḍḍiyāna received the transmitted precepts of the stage of creation from Hūṃkara. In his turn, the great Sauripāda of Vajrāsana received teachings from them. The great master Abhayākaragupta[501] and his host of disciples arose in Sauripāda's following.

MAÑJUŚRĪMITRA AND THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPT OF YAMĀNTAKA

[106.1-108.4] The transmitted precepts of Yamāntaka, including the *Secret Tantra of Wrathful Mañjuśrī* (*Mañjuśrīkarmacatuścakraguhyatantra*, T 838), and so forth, which belong to the family of Vairocana, that of buddha-body, fell to the master Mañjuśrīmitra. This master was born in the village of Dvikrama in western India,[502] to Sādhuśāstrī and his wife Pradīpālokā. He became learned in the Veda and their branches, but received the empowerments of the outer and inner mantras, as well as all of the common and special instructions from the great master [Garap Dorje], the "Ashen Zombie", among others. It is said that he also studied the *Black Yamāri*, the *Six-faced One* (*Ṣaḍānana*, T 2015), and the *Vajrabhairava* (T 468) under master Lalitavajra. In any case, when he had acquired all the common accomplishments and was close to attaining the level of coalescence he went forth to give expression to enlightened conduct.

Once, while crossing a bridge, Mañjuśrīmitra encountered a king who was a very great patron of the extremists. The king was riding an elephant. Neither of them would make way for the other. The master just raised his index finger menacingly and the king and his elephant were split asunder, a half falling on either side of the bridge. When the king's retainers apologised and begged forgiveness, he revived the king and secured him in the Buddhist teaching. As the master himself said:

> Neither do I revere mundane lords,
> Nor do I step aside, though an elephant confronts me.
> I chant aloud the king of secret mantra,
> And my feet pass unhindered through rocky mountains.

At some point, Mañjuśrīmitra attained the exalted level of coalescence, and so became no different from the sublime Mañjughoṣa.



Yamāntaka

Mañjuśrī-Yamāntaka actually appeared, empowered him, and taught him all the tantras and their esoteric instructions. Many active emanations[503] of Yamāntaka circumambulated him and offered up their vital heart-mantras. He extracted from Mount Malaya a golden book which contained all the four rites written in beryl; and he understood it at just a glance. Using the mantras for subduing extremists he utterly demolished an extremist kingdom through wild activity. He concealed the book itself to the north of Vajrāsana, by making it invisible.

Because he was also known as the brahman Sārasiddhi, it is clear that Mañjuśrīmitra was the same venerable brahman Sāra who was the father of the great master Jetāri.[504] The latter also attained accomplishment through the gnostic mantra (*vidyā*) of Mañjuśrī. It is related that King Dharmapāla revered Jetāri as his guru. The king's own son received the empowerment of the sublime Mañjuśrī, through which he attained accomplishment.

The transmitted precepts which explain many of the tantras originate from Mañjuśrīmitra's disciples, the brahmans Jñānavajra and Bodhivajra, about whom there is a prophecy in the *Subsequent Tantra of Kālacakra* (*Śrīkālacakratantrottaratantrahṛdaya*, T 363). In particular,

Amoghavajra the elder received the complete cycle of Yamāntaka from this master, and the younger Amoghavajra received it from him and so on.[505] This is the origin of the *Yamāntaka* cycle, which is renowned in Tibet as the Kyo tradition.

NĀGĀRJUNA AND THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPT OF HAYAGRĪVA

[108.4-109.4] The transmitted precepts of the Lotus Speech tantras, including the *Play of the Supreme Horse* (*Aśvottamavīṇāsamata-mahātantra*, T 839), which belong to the family of Amitābha, that of buddha-speech, fell to the great master sublime Nāgārjuna.[506] Some say that he was the *baliṃācārya* [master of offerings] at Vikramaśīla, and hence not the same as the sublime Nāgārjuna. But the master of offerings was named Nāgārjunagarbha and is never called "sublime". Therefore, when the author of the treatises composed by the sublime master is styled *sublime* Nāgārjunagarbha, he should not be confused with the master of offerings.



Hayagrīva

According to the well-known biographies of Nāgārjuna, he introduced the *Eight Mahākāla Tantras (ma-hā-kā-la'i rgyud brgyad)*, the *Tantra of the Goddess Kālī* (*Śrīdevīkālīpraśaṃsārājatantra*, T 671), the *Realisation of Kurukullā* (*Muktakenatārodbhavakurukullesādhana*, T 3562), and a large number of other tantras. He obtained the oral instructions of the ḍākinīs of pristine cognition, and he is said to have introduced about sixty different means for attainment. He achieved many extraordinary feats in each of the eight common accomplishments. Finally, having remained at Śrīparvata[507] for two hundred years with a retinue of yakṣiṇī, all the while living in accord with the way of mantras, he attained the body of indestructible reality.

VIMALAMITRA AND THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPT OF VAJRĀMṚTA

[109.4-110.3] The transmitted precepts of Vajrāmṛta, including the *Eight Volumes of Nectar* (*Sarvapañcāmṛtasārasiddhimahodgatahṛdayaparivartāṣṭaka*, T 841), which belong to the family of Ratnasambhava, that of enlightened attributes, fell to the master Vimalamitra. This master



Vajrāmṛta

was born in a place called Hastivana in western India. He mastered all the sciences and their branches; and he also studied sūtras of the lesser and greater vehicles under masters of the piṭaka, and became learned in them. He studied all the tantras under many great holders of indestructible reality, such as Buddhaguhya, and by meditating upon them he realised the supreme accomplishment of the Great Seal. Vimalamitra was particularly learned in the *Magical Net*; and he composed many treatises, for instance: the commentary on the *Secret Nucleus* entitled *Illuminating Lamp of the Fundamental Text*; the *Removal of Darkness: A Commentary on the Superior Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul bla-ma'i 'grel-ba mun-sel*); the *Eye-opening Commentary on the Supplementary Magical Net* (*Vajrasattvamāyājālatantraśrīguhyagarbhanāmacakṣuṣṭīkā*, P 4756); the *Abridged Commentary on the Eighty Chapter Magical Net* (*brgyad-bcu-pa'i bsdus-'grel*); *Opening the Eye of Discriminative Awareness* (*Mahāyoga-prajñāpraveśacakṣurupadeśanāma*, P 4725); the *Three Stages*; *Meditative Absorption in the Mudrā*; a *Ritual for Burnt Offerings* (*Māyājālahoma-saṃkṣiptakrama*, P 4746); a *Cremation Ritual* (*Māyājālalaghudṛṣṭānta-svāśrayakrama*, P 4747); *Ritual Geometry* (*thig-rim*); the *Short Commentary [on the Secret Nucleus]*; et cetera.

PRABHĀHASTI, PADMASAMBHAVA AND THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPT OF VAJRAKĪLA

[110.3-111.2] The transmitted precepts of the *Vajrakīla Tantras*, which belong to the family of Amoghasiddhi, that of enlightened activity, fell to master Prabhāhasti. Also, when the great master Padmasambhava actually attained the realisation of a holder of the supreme awareness of the Great Seal, having relied on the maṇḍala of the glorious Yangdak Heruka while residing at Yangleshö, an irresistible impulse entered the minds of an obstinate nāga, a horse-headed yakṣiṇī, and the spirit of an atmospheric lightning-cloud. To subdue their evil design Padmasambhava practised the means for attainment based on the *Hundred Thousand Verse Tantra of Supreme Awareness* (*Vidyottama-la 'bum-sde*, NGB Vols.19, 27-9). Vajrakumāra[508] actually appeared and eliminated all traces of obstruction. Then the guru bound the twelve Mātaraḥ and four female earth spirits under an oath of allegiance. Later, he is known to have studied the *Vajrakīla Tantra* eighteen times under master Prabhāhasti, too; and thus he mastered all the transmitted precepts of Vajrakīla, who embodies enlightened activity.

The aforementioned transmitted precepts were all fully comprehended by those masters respectively, and they, in turn, explained them extensively to other fortunate disciples.



Vajrakīla

THE REVEALED TREASURES

[111.2-112.4] Second, the treasures: The bodhisattva Vajradharma did not perceive there to be anyone in the human world to whom the books containing the general and special means for attainment could be revealed for the time being, so he entrusted them to the ḍākinī Mahākarmendrāṇī. She inserted the five general tantras and the ten special tantras of the eight transmitted precepts concerning means for attainment into a casket made of eight kinds of precious gems. Having inserted the special tantras into separate caskets, she then concealed them all invisibly in the garden of the Śaṅkarakūṭa Caitya (*mchod-rten bde-byed brtsegs-pa*) in the Śītavana charnel ground.[509]

Later the eight great accomplished masters learned of this through their supernormal powers. They assembled there and devoted themselves to the formation of an enlightened intuition, whereby they liberated a host of mundane ḍākinīs and arrogant spirits by means of vows of truth and appropriate substances. The ḍākinī Mahākarmendrāṇī actually arrived, owing to the power of their contemplation, of which the intention was service to others. Bringing forth the caskets, she

entrusted the gold casket[510] containing the tantra of *Mahottara* (NGB Vol.32, no.380) to Vimalamitra; the silver casket containing that of *Śriheruka* (NGB Vol.32, no.381) to Hūṃkara; the iron casket containing that of *Yamāntaka* (NGB Vol.32, no.382) to Mañjuśrīmitra; the copper casket containing that of *Hayagrīva* (NGB Vol.32, no.383) to Nāgārjuna; the turquoise casket containing that of *Vajrakīla* (NGB Vol.32, no.384) to Padmasambhava; the *bse*-stone casket containing that of *Mātaraḥ* (NGB Vol.32, no.385) to Dhanasaṃskṛta; the agate casket containing that of *Mundane Praise* (*Lokastotrapūja*, T 844) to Rambuguhya; and the *zi*-stone[511] casket containing that of *Malign Mantra* (*Vajramantrabhīru*, T 843) to Śāntigarbha. Each of them became adept in his own subject and attained the accomplishments of the way of mantras.

From the casket made of eight kinds of precious gems there emerged the transmitted precepts comprising the tantra and esoteric instructions of the *Gathering of the Sugatas* (*bde-gshegs 'dus-pa*, NGB Vols.31-2), which subsumes all the aforementioned means for attainment at once; and this fell to master Padmasambhava.



Mahākarmendrāṇī



Mahottara Heruka

6 *The Lineage of Anuyoga, the Perfection Stage*

KAMBALAPĀDA OR THE YOUNGER INDRABHŪTI

[112.4-116.6] Although King Ja, or Vyākaraṇavajra, had been empowered by the Lord of Secrets and had grasped the meaning of the entire teaching, even so, to prevent meddlesome onlookers from thinking he had entered the way of secret mantra at his pleasure, he relied on the human awareness-holder and layman, Vimalakīrti the Licchavi, from whom he received all the empowerments and verbal teachings [NGB Vols. 11-13]. The king also composed treatises like the *Commentary on the General Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions.* He gave empowerment in an emanational maṇḍala to master Uparāja, who had been his fellow student under the Licchavi, and to his own three sons – Śakraputra, Nāgaputra, and Guhyaputra; and he taught them the instructions. At the Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka Caitya, which is also called Śrī Dakṣiṇa,[512] he empowered Uparāja and entrusted the tantras to him. In the city of Kṣemākara (*skyid-pa'i 'byung-gnas*) he empowered his own three sons.

Among King Ja's sons, Śakraputra is renowned as Indrabhūti the younger. It is said that when he attained accomplishment he became renowned as the master Kambalapāda. This is also mentioned in the *Commentary on the Verification of Co-Emergence* (*Sahajasiddhipaddhati*, T 2261). In any case, because Indrabhūti introduced certain tantrapiṭaka like the *Cakrasaṃvara*, the brahman Ratnavajra and others are among the adherents of his lineage. Some later gurus of India say that the master Kambalapāda was a prince, and a native of Oḍḍiyāna. So, accordingly, he must be identified with Indrabhūti the younger.

At first, this master received empowerments from a great mantra master, and realised pristine cognition by meditating on the instructions. Then, at some other time, he went to Dhūmasthira, the city of the ḍākinīs in Oḍḍiyāna. There, he accepted a flower garland which some non-Buddhist ḍākinīs handed to him. The Buddhist ḍākinīs said, "Son, it was a mistake to take those flowers. Now you must follow the non-Buddhists."

Then, at midnight, when the master was sitting absorbed in contemplation, the extremist ḍākinīs caused stones to rain down upon him. But there was no damage on his side of the protective circle [created through the visualisations] of the stage of creation. It occurred to him that, as the stage of creation had such advantages, he should demonstrate the power of the stage of perfection as well. By abiding in a formless contemplation he caused all the stones to freeze in the sky. Even today, in the land of Oḍḍiyāna, in the sky above the master's meditation cave, there is a huge unsupported boulder; and many frozen stones are clearly visible on the rock-face, which is as smooth as a mirror.



Kambalapāda

Once upon a time, the master went to sleep right at the door of the royal palace. All those who entered the palace without prostrating themselves before him became paralysed in the legs; so everyone had to prostrate before entering. The duration of the master's sleep was twelve years, but to him it was only one session of absorption in inner radiance.

On another occasion five hundred sorceress spirits from the country of Oḍḍiyāna searched for the master with the intention of creating obstacles for him, but in the place of the master they found only a blanket. "Aha!" they said, "just look at the illusion conjured up by

this monk! He has transformed his body into a blanket. Let's just tear it into shreds and eat them!" They divided the blanket into five hundred fragments and ate them.

Then, the master bodily appeared and cursed the five hundred sorceresses, who were transformed into five hundred sheep-headed demonesses. They went to the king and said, "The monk who is the lord of the charnel ground has done this to us. Please release us, your majesty!"

The king then petitioned the master, who stood up quite naked and said, "Your majesty's witches have eaten the blanket which is the only possession of this monk. Pray, summon those witches."

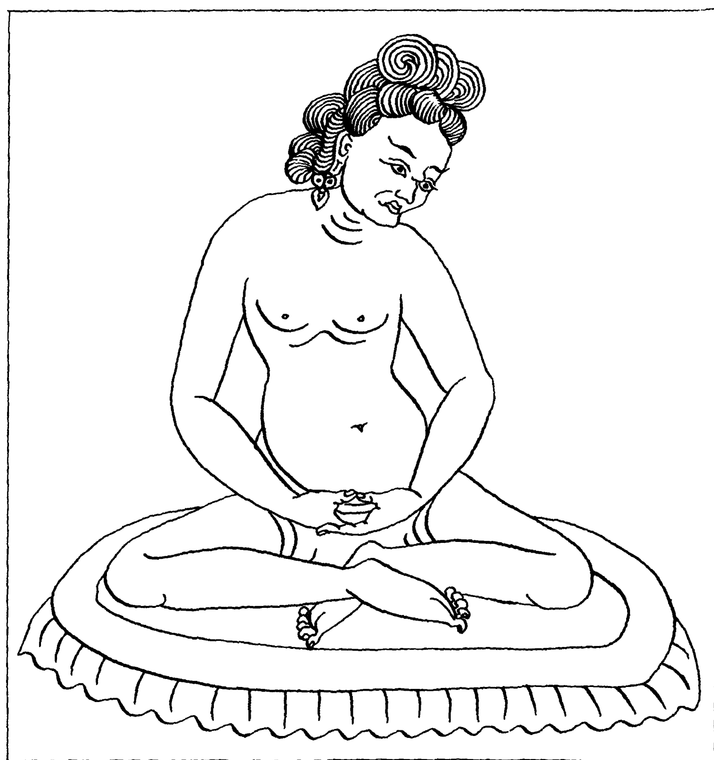
When they had all been summoned he pointed his index finger at each of them menacingly, and transformed them into creatures with various kinds of heads. Each one vomited up a fragment of the blanket. The fragments were sown together, but some parts were missing, "Three are missing", he said, "summon them!" Those three, who lived in the harem, were duly summoned, and he caused them to vomit, just as he had done to the others. The blanket was then completely restored, and the master wrapped it about his body. This is why he became renowned as the venerable Kambalapāda, the "Blanket Master".

There are a great many other stories about Kambalapāda. One describes how both he and King Indrabhūti revealed the signs of their accomplishment to the people. Another describes how, on a certain occasion, when master Lalitavajra had attained the common accomplishments, the two went to the country of Oḍḍiyāna together and waged a miraculous competition on Mount Muruṇḍaka.

It is said that at a somewhat later time everyone in the country of Oḍḍiyāna became an awareness-holder by following the instructions of both the king [Indrabhūti] and the master [Kambalapāda]; whereupon, even the vast land of Oḍḍiyāna was almost depopulated. It seems to me that this incident may be the same as that which occurred when Indrabhūti the younger, son of the aforementioned King Ja, became an awareness-holder along with the mass of his retinue.

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE YOUNGER INDRABHŪTI

[116.6-120.1] In the same way, the younger Indrabhūti empowered Siṃhaputra and the later Kukkurāja on the seashore; and he explained the [Anuyoga] tantras to them. The later Kukkurāja empowered the great master Sukha the "Zombie" and in turn explained the tantras to him. Sukha the "Zombie" is one of the names of the emanation Garap Dorje. Before him, all the masters in the lineage, along with all their respective followers, who numbered between ten and fifty thousand, obtained the body of coalescence and vanished, having practised the feast offerings, which involve elaborate activity.[513]



Śākyamitra

The master [Sukha the "Zombie"] empowered the master Vajrahāsya in Uttarasāra Forest, and explained the tantras to him. He, too, obtained supreme accomplishment by the path of supreme bliss. He composed a treatise entitled the *Sun of Yogic Awareness* (*rnal-'byor rig-pa'i nyi-ma*), which systematically explains the profound path of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*. On the bank of the Indus River, in the country of Gajane, he empowered the master Prabhāhasti and explained the tantras to him.

As has been previously mentioned, Prabhāhasti's ordination name was Śākyaprabha. He instructed the younger Śākyaprabha, who in turn taught Śākyamitra and Śākyasiṃha. Śākyamitra was very learned in the Yoga tantras. In the land of Kosala he wrote a commentary on the *Summation of the Real*, entitled the *Ornament of Kosala*. It is said that Śākyamitra received teaching from some eleven gurus, and that towards the end of his life he went to Kashmir, where he greatly served living creatures.

Śākyasiṃha is an epithet of the great master Padmasambhava. He explained the tantras to master Dhanarakṣita on the roof of the nine-storey Naivedyaśālā Pagoda [at Vajrāsana]. This Dhanarakṣita composed a treatise explaining the enumerations found in the *Sūtra which*

Gathers All Intentions. In the Vajra Cavern of Oḍḍiyāna he gave instruction to the master Hūṃkara, who wrote many treatises on the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* such as the *Commentary on the Root Tantra entitled Seven Seals* (*rgya-bdun-ma*), and the *Lamp on the Levels of Yoga* (*rnal-'byor sa'i sgron-ma*). In the Asura Cave on the frontier of India and Persia (*Ta-sig*), he performed the means for attainment with the assistance of his consort Gagasiddhi; and he attained the body of an awareness-holder.

Though one can make one's body invisible by mundane methods, such as alchemy, seminal retention, and the exercises which circulate the lamp-like vital energy (*sgron-ma rlung-gi 'khor-lo*),[514] the aforementioned masters transformed their physical bodies, the products of their former deeds, into radiant light by relying on a mode of conduct which adhered to the non-discursive pristine cognition of the path of insight. We must recognise there to be a great difference between these methods.[515]

Dhanarakṣita [passed the teaching to Sthiramati],[516] and he gave empowerment to Sukhodyotaka in the city of Śrī Dakṣiṇa and entrusted the tantras to him. The latter also studied under master Hūṃkara and, after achieving success in the practice of his gnostic mantra, attained the body of an awareness-holder. He composed the *Eighteen Notes on the Sūtra* (*mdo'i yig-sna bco-brgyad*), the *Yogic Sequence which is a Lamp on the Greater Vehicle* (*rnal-'byor-gyi rim-pa theg-chen sgron-ma*), and so forth. He taught [the Anuyoga] to his four most fortunate spiritual sons, one of whom was Dharmabodhi of Magadha, a master of the *Sūtra [which Gathers All Intentions]*.

Dharmabodhi composed the *Compendium of the Sūtra's Meaning* (*Guhyārthasūtrapiṇḍārtha*, P 4751), the *Lamp of Discriminative Awareness* (*shes-rab sgron-ma*) and the *Sūtra Excerpts* (*bkol-mdo*). At glorious Nālandā, he empowered the preceptor Dhamarājapāla, and explained the tantras to him. He also gave empowerments and explanations on the tantras to Vasudhara, a Nepalese king, and to Tsuklak Pelge, in the city of Rājagṛha. It is reported that those last three mentioned also studied under the master Dhanarakṣita.

All of the lineage-holders just mentioned held the entire lineage [of Anuyoga], including the transmitted empowerments, exegesis, and esoteric instructions. These three masters, in turn, empowered the master Chetsenkye of Bru-sha [Gilgit] and explained the tantras to him in Central India.[517] Meditating on them he attained accomplishment and afterwards invited master Dhanarakṣita to Bru-sha where they began to translate the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and other texts. But because the people had little devotion Dhanarakṣita abandoned the translation and went to Nepal, where he instructed Vasudhara and Dharmabodhi. Later, in Bru-sha, the master Chetsenkye translated those texts into the Bru-sha language [Burushaski], under the supervision of Dharmabodhi and Dhanarakṣita.

7 *The Lineage of Atiyoga, the Great Perfection*

GARAP DORJE AND MAÑJUŚRĪMITRA

[120.2-127.2] When the Transcendent Lord of Secrets, Vajrapāṇi, was teaching the doctrine of the secret mantra to a host of ḍākas, ḍākinīs, accomplished masters and awareness-holders in the Blazing Fire Mountain charnel ground, to the north of Mount Sumeru, the island of Dhanakośa, in Oḍḍiyāna in West India, was inhabited solely by creatures called *koṣa*, who had bodies like those of men, the faces of bears, and claws all of iron. The island was encircled by many sublime types of tree, including sandalwood. This is why it was called Dhanakośa (Treasury of Wealth), or so it is said. In that country there was a great temple called Śaṅkarakūṭa, which was surrounded by six thousand and eight hundred small temples. It was a place perfectly endowed with splendour and wealth.

There, there was a king, Uparāja, and his queen, Ālokabhāsvatī. They had a daughter called Sudharmā. She was ordained as a novice and, shortly thereafter, as a nun. About one *yojana*[518] from Dhanakośa, on an island covered with golden sand, in a tiny thatched cottage, she practised yoga and meditation with her servant Sukhasāravatī. One night the nun had a dream in which an immaculate white man thrice placed a crystal vase sealed with the syllables OM ĀḤ HŪM SVĀHĀ upon the crown of her head.[519] The light radiating from the vase was such that she could clearly see the three world realms. Not long afterwards, the nun gave birth to a child, who was none other than the son of the Conqueror, Adhicitta (*sems-lhag-can*), the divine emanation of Vajrasattva who had propagated the Great Perfection in heaven. But the nun was ashamed, and saw [his birth] as a great impropriety:

> To what race does this fatherless child belong?
> Is he other than some mundane demon?
> Is he a devil? Brahmā? or yet something else?

Is he a spirit – a Gyelpo, a Tsen or a Mu?[520]
In the three realms, who would desire him?
Though some gods and antigods may take diverse forms,
Still I see no precedent for this.
For whom does this unrighteous kingdom exist?
Alas! My conduct is pure and I wish to surpass the world,
But I will be blamed by perverse beings. What sin!



Garap Dorje

So she cried in great lamentation. But her servant said, "He is the son of the buddhas. It is improper to despair."

Without paying any attention to her, the nun cast the child into an ash pit, and at once sounds, lights, and other phenomena arose. Then, after three days had passed, she saw that the child was unharmed; so she knew him to be an emanation. When, with great respect, she brought him forth from the pit, celestial deities assembled and exclaimed:

O Master! O Teacher! Transcendent Lord!
O lord of the world, revealing true nature!
Protect us, Celestial Vajra!
We pray thus this day.

Then ḍākas, ḍākinis, gods, nāgas, yakṣas and other mundane protectors also honoured him with the many provisions of worship.

When seven years had passed the boy said to his mother, "Mother, I would like to converse with scholars on the doctrine. Please give me your consent."

To which she replied, "Dear child, you are still quite young. As the scholars are wise and learned men, it will be hard for you to succeed."

But, on his persistent request, she told him to discuss the doctrine with five hundred scholars, who were the priests of the aforementioned king Uparāja. The boy then went to Dhanakośa and sought an audience with the king, to whom he repeated his request. But the king thought, "The lad is but a child, so it will be too difficult for him to discuss the doctrine with scholars. And yet, there are many marks of a great individual upon his body. Perhaps he is an emanation."

The king consulted his priests, among whom there was no consensus. But one, who was very learned, said, "There is one mark that is most auspicious. Send the boy in and we shall find out if he is, in fact, an emanation."

When summoned into their presence the child prostrated before the



Mañjuśrīmitra

scholars. After lengthy discussions and critical dialogues he overwhelmed their brilliance, whereupon they bowed their heads at his feet. The scholars honoured him with great respect and gave him the name Prajñābhava (Source of Discriminative Awareness). The king, too, was astonished and delighted, owing to which he conferred on the child the title "Great Master" and the name Garap Dorje (Vajra of Highest Delight). Previously, his mother, who had been amazed to find him unharmed after being cast into the pit of ashes, called him Sukha the "Zombie", or the "Ashen Zombie".

Then, in the northern direction, on the precipice called Sūryaprakāśa, which was most fearsome, and where tormented spirits could actually be seen roaming about, Garap Dorje lived for thirty-two years in a thatched cottage, absorbed in contemplation all the while. At that time, the earth shook seven times and a voice came from the sky, heralding the decline of extremist teachings. Hearing it, an extremist king sent an assassin to murder the master; but when they saw Garap Dorje fly off through the sky, the king and his retainers acquired supreme faith and were initiated into the Buddhist teaching.

Now, Garap Dorje's memory contained all the scriptures of the outer and inner vehicles, and, in particular, the six million four hundred thousand verses of the natural Great Perfection [NGB Vols. 1-10]. So when Vajrasattva actually appeared to him and showed him how to realize the pristine cognition of [the path of] no-more-learning, having conferred on him the vase empowerment of awareness, he also ordered him to write down the verbal tantras. Then, on the summit of Mount Malaya, which abounds in precious gems, the master, together with the Vajradhātu ḍākinī (the Ḍākinī of the Indestructible Expanse), who relishes mundane bliss, as well as with the Pītaśaṅkarā ḍākinī (the Yellow Bliss-giving Ḍākinī) and the Anantaguṇā ḍākinī (the Ḍākinī of Limitless Virtues), spent three years recording these precepts in writing. They also correctly arranged them, without any error, along with the emanational writings, which were self-originated and naturally established. All of these they placed in a cave called the "Real Origin of the Ḍākinīs" (*mkha'-'gro-ma mngon-par-'byung-ba'i phug*).

On another occasion the master went to the great Śītavana charnel ground, to the north-east of Vajrāsana, where there is a great stūpa, and which is inhabited by many venomous ḍākinīs and savage beings. There, he continued to teach the doctrine to the ḍākinī Sūryakiraṇā and countless other beings. At that time, the sublime Mañjuśrītīkṣṇa declared to the master Mañjuśrīmitra, "O son of the enlightened family! if you wish to become a buddha in a single lifetime, go to the great Śītavana charnel ground."

Mañjuśrīmitra went to the Śītavana charnel ground, where he met master Garap Dorje and studied the doctrine under him for seventy-five years. After the great master Garap Dorje had given him all the instruc-

tions and further advice the master passed into nirvāṇa in the uncorrupted expanse, on the banks of the River Danatika. When that took place, Mañjuśrīmitra cried "Alas! Alas!" in distress three times. Then, in an aura of celestial light the master's body actually appeared; and the master dropped a casket of gold the size of a fingernail into Mañjuśrīmitra's hand. It contained his last testament, entitled *Three Phrases which Penetrate the Essential* (*tshig-gsum gnad-du brdeg-pa*, NYZ *bi-ma snying-thig*, Pt.1, Vol. *Ga*, pp. 304-18).

Afterwards, the great master Mañjuśrīmitra divided the six million four hundred thousand verses of the Great Perfection into three classes:

> The Mental Class is for those who abide in mind.
> The Spatial Class is for those who are free from activity.
> The Esoteric Instructional Class is for those
> Who are intent upon the innermost essence.[521]

From among the latter, in particular, he divided the concise version, the *Establishment of the Intrinsic Essential of the Innermost Spirituality* (*thig-le rang-gnad-du dbab-pa*),[522] into an aural lineage and an exegetical tradition. He annotated the aural lineage, but not finding, at that time, a vessel worthy to be entrusted with the exegetical tradition, that is to say, with the transmitted precepts of the Innermost Spirituality (*snying-thig*), he concealed it under a boulder to the north-east of Vajrāsana; and, sealing the boulder with a crossed-vajra (*viśvavajra*), he made it invisible. Then he went to the Sosadvīpa charnel ground, to the west of Vajrāsana, where he taught the doctrine to ugly ḍākinīs, countless animals, and to many practitioners who adhered to the conduct [of the secret mantra]. He remained there, absorbed in contemplation, for one hundred and nine years.

BUDDHAJÑĀNAPĀDA

[127.2-130.5] Mañjuśrīmitra's disciple was Buddhajñānapāda, a vajra master of the great maṇḍalas. At first he served many gurus, such as master Jālandharipā, master Līlāvajra of Oḍḍiyāna, and the yoginī Guniru. Under them he studied many aspects of the secret mantra. Jambhala and Vasudharā[523] provided him with the necessities of life. Once, when he had served the master Rakṣitapāda of Koṅkana for nine years, and had heard the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* eighteen times, he told his guru that he still did not understand reality. "Nor do I understand it," replied the guru.

Then, in Kupavana, a forest behind Vajrāsana, he practised for eighteen months, of which twelve were devoted to the four branches of ritual service and attainment, along with the rites for deriving the most success,[524] and six were devoted to the wrathful practice. Thereby, he



Buddhajñānapāda

received this injunction: "If you want to understand reality you must ask the sublime Mañjuśrī."

"Very well", he thought, "but Mañjuśrī resides on Mount Wu-t'ai-shan [in China]. I must go there."

He set out in that direction. Around midday, near a white house, he saw Mañjuśrīmitra dressed as a venerable old householder, wearing his robe as a turban, and ploughing the fields with the help of a filthy old peasant woman. Buddhajñānapāda was distrustful. Nearby, an ugly white bitch was sleeping.

At lunchtime, when Buddhajñānapāda went to beg for alms, Mañjuśrīmitra caught a fish from the canal and gave it to the bitch. The bitch vomited up the fish, and Mañjuśrīmitra offered it to the master, who, thinking it to be impure, refused to accept it. The venerable householder said, "The man from Jambudvīpa has a great many ideas and conceptions. Give him some good food." And he went off elsewhere.

When the master had eaten boiled rice and curd which the woman offered, and was about to leave, she said, "Now the sun is setting. You will not reach the village. Go tomorrow."

So he stayed there and read the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*. Whenever the master hesitated over a doubtful passage, the woman showed her displeasure. Then, realising that she knew the minds of others, he asked her to remove his doubts. "I don't know", she said, "but that venerable householder who just left is very learned in the *Guhyasamāja*. He will come back late in the afternoon and will put an end to your doubts."

Sure enough, late that afternoon the venerable householder arrived, staggering under the influence of wine. The master, knowing that he was a mantra adept, prostrated at his feet, and requested him to remove his doubts. "You must receive the empowerment," he answered.

"I have already received it from someone else."

"But I have to empower you myself, before I can teach you my doctrine." So saying, Mañjuśrīmitra went into another room.

At twilight, when the master was called inside, he saw the venerable householder with the woman and the bitch, all beside an emanation of the nineteen-deity maṇḍala of Mañjuvajra.[525] "From whom will you receive empowerment?"

"I will request it from the maṇḍala."

"Well, take it then!" replied Mañjuśrīmitra as he went into another room with the woman and the dog. But the maṇḍala also vanished. Then, in dismay, the master cried out, "Oh! you are the sole father of all sentient beings..."

At his distressful prayer, Mañjuśrīmitra rematerialised the maṇḍala and empowered him. He gave instructions on the Mental Class of the Great Perfection, whereupon Buddhajñānapāda's understanding became as vast as the sky. He compiled a work on the cultivation of the true nature of the two stages [of creation and perfection] entitled *Oral Instructions of Mañjuśrī* [as a summary of the teaching he received].

Buddhajñānapāda plumbed the profound depths of the entire doctrine. It is said that because he was at first distrustful of the food which the bitch had vomited and of the conduct of the venerable householder, he did not attain supreme accomplishment in that body, but realised the level of Vajradhara during the intermediate state [immediately after his death].

Also, Rakṣitapāda requested instructions from master Buddhajñānapāda and attained accomplishment.

Buddhajñānapāda composed a great many treatises, for instance, the *Point of Liberation* and the *Means for Attainment entitled Samantabhadra* (*Samantabhadranāmasādhana*, T 1855). The esoteric instructions of this master on the stage of perfection, that were translated into the Tibetan language in ancient times, are included among the purest tenets of the Mental Class. Therefore, it is implicit that the host of his followers and disciples belonged to the lineage of the Great Perfection. Some believe, too, that master Śrī Siṃha was one and the same as this great master. This seems quite conceivable if one examines the various histories.

ŚRĪ SIṂHA, JÑĀNASŪTRA AND VIMALAMITRA

[130.5-137.5] At about the same time [as Buddhajñānapāda], in the city of Shokyam in China, the householder Gewei Yicen (Virtuous-minded) and his wife Nangwa Selwa Raptukhyenma (She who Intuits what is Clearly Manifest) had a son, who was to become renowned as the master Śrī Siṃha, a possessor of the ascetic virtues. From his fifteenth year he studied the ordinary sciences, like grammar and logic, for three years under master Haribhala; and when he had become a great scholar, he set out for the city of Suvarṇadvīpa in the west. On the road, the sublime Avalokiteśvara appeared in the sky and made this prophetic declaration: "Fortunate one! if you really wish to realise the fruit of enlightenment, go to the charnel ground of Sosadvīpa in India."

The master was contented by this and thought, "Now, to understand the supreme fruit more easily, I should also master the other tantras of the way of secret mantra." On the five-peaked mountain of Wu-t'ai-shan, he studied all the outer and inner doctrines on mantra, without exception, under the outcaste master Bhelakīrti; and he thoroughly



Śrī Siṃha

mastered them. He became ordained and strictly observed the Vinaya vows for thirty years, acting as a monk who was learned in the piṭaka.

Then the sublime Avalokiteśvara again encouraged him by repeating his former prophecy. Śrī Siṃha thought that he should acquire some miraculous powers, in order to remove the hardships of the journey to India. He practised the means for attainment for three years and attained the body of an awareness-holder. Then, travelling with his feet about one cubit above the earth, he journeyed to the Sosadvīpa charnel ground, where he met the great master Mañjuśrīmitra; and propitiated him as his guru. He prayed to be accepted as a disciple. The guru delightedly granted his prayer. After giving instructions and further advice for a period of twenty-five years, the body of the great master Mañjuśrīmitra vanished in a mass of light. At that, Śrī Siṃha cried out in distress, whereupon the master's body actually appeared in the sky and dropped into his hand a casket made of precious stones, the size of a fingernail. It contained Mañjuśrīmitra's last testament, which was entitled the *Six Experiences of Meditation* (*sgom-nyams drug-pa*). Thereby, the master Śrī Siṃha understood the profound truth.

Later, at Suvarṇadvīpa in West India, master Mañjuśrīmitra reincarnated. When he had grown up, he became known as the younger Mañjuśrīmitra. He recited all the outer and inner mantra texts to master Padmasambhava. It is also said that the corrupt body of master Āryadeva vanished when he received teaching on the Great Perfection from him.

Afterwards, master Śrī Siṃha extracted the tantras which had formerly been concealed under the Indestructible Seat. He went to China and divided the Esoteric Instructional Class of the Great Perfection into four cycles: outer, inner, secret, and unsurpassedly secret. He collected the first three cycles together for those who required elaboration; and he concealed them as treasures in the balcony of the Bodhi Tree Temple. Then, in accordance with a prediction he received from the ḍākinīs, he concealed the unsurpassedly secret cycle in a pillar in the Auspicious Myriad Gate Temple; and he sealed it up with prayers. He himself then dwelt in the great Siljin charnel ground and, venerated by savage spirits, became absorbed in contemplation.

At that time, in Hastisthala in western India, the householder Sukhacakra and his wife Ātmaprakāśā had a son called Vimalamitra; and in the eastern city of Kamalaśīla the outcaste Śāntihasta and his wife Kalyāṇacittā had a son called Jñānasūtra. The glorious Vajrasattva actually appeared to them both and made this prophetic declaration: "O sons of the enlightened family! you have both been born as scholars five hundred times; and you have both practised the true doctrine. But you have not attained its fruit in past lives, nor will you in the present one [if you persist in the same course as before]. If you wish the corrupt body to vanish and to attain enlightenment, you must go to the Bodhi Tree Temple in China."

Vimalamitra arrived there carrying his begging bowl and met the master Śrī Siṃha. For twenty years he was given all the outer, inner and secret instructions of the aural lineage, but he was not given the books. Vimalamitra returned, contented, to India, and told Jñānasūtra what had happened.



Jñānasūtra

Jñānasūtra also made great efforts to go to China; and he met the master in the great Siljin charnel ground, exactly as the ḍākinīs had prophesied he would. For three years he delighted the guru by serving him appropriately. Finally, he made an offering of a golden maṇḍala and requested the guru to give him instruction. He was then given the instructions of the aural lineage, together with the books, over a period of nine years. When Jñānasūtra was contented with that and about to return to India, Śrī Siṃha asked, "Are you quite satisfied?"

"Yes, I am satisfied," he replied.

"But I have not entrusted you [with the succession]," said the guru.

Jñānasūtra understood and then asked for the most profound instructions. His guru said, "For this you must receive empowerment," and gave to him the complete outer empowerment, which involves elabora-

tion, and then for three years imparted the esoteric instructions of the unsurpassedly secret cycle.

After that, when Jñānasūtra again asked for leave to practice, Śrī Siṃha conferred on him the complete unelaborate empowerment. When, on the summit of Mount Kosala, the disciple had performed the practice which divides saṃsāra from nirvāṇa,[526] he also conferred on him the very unelaborate, and, eventually, the extremely unelaborate empowerments. Then Jñānasūtra meditated on those practices for sixteen years.

Śrī Siṃha continued to perform many special activities. Once Jñānasūtra was invited to visit the king of Khotan.[527] On the seventh day of his visit there were wondrous sounds and great omens. Jñānasūtra saw the master sitting in the sky above, and knew that he would pass into nirvāṇa. He cried out in distress, at which Śrī Siṃha dropped into his hand the testament entitled *Seven Nails (gzer-bu bdun*, NYZ *bi-ma snying-thig*, Pt.1, Vol. *Ga*, pp. 318-25) and prophetically declared, "The books of the esoteric instructions of the [unsurpassedly] secret cycle of the Innermost Spirituality are hidden inside a pillar in the Auspicious Myriad Gate Temple. Take them and go to the Bhasing charnel ground."



Vimalamitra

Jñānasūtra then extracted the secret books and went to the Bhasing charnel ground in India, where he resided, turning the wheel of the doctrine of the secret Innermost Spirituality for mundane and supramundane ḍākas and ḍākinīs.

At that time Vimalamitra adhered to the conduct [of a mantrin]. The ḍākinīs declared to him, "Fortunate one! if you want the instructions of the Innermost Spirituality, more profound than before, you must go to the great charnel ground in Bhasing Forest."

Arriving there, he met Jñānasūtra and prayed that he might receive the most profound instructions. The master displayed various miracles, and conferred on him the elaborate and unelaborate empowerments. When, on the summit of Mount Bhāskara, Vimalamitra had performed the practice which divides saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, and had received the very unelaborate empowerment in its entirety, extraordinary understanding was born in him. The white syllable A appeared at the tip of his nose, as if on the verge of melting away. Then, he was given the whole extremely unelaborate empowerment, by which he perceived the naked reality of mind. The master gave him all the instructions and books on the four cycles of the Great Perfection, which correspond to those empowerments, and for ten years Vimalamitra thoroughly refined his understanding of them. Afterwards, when Jñānasūtra vanished in an aura of light, Vimalamitra cried out in distress. Then, the master's body actually appeared, and dropped into his hand a precious casket sealed with five kinds of precious stones. Inside, he found the testament entitled *Four Methods of Establishment* (*bzhag-thabs bzhi*, NYZ *bi-ma snying-thig*, Pt.1, Vol. *Ga*, pp. 325-31), by following which he acquired an undeluded comprehension of meaning, while neither abridging, nor enlarging upon its verbal content.

Afterwards, Vimala lived in the city of Kāmarūpa for twenty years as the guru and priest of King Haribhadra. Then he also served as priest to King Dharmapāla in the western city of Bhirya. Residing later on in the great charnel ground of Prabhāskara he observed the ascetic practice which overcomes all obstacles; and he taught the doctrine to a host of savage beings. He copied out the most secret books three times. The first copy he concealed on an island covered by golden sand in Oḍḍiyāna; the second he hid in a rocky hollow in the Suvarṇadvīpa district of Kashmir; and the third he deposited in the charnel ground of Prabhāskara, to be worshipped by the ḍākinīs. Finally the master Vimalamitra attained the body of supreme transformation[528] and lived for some time in India. His arrival in Tibet will be described later.

8 *Concluding Remarks*

[137.5-143.3] In general, the Indian adepts of the secret mantra strictly preserved secrecy. Until they attained accomplishment, no one knew them to be adepts of the way of secret mantra. And when they vanished in a most miraculous manner, or displayed extraordinary powers, people would exclaim, "Oh, my goodness! He was a mantra adept." So it was that they were only recognised later. This is why all those who practised the way of mantras attained at least some particular accomplishment.

Formerly, the Kriyā and Caryā tantras had been widely propagated, but no one practised even these openly. Afterwards, when the Unsurpassed [Yoga] tantras were propagated, the Kriyā and Caryā tantras seemed to decline gradually. While the Unsurpassed [Yoga] tantras had also existed earlier, only a few fortunate beings had practised them at all; and immediately afterwards they would simply vanish. Thus, there was no legacy of continuous teaching and instruction. Then, at the time of King Ja, the intermediate Indrabhūti, the greatest accomplished masters consulted the ḍākinīs of pristine cognition in Dhūmasthira in Oḍḍiyāna and elsewhere. From those places they brought forth some complete tantras, the summarised meaning of others, and the quintessential understanding of a few more. Secretly, they explained them to a few worthy recipients; and in this way the unsurpassed paths were extensively propagated. During that period many accomplished individuals appeared in all places. Their practices, though, could not possibly have had a great deal in common; and the books and treatises on mantra did not become widespread in the manner of ordinary texts.

Let us give an example: A long time after the master Nāgārjuna and the host of his disciples had passed into nirvāṇa, a volume containing the text of the *Clarifying Lamp* was discovered by Rakṣitapāda of Koṅkana. And then Mātaṅgīpā met the body of the pristine cognition of Āryadeva in a vision. It was only after these and other events had occurred that the *Ārya* cycle of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* [i.e. the tradition stemming from Nāgārjuna] began to spread.

In the same way, after the emanation Garap Dorje taught the cycle of the extremely secret Great Perfection, the books were not even revealed except to the most fortunate masters of the aural lineage of direct verbal instruction, because on the demise of each master the books were concealed in an invisible form. The most profound instructions were only left behind in the form of testaments. Not even a fraction of them circulated in the ordinary way. Thus, the lineages of ancient tantras like the *Buddhakapāla* (T 424), those of the *Ārya* cycle, and those of the Great Perfection are similar.

No one but Vajradhara himself can perceive all the tantras of the way of secret mantra. Only a portion of them appeared in the human and non-human worlds; and it is apparent that, among them, those which appeared in the human world were very few indeed. Most of them came to India from Oḍḍiyāna. Today Dhūmasthira, the Place of Smoke, which was the central city of that country, is a very small town. There is not even a trace of King Indrabhūti's palace. The country is governed by barbarians. No one at all upholds the Buddhist or Hindu philosophies. But because the women belong to the ancient race of the ḍākinīs, they are still the ḍākinīs of that locale; and they have power over the arts of the magic gaze, transformation of objects by means of certain gnostic spells, and some minor sorcery. Even the palace of Dharmagañji, which housed the tantras of the mantra vehicle, cannot be actually perceived: people who see it just think that it is an ordinary town. But even today it contains some tantras of the way of secret mantra which have not yet appeared in India; for the ḍākinīs have kept them secured in the invisible sphere, so that they are not ordinary objects of perception.

Moreover, in Draviḍa, and in other lands, there are actually many tantras that were never well known in India.[529] This shows that the tantras appear in various human lands whose inhabitants are fit to be trained in the way of mantra. Therefore, those who try to maintain that there is exactly this or that precise number of tantras suffer from puerile conceptions. In short, we must understand that [the extent of the tantras] is inconceivable. This is also illustrated in the *Tantra of the Emergence of Cakrasaṃvara*, which says:

> That the number of Yoga tantras
> Is sixty million is certain.
> The number of Yoginī tantras
> Is known to be one hundred and sixty million.
> Excluding the greater vehicle, so it is said,
> The sūtras number eight hundred million.
> Likewise those of the Transcendental Perfection
> Number four hundred and ninety-nine million.
> All of these were proclaimed by the Lord of Sages,
> The embodiment of the three bodies.

Later in Central India the true foundation of the teaching declined. But to the east, in the border lands and in Kokī, which is a collective name for many small countries,[530] and in Dāmiḍodvīpa [the Tamil land], Dhanaśrīdvīpa and Candradvīpa to the south, and in Gujarat in the north, the teachings of the greater, lesser, and secret mantra vehicles continued without decline from before, and even regenerated. Thus, at the present time,[531] the teaching exists in those places in its original form. Of the adepts of the way of secret mantra, there are many who uphold the lineage of the great master Padmasambhava, but the majority are of the twelve orders of yogins who follow the great accomplished master Gorakṣanātha. And, in particular, there are a great many yogins who follow the great master of indestructible reality, Śāntigupta and his spiritual sons, who belong to the Nāṭeśvara suborder of the Nāthapaṇṭhas.[532]

At a later period, there was a kingdom in the district of Bhaṃdva in the Vindhyā Mountains of South India, which was ruled by the king Balabhadra, who was accomplished in some gnostic spells, and who gained power over most of the areas of the South. He adopted Śāntigupta and the host of that master's disciples as his gurus; and so he revived the precious teaching of the Sugata. It is said that the Indians declare that the Buddha predicted that the true doctrine would, in the future, be revived in the Vindhyā Mountains to the south.

This completes the special explanation of the development of the doctrine of the vehicle of indestructible reality, the way of secret mantra, the second part of this book, *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra*, which is a history of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Three
The Origin of the Conqueror's Teaching in Tibet

Introduction

[147.2-151.6] Now [I shall explain] how it was that the teaching of the Conqueror spread in the Land of Snows.

In Jambudvīpa there were six great countries where the true doctrine was propagated, namely, India, China, Tibet, Khotan, Shambhala, and Kailash. Among them, one might wonder when it was that the teaching of the Buddha reached Tibet, the land of snow mountains. Concerning that, there is a prophecy in the *Root Tantra of Mañjuśrī*:

> When the lake in the Land of Snows has dried,
> A forest of sal trees will appear.

So at first there was a lake, which gradually dried up. When the country became enveloped by dense jungle, a monkey, blessed by the Great Compassionate One [Avalokiteśvara], arrived from Mount Potalaka; and from his union with an ogress of the rocks it is said that the Tibetan race evolved. Initially, the country was possessed by non-human beings. Humans developed there gradually, and were governed successively by [the lords of] twelve minor kingdoms and forty principalities.[533] Then Nyatrhi Tsenpo became the first human king to rule the whole of Tibet.

Canonical texts prove that the religious kings [of Tibet] were descended from the Licchavi race, and some believe Nyatrhi Tsenpo to have been the son of King Magyapa.[534] But, whatever actually occurred, a wonderful superhuman being appeared on Mount Lhari Rölpa in the Land of Snows. When he reached Tsentang Gozhi, the Pönpos called him a god because he had descended on a sky-cord. "Who are you?" they asked. To which he replied, "I am a king (*tsen-po*)." "Where have you come from?" they inquired. At this, he pointed to the sky.

Then the people carried him on their shoulders (*nya*), seated on a wooden throne (*trhi*). Therefore, he became known as Nyatrhi Tsenpo, the "King of the Shoulder-borne Sedan-chair". In his succession there appeared seven heavenly kings called *Trhi*, including his own son Mutrhi Tsenpo; two celestial kings called *Teng*; six earthly kings called

Lek; eight middle kings called *De*; and five linking kings called *Tsen*.[535] Throughout these ancient reigns Pönpos, who relied on legends and enigmatic riddles, governed the kingdom.

Now, it says in the *Prophecy Addressed to Vimaladevī* (*lha-mo dri-ma med-pa lung bstan-pa*):

> Two thousand and five hundred years after my final nirvāṇa the true doctrine will be propagated in the land of red-faced beings.[536]

Accordingly, when Lha Thotori Nyentsen, the twenty-eighth hereditary king, who was an emanation of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra, was residing in the Yumbu Lagang Palace, a casket fell down upon the palace roof. It was opened, and revealed the *Sūtra of the Rites of Renunciation and Fulfilment* (*spang-skong phyag-brgya-pa'i mdo*, T 267), a mould engraved with the *Dhāraṇī of the Wish-fulfilling Gem* (*Cintāmaṇidhāraṇī*), the *Sūtra of the Cornucopia of Avalokiteśvara's Attributes* (*Āryakaraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, T 116), the Six-Syllable Mantra, and a golden stūpa. The king did not know what they were, but understood them to be auspicious, and so called them the "Awesome Secret" (*gnyan-po gsang-ba*).



Lha Thotori Nyentsen

By the blessing that came from worshipping and venerating them the king, a man of sixty-one years, was rejuvenated and became a sixteen-year-old youth once more. He lived on for sixty more years, and so reached the age of one hundred and twenty. The king obtained a prediction that the meaning of the Awesome Secret would be understood after five generations. This was the beginning of the true doctrine in Tibet.[537]

But there are various other accounts of how it happened: Nelpa Paṇḍita [in his *History*] said:

> The Pönpos claim that the casket fell down from the sky because they adore the sky; but in reality those two books were brought by the scholar Buddhirakṣita and the translator Thilise. When they arrived in Tibet they found that the king could neither read, nor understand the meaning. So the scholar and the translator returned.

This account appears to be true.

At a later date Ba Selnang went to Nepal, where he met the preceptor Śāntarakṣita. The preceptor said to him, "While the Buddha Kāśyapa was teaching the doctrine, the king of Tibet, yourself, and I were the three sons of a woman poultry-keeper. We made a vow to propagate the teaching in Tibet. As the king had not been reborn and you had not come of age, I have been waiting here for nine reigns." Because this tale is said to occur in the "pure" *Testament of Ba* (*rba-bzhed gtsang-ma*),[538] and because it accords with known facts, some scholars hold it to be true.

1 *The Three Ancestral Religious Kings*

KING SONGTSEN GAMPO[539]

[151.6-154.4] There is a prophecy in the *Root Tantra of Mañjuśrī*:

> In the place called the divine land,
> Surrounded by snowy mountains,
> A king called "God among Men" will be born
> Into the Licchavi race.[540]

The fifth hereditary monarch after Lha Thotori was the religious king Songtsen Gampo, an emanation of Avalokiteśvara in the form of a mighty lord of men, who began to rule the kingdom at the age of thirteen. When he was fifteen the emanational monk Ā-kar Matiśīla brought him a self-created image of the Sublime One [Avalokiteśvara]. Then, the king commanded the religious minister Gar, an emanation of Vajrapāṇi, to invite the Nepalese princess Trhitsün, an emanation of Bhṛkuṭī, and the Chinese princess Wen-ch'eng K'ong-jo, an emanation of Tārā, both of whom were agreeable to the people, to be his two consorts.[541] This he did in order to introduce two images of the Teacher, representative of the Buddha himself, which were, respectively, the size of an eight-year-old, and that of a twelve-year-old.[542] The princesses came to be known as the two "Lotuses of the Lake".

While the Trhülnang Temple [i.e. the Jokhang, the "Cathedral of Lhasa"] was being constructed the building-work was disrupted by non-human beings. Therefore, the king and his two consorts went into retreat in the palace known as Maru, at Nyangdren Phawongkha in the valley of the Kyicu. They attained accomplishment by propitiating their meditative deity, on whose advice the king built the Border Taming, Further Taming, and District Controlling temples, which were situated on geomantic sites on the body of the supine ogress [that is Tibet]; and so it was that he exorcised the malignant earth spirits.[543] He then erected the Trhülnang and Ramoche temples and the images they housed.

Songtsen Gampo invited the master Kusara and the brahman Śaṅkara from India,[544] the master Śīlamañju from Nepal, and the master Hoshang Mo-ho-yen from China. With others, they translated many sections of the Tripiṭaka and of the tantras, and thus introduced the teaching to Tibet. Though no actual teaching or study took place, the king himself secretly gave instruction on the peaceful and wrathful forms of the Great Compassionate One to many fortunate beings, who then practised these teachings. No one was ordained [as a monk] prior to the "seven men who were tested", but it is said that there were always



Songtsen Gampo

about a hundred long-haired yogins engaged in the practices of the Great Compassionate One at Nyangdren Phawongkha. At that time the scriptures which formed the king's testament were collected and hidden in three separate treasures. Later, these treasures were revealed by the accomplished master Ngödrup, Lord Nyang, and the teacher Śākya-ö. Today they are renowned as the *Collected Works of the King concerning the Mantra "Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ" (maṇi bka'-'bum)*, the first Tibetan doctrinal work.[545]

The king also sent Thönmi Sambhoṭa, an emanation of Mañjughoṣa, to India to study grammar and writing. On the basis of the Indian scripts he created the forms of the Tibetan letters, and he composed eight treatises on Tibetan grammar.[546]

Before Songtsen Gampo's time there had been no proponents in the Land of Snows of a code of conduct in accord with the doctrine, but thereafter the great door of the true doctrine and of theories in accord with the doctrine was opened for the first time. Thus, the king innovated the just spiritual and temporal laws, as illustrated by the ten divine virtues and the sixteen pure human laws.[547] In these ways, King Songtsen Gampo blessed the country of Tibet to become a prosperous and luxurious source of the true doctrine.

KING TRHISONG DETSEN AND THE COMING OF PADMASAMBHAVA

[154.4-166.5] In the fifth reign after Songtsen Gampo, King Trhisong Detsen, an emanation of Mañjughoṣa, appeared. His royal ancestor had inscribed a prophecy on a copper plate, to the effect that, "Five



Trhisong Detsen

reigns from now, in the time of my descendant, King De, the true doctrine will be propagated." He had concealed the copper plate in a confined place.[548]

Just so, when Trhisong Detsen was thirteen he began to govern the kingdom. At twenty he made a solemn resolution to propagate the true doctrine and he invited to Tibet the Bodhisattva, Śāntarakṣita, the preceptor from Sahor. The latter granted the eight vows to some, but when he taught the doctrines of the ten virtues and of the eighteen psychophysical bases, the savage demons and deities of Tibet became angry. Lightning struck Marpori [the "Red Mountain", site of the present Potala Palace] and the palace at Phangtang was swept away by a flood. The harvest was destroyed and great calamities befell the country. Evil ministers said, "This is due to the practice of the doctrine. The master should be banished to his own country."

The king offered much gold to the preceptor and told him of the situation. Śāntarakṣita replied, "The spirits of Tibet are displeased. I will go to Nepal for the time being. In order to subdue the savage spirits and demons of Tibet, there is a mantra adept called Padmasambhava, who is, at present, the most powerful in the world. I will send him an invitation, and Your Majesty should do the same." So they sent messengers consecutively.

Master Padmasambhava, however, already knew that the delegation, which included Nanam Dorje Düjom, was speeding on its way. In an instant he travelled to Kungtang, in Mangyül, where he met the group. He scattered their offering of gold in the direction of Ngari and said, "Everything I perceive is gold." In this way he turned Tibet into an abundant gold-producing land.

Then the Bodhisattva, Śāntarakṣita, set out for Tibet in advance, along with a skilled Nepali stonemason. Master Padmasambhava advanced from Kyirong, whereupon the gods and demons of Tibet launched a raging storm of snow and rain, which blocked the mountain passes. The master retired to a mountain cave, imprisoned the gods and demons by the power of his contemplation, and bound them under an oath of allegiance. From that time on, by his miraculous powers, he gradually covered the whole of Tibet on foot, from Ngari, Central Tibet, and Tsang [in the west], to Dokam [Kham and Amdo in the east]. He bound all the powerful spirits under oath, among whom the foremost were the twelve goddesses of the earth, the thirteen hunting gods, and the twenty-one *genyen*;[549] and he assumed control of their vital heart-mantras.

In the tamarisk forest of Trakmar he met the sovereign. While consecrating the Drinzang Temple at Trakmar, he invited the images of the deities to a place of feasting. That night the temple was empty. The next morning the deities were actually seen eating the offerings and conversing in the temple. That day all the musical instruments of



Śāntarakṣita

worship played by themselves and made a great din. At the same time the oracular mirror[550] was brought before some sensitive children who indicated the names, conduct, and residences of all the malignant gods and nāgas, who had formerly opposed the teaching of the doctrine in Tibet by the preceptor, Bodhisattva. With threats of intimidation the master bound those spirits under an oath of allegiance and secured them in the doctrine. He procured their vital heart-mantras, and the rituals for the propitiation of each of them; and he subdued those who still remained unconverted with burnt offerings, and so forth. Padmasambhava did this two times.

After he had subdued such nāgas as Zicen of Lake Manasarovar, Padmasambhava cultivated the king's friendship. He was offered fourteen mule-loads of powdered gold to erect a temple. The Bodhisattva inspected the land while the great master Padmasambhava went to Hepori [a mountain near Samye], where he overpowered all the local gods and demons. In a glorious voice he ordered them to sublimate their pride, and, by performing a dance of indestructible reality in the sky, he blessed the site. While laying the foundation lines he summoned by contemplation the two [spirits of healing], Cokro Pucungmen and

Lhabumen, to guide the ends of the measuring thread. The foundations were laid following the model of Odantapurī Monastery, in accord with the preceptor's orders.[551] Since the great master employed all of the arrogant spirits, the walls which were raised during the day by men were made even higher at night by the spirits. Thus, glorious Samye, the Temple of Unchanging Spontaneous Presence, which was designed to resemble Mount Sumeru, with its four continents, and its subcontinents, sun, moon, and iron perimeter, was entirely completed in about five years, along with the three shrines of the three queens.[552] During the consecration performed by the preceptor and the master, astonishing and inconceivable miracles occurred. For example, the deities enshrined in the central shrine (*dbu-rtse*) went outside.

Then the sovereign decided to introduce the foundations of the sūtra and mantra teachings by translating the true doctrine [from Sanskrit into Tibetan]. Intelligent Tibetan youths were instructed in the art of translation. Trhisong Detsen invited from India great scholars, who were learned in the piṭaka – monks such as the masters Jinamitra, Sarvajñādeva, and Dānaśīla; holders of indestructible reality such as Vimalamitra and Śāntigarbha; and twelve monks of the Sarvāstivāda order as well.[553]

To test whether or not Tibetans were suitable for monastic ordination, the king at first requested that those masters ordain his faithful minister, Ba Trhizi of the Zhang family. Under the supervision of the Bodhisattva, who officiated as preceptor, of Dānaśīla and Jinamitra, who acted as master of ceremonies and exposer of secrets, and of ten other paṇḍitas, who made up the quorum, Trhizi renounced the world and was fully ordained as a monk. He received the name Pelyang, and also became known as Ba-ratna, the "Jewel of the Ba Family"; for the king had praised him thus. Through meditation he acquired five supernormal cognitive powers.

After that, Ba Selnang, Pagor Vairocana, Ngenlam Gyelwa Choyang, Ma Rincen-chok, Khön Lüiwangpo Sungwa, and Lasum Gyelwa Cangcup gradually renounced the world. They were fully ordained as monks; and their names were changed to Yeshe Wangpo, and so forth. Together, they became known as the "seven men who were tested"; and they were the first monks in Tibet.

The king then decided that Tibetans were suitable for ordination. Trama, the minister of the Zhang family, and three hundred intelligent subjects were ordained. Scholars, such as the preceptor Śāntarakṣita and master Padmasambhava, along with the translators Vairocana, Kawa Peltsek, Cokro Lüi Gyeltsen, and Zhang Yeshe De translated the transmitted precepts of the sūtra, and mantra traditions, as well as the foremost commentarial treatises, into Tibetan. Vairocana and Namkei Nyingpo were sent to India, where Vairocana studied the Great Perfection under Śrī Siṃha, and Namkei Nyingpo studied the doctrines

of Yangdak Heruka under Hūṃkara. When they had attained accomplishment they propagated these teachings in Tibet.

Moreover, the great master Padmasambhava gave numerous empowerments for the lower mantras, as well as the Unsurpassed [Yoga] tantras, to the king and some fortunate subjects. He taught the *Hundred Thousand Verses of the Vajrakīla Tantra*, the *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions*, and other works.

On one occasion the master spoke to the king as follows, "Your Majesty should make this country prosperous. You should turn the sands of Ngamshö into groves and meadows. You should irrigate the barren regions like the three districts of Tra and Töl (*gra-dol-yul-gsum*). You should reclaim all the swamps for cultivation. You should obtain wealth from Vaiśravaṇa[554] and make the country a source of wealth. You should redirect the rivers, by means of canals, and make Tibet hold dominion over all the kings of China and Central Asia."

To this the king replied, "I beg you to do so!"

The master remained engaged in this intention for just a morning when water appeared in the desert of Trakmar. The sandy plain became an alpine meadow, in which was situated the so-called "Peacock Lake" (Tshomo Gülngön) of Trakmar. In Trak Daweidong a vast forest appeared instantly. And in Zurkar, a wide, flowing river sprang up without a source.

Then, though he was certainly about to complete all the rest according to his word, the remaining works and the performance of burnt offerings to increase the power of the royal dynasty were left undone, due to the common misfortune of the populace and, as a further circumstance, due to the harmful misconduct of hostile, evil ministers, who, because they could not endure the master's miraculous and supernormal cognitive powers, persuaded [the king] to delay. The deities and nāgas could not be bound under an oath of allegiance for yet a third time. At this point, Padmasambhava declared, "The result of the perverse aspirations of the ministers of Tibet will be the decline of happiness in Tibet. Although the great wheel of the doctrine will have made one complete cycle there will be great strife at an intermediate time. The nāgas and Gyelpo spirits will be ill-disposed and the dynasty itself will disintegrate, due to its neglect of the law." It is said that because he knew the future would be so, Padmasambhava suddenly departed to subdue the ogres [in Cāmaradvīpa], but only after he had first delivered many wrathful mantras and had concealed many books as treasures in Tibet.

Concerning the duration of Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet: Some maintain that it was but a short period, six or eighteen months. The moderate opinion holds that it was three, six or twelve years; and there are those who say that it was as long as one hundred and nine solstices, or fifty-four years and six months, altogether. The guru came to Tibet



Padmākara

when King Trhisong was in his twenty-first year; and the king passed away in his sixty-ninth. So it is evident that Padmasambhava stayed in Tibet for five years and six months after the king's passing. The learned masters of our tradition do not see any contradiction among these statements.[555]

The *Testament of Ba* and other works, which tell us that Padmasambhava stayed in Tibet for but a brief period, do so because the master emanated a second body to be seen by the evil ministers. Then, his escorts saw him fly into the sky from the summit of the mountain on the frontier of India and Tibet, across the narrow pass of Tongbap. He departed through the clouds, with his robe fluttering, and the rings of his staff jingling. But his real body remained in solitary hermitages, and in mountain caves in Zhotö Tidro, Chimpu, and elsewhere. In these locales he continued to turn the wheel of the unsurpassed, secret doctrine for the king and his fortunate subjects.

At one time the great master was perceived dwelling in such places of attainment; and when that rumour became widespread, the king, wishing to discover whether it was true or false, invited him to consecrate the Samye Monastery.

It is also said that in the interval between the lifetime of Trhisong Detsen and the reign of his son Mutrhi, the master departed into the sky, riding upon his horse from the summit of Kungtang Mountain. This is known from the lament, uttered by Mutrhi when he took leave of Padmasambhava:

> My one and only royal father has died.
> My guru is going to Oḍḍiyāna.
> O royal father! your life was too short;
> The happiness of your Tibetan subjects has passed.
> Why did I, Mutrhi Tsenpo, not die,
> While my father and my guru were present?[556]

Furthermore, we should not think that Padmasambhava could not have completed all the bountiful acts he desired during just a short visit. He was adept at inconceivable miraculous powers, like the ability to make his body manifest in all buddha-fields simultaneously. Similarly, when the Buddha himself performed miracles at Śrāvastī, as described in the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* (*mdo mdzangs-blun*, T 341),[557] and in the *Transmissions of the Vinaya*, some say that these miracles lasted for a few days, and some for many. In sum, whether his visit appeared to have been long or short depended upon the purity or impurity of his disciples' perception.

In this way, the master continued to consult with his patron, the king, in secret. He traversed the whole of Tibet on foot, down to the last hoof-sized patch of ground, along with Tshogyel and other fortunate companions. He inhabited each of the twenty mountain caves of Ngari; the twenty-one places of attainment in Central Tibet and in Tsang; the twenty-five great pilgrimage places of Kham and Amdo; and the secret lands of upper, lower, and central Tibet which are like three kings, along with five valleys, three districts and one parkland.[558] He blessed all of them, along with their glaciers, caves, mountains and waterways – which are as their roots, branches, flowers, and fruits – to be places of attainment. Since he knew that the teaching would be persecuted later by the king's grandson, an emanation of Māra, he gave many oracles and prophecies to the king. Then, intending that the teaching of the secret mantra should not vanish, nor the genuine blessing be weakened or adulterated by sophistry, and that disciples should gradually appear, he concealed countless treasures, both named and unnamed. The foremost of these treasures were the hundred treasures which were the master copies of King Trhisong, the five great mind treasures, and the twenty-five great profound treasures. For each one, he predicted the time of revelation, the discoverer, his fortunate spiritual successors, and so forth.

In thirteen places all called "tiger dens", such as Nering Sengedzong in Mönka [Bhutan], Padmasambhava assumed an awesome dis-



Dorje Trolö

figured, wrathful form, and bound all the arrogant deities and demons of Tibet, both great and small, under oaths of allegiance; and he appointed them to guard the treasures. At that time, the master became renowned as Dorje Trolö (Vajra Pot-belly). To induce faith in future generations, the guru and his consort left behind countless wonderful signs, such as handprints and footprints, in all the places of attainment. Such are the imprint of his body at Dorje Tsekpa in Bumthang, the handprint at Namtso Chukmo, and the footprint on the White Rock in Paro.

Once, the prince Murup Tsepo was sent [on a military expedition] and destroyed the hermitages of the Bhaṭa Hor.[559] When he was carrying away their property, the prince was pursued by the Gyelpo spirit Shingjachen.[560] Padmasambhava then assumed the form of Guru Trakpo (Wrathful Guru), bound the spirit under an oath of allegiance, and commanded him to guard the wealth of the temples.

The master founded many colleges to teach the dialectical vehicle and meditation schools for the way of secret mantra. The king and all his subjects acclaimed him as the most worshipful of renunciates; and the king established the twofold division of the religious community,

consisting of the shaven-headed followers of the sūtras [the monks], and the followers of the way of mantras, who wore long, braided locks. He erected pillars [e.g. the Zhöl Pillar] inscribed with the great decree concerning protocol and with important edicts.[561] At that time the kingdom of Tibet reached the zenith of its power and held dominion over two-thirds of eastern Jambudvīpa. Because the kingdom was protected by the true doctrine, Tibet is known to have enjoyed the happiness of paradise.

When master Padmasambhava was about to leave to convert the ogres in the south-west, the king, ministers, and subjects of Tibet begged him to stay on. But he declined. To each of them he gave detailed instructions, and precepts concerning loving kindness. Then, riding on a lion, or on an excellent horse, he set out from the summit of Kungtang Mountain for Cāmaradvīpa, in the midst of an infinite mass of divine offerings. In Cāmaradvīpa, on the peak of the glorious Copper-coloured Mountain, he "liberated" the ogre Thötreng (Skull-garlanded), the king of ogres, and entered into his corpse. He materialised the inconceivable Palace of Lotus Light; and there he resides, ruling in his eight emanations over eight ogre islands, teaching



Pehar

the eight transmitted precepts concerning the eight means for attainment and other doctrines, and protecting the people of Jambudvīpa from deathly fears. He continues to dwell, even now, as the regent of the Sixth Conqueror, Vajradhara, the holder of the awareness that is the spontaneous presence of the final path; and so will he remain, without moving, until the dissolution of the universe.



Trhi Relpacen

KING RELPACEN

[166.5-168.5] The religious king, Trhisong Detsen, had three royal sons. The eldest was named Mune Tsepo, the middle one Murup Tsepo, and the youngest Mutik Tsepo, or Senalek Jingyön. They further propagated the teaching. In particular, Mune Tsepo founded the four great cycles of worship (*mchod-pa chen-po bzhi*) at Samye during his reign; and three times he alleviated the hunger of his Tibetan subjects.

Mutik Tsepo built the Temple of the Indestructible Expanse at Karcung. He had about five sons, among whom the most distinguished was Trhi Relpacen, an emanation of Vajrapāṇi, who was also known as Trhi Detsukten. Relpacen appointed seven householders among his subjects to serve each of the monks; and he is famed for having built

a thousand temples and shrines. He humbly honoured and venerated the two orders – those of the traditions of the sūtras and mantras, with their gurus and venerable adherents – while placing at their feet the two silken ribbons which hung from his braided hair. Through these and other acts he displayed infinite veneration to the most precious teaching of the Conqueror.

In the lower valley of the Kyicu, Relpacen built the temple of Öncangdo Peme Trashi Gepel. He invited Surendrabodhi, Śīlendrabodhi, Dānaśīla, and many other scholars from India. He commanded them, along with the Tibetan preceptors Ratnarakṣita and Dharmatāśīla, and the translator Jñānasena, as follows:

> Formerly, when the doctrine was translated by scholars and translators in the time of my paternal ancestors, many terms were used which were unknown to the Tibetan language. Replace those terms among them which contradict the texts of the doctrine and grammatical usage, as well as those which are hard to understand, by searching [for alternatives] among the familiar terms of the colloquial language. Thus, you should revise the translations according to the texts of the greater and lesser vehicles.[562]

Therefore, at Kawa Namoche in Phenyül, they revised the translation of the *Great Mother* [the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in One Hundred Thousand Lines*], and divided it into sixteen sections. They also established, in accord with the laws of contemporary language, the translations of most of the scriptures translated during the time of the king's paternal ancestors. But, owing to the strictness of the inner tantras of the way of secret mantra, whereby they cannot be grasped by ordinary persons who are not fit vessels for them, the translators preserved the ancient translations intact.[563]

So it was that the three ancestral religious kings [Songtsen Gampo, Trhisong Detsen, and Relpacen] made the greatest impact on the teaching of the Conqueror in the Land of Snows, and thus were most gracious to its inhabitants. Among those kings, Songtsen Gampo and Trhisong Detsen were particularly great in their kindness. The scholars Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava, and the translators Thönmi Sambhoṭa, Vairocana, Kawa Peltsek, Cokro Lüi Gyeltsen and Zhang Yeshe Ḍe were all most gracious and wonderful.

2 *The Decline and Expansion of the Doctrine During the Intermediate Period*

[168.5-169.6] At a later date, Langdarma Udumtsen, the elder brother of the sovereign Trhi Relpacen, was possessed by a demon because of his perverse aspirations, and he persecuted the doctrine. Not long after, the evil king was assassinated by Lhalung Pelgi Dorje.[564]

Still later, the kings Ösung and Pelkortsen revived the ancient customs and built temples and so forth out of devotion to the Three Precious Jewels.[565] At that time there were no monks, but householders who were devoted to the Precious Jewels carefully saved the temples, including those at Lhasa and Samye, from destruction. Ngari seceded [from the kingdom] and the royal dynasty disintegrated. Though the circumstances under which the whole of Tibet had been subject to the noble family of religious kings had changed, the mantra adepts, white-robed householders, maintained the exegesis and attainment of the profound stages of creation and perfection in their own homes, and in isolated hermitages. They insured that the continuity of the secret mantra according to the Ancient Translation School was never interrupted. By their devotion to the teaching in general, and their kindness in carefully preserving the texts of the transmitted precepts and [supplementary] treatises, which had been previously translated in the time of the three ancestral religious kings, most of the ancient translations of the sūtras and tantras exist for our use, even today.

3 *The Revival and Later Expansion of the Teaching*

[169.6-173.5] During the decline of the teaching following Langdarma's persecution, Mar Śākyamuni, a disciple of Ba-ratna, together with Yo Gejung and Tsang Rapsel, loaded the Vinaya texts onto a mule and set out for the Qarloq and Uighur country.[566] But, because they were unable to propagate the doctrine in that direction, they went to Kham. While they were meditating at Dorjei Trakra Encung Namdzong in Malung, or at the "Crystal Retreat" in Tentik, one Muzu Labar approached them, and in faith he asked for ordination. He was ordained as a novice by Mar Śākyamuni, who acted as the preceptor, and Yo Gejung, who acted as the master; and he received the name of Śākya Gewarapsel. But when he requested the complete ordination they did not have the quorum of five monks. They sought out Lhalung Pelgi Dorje in Den, who said, "Since I have killed the evil king, I cannot come to complete the group. But I will find another and send him."

He sent two Chinese monks, named Ke-wang and Gyi-phan, and ordination was granted by the group of five. For fifteen years Gewarapsel studied the Vinaya under his preceptor and master. Later, he studied Vinaya under Senge-trak of Korong, Transcendental Perfection under Kawa Ö-chokdra, and the Mental Class of the Great Perfection under Yudra Nyingpo. The exegesis of the *Tantra of the All-Accomplishing King*, which continued even at a later time, came through his lineage. This illustrates his most sublime, enlightened activity, and his great learning. For this reason he became renowned as Lacen Gongpa Rapsel, the "Great Guru whose Enlightened Intention was Utterly Clear".

Five years after Gewarapsel's complete ordination, the king Yeshe Gyeltsen and others sent five men from Central Tibet, including Lume Tshültrim Sherap, and five from Tsang, including Lotön Dorje Wangcuk, to Kham, so that they might revive the feeble doctrine in Central Tibet. Gewarapsel gave them all three levels of ordination in a single sitting, and they became learned in the Vinaya. Since he gave the full ordination simultaneously and not by precise stages over a period of ten years,[567] he became renowned as a bodhisattva whose

practice was based on devotion. On that occasion Mar Śākyamuni, Yo Gejung, and Tsang Rapsel allowed him to give the ordination [although they were his seniors] because he was an extraordinary person and because there was a most urgent need to halt the decline of the teaching. Therefore, genuine authorities maintain that there was no fault [commit-



Lhalung Pelgi Dorje

ted during the aforementioned ordination]. Mar, Yo, and Tsang were alive at the time, but said they were too old to educate the disciples; and so they acted as masters of ceremony. The great guru [Gongpa Rapsel] appointed Lume as a preceptor, and when the ten men from Central Tibet and Tsang returned home they became the gurus and priests of their kings.

Lume had four disciples who were like pillars, eight like beams, thirty-two like rafters, and a thousand like planks. Thus, he restored the foundation of the feeble doctrine. He set up countless centres like those at Lamo, Ragye, Yerpa, Pare, and Tshongdü. The disciples, spiritual benefactors, and monks at Yamshü alone are said to have set up one hundred and eight centres. In this way, the centres of Lume and of his disciples covered the whole land. In fact, with each day the community of monks multiplied, and became known as the Lower

Tibetan Lineage of the Vinaya.[568] The ordained monks of the Ancient Translation School, and later the great translator Dharmaśrī, the emanation of Yudra Nyingpo, widely propagated its exegesis and practical application. The seminary of Orgyen Mindröling, the sole ornament of Tibet, and its branches preserved this Vinaya lineage.[569] Then, during the later propagation of the teaching, most of the early generations of the great men who adhered to the monastic vows, and also most of the spiritual benefactors in the ancient and new Kadampa schools adhered to this Vinaya lineage.

Furthermore, the scholar Jinamitra, the translator Kawa Peltsek, and others translated the *Treasury of the Abhidharma*, and the *Compendium of the Abhidharma* [from Sanskrit into Tibetan]. They instructed Nanam Dawei Dorje, Lhalung Pelgi Dorje and E Yeshe Gyelwa. The latter went to Kham and transmitted this teaching, which has been widely propagated until the present day.[570]



Lacen Gongpa Rapsel

Regarding the sūtras: Lang Khampa Gocha memorised the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in One Hundred Thousand Lines*, and he propagated this and other sūtras of India, which belong to the intermediate wheel of the doctrine, by means of translation,

exegesis, and study. All of the sūtras which belong to the final wheel of the doctrine were translated, and their exegesis established through teaching and study, by Kawa Peltsek, Cokro Lüi Gyeltsen, Vairocana and others. Their tradition of exegesis and attainment has continued until the present day.

It would be appropriate here to give a detailed account of the lives of the ancestral religious kings, who greatly promoted and propagated the true doctrine. But, owing to the immensity of the literature, I will not enlarge upon this brief description. Their lives may be ascertained from the other royal histories of Tibet.[571]

This completes the general description of the first illumination of Tibet by the lamp of the Conqueror's teaching, the third part of this book, *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra*, which is a history of the precious doctrine of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Four
The Development of the Three Inner Classes of Tantra in Tibet

Introduction

[179.1-3] Now, in particular, the development [in Tibet] of the three inner classes of the tantras of the way of secret mantra will be explained.

Although the Kriyā, Caryā and Yoga tantras of secret mantra were much studied and taught in the time of the religious king Trhisong Detsen and his master, Padmasambhava, the Unsurpassed [Yoga] tantras were propagated most of all. They have three divisions: Mahāyoga, which concerns primarily the stage of creation; Anuyoga, which concerns primarily the stage of perfection; and Atiyoga, which concerns primarily the Great Perfection.[572]

1 *Mahāyoga and Anuyoga*

MAHĀYOGA, THE STAGE OF CREATION

[179.4] Mahāyoga is divided into the class of tantras (**tantravarga*) and the class of means for attainment (**sādhanavarga*).

The Mahāyoga Class of Tantras

[179.4-182.1] The master Vimalamitra expounded [the eight tantras, known collectively as] the *Eight Sections of the Magical Net*, which form the cycle of texts associated with the *Magical Net of Vajrasattva*, the *Secret Nucleus* which is the root or most general of the *Eighteen Great Tantrapiṭaka*. He expounded them to Ma Rincen-chok, and translated them with the latter's assistance. Ma Rincen-chok instructed Tsukru Rincen Zhönu and Kyere Chokyong, who both instructed Zhang Gyelwei Yönten and Tarje Pelgi Trakpa. The former taught this tantra many times in Central Tibet and in Tsang. He also went to Kham and gave this teaching. The lineages of Zhang became known as "the transmitted precepts of Chimpu", or as "the lineage of esoteric instructions".

Moreover, the master Padmasambhava taught [this *Secret Nucleus*] to Nyak Jñānakumāra, along with his own celebrated composition entitled the *Garland of Views: A Collection of Esoteric Instructions*. Jñānakumāra instructed the Sogdian Pelgi Yeshe, and, with Zhang, he instructed Nup Sangye Yeshe.[573] At Mount Kailash the master Buddhaguhya also gave instruction on texts belonging to the *Secret Nucleus* cycle, such as the *Array of the Path of the Magical Net*, to disciples such as We Jampel and Trenka Mukti.

Similarly, the glorious *Guhyasamāja* was propagated according to master Vajrahāsya's exegetical tradition [T 1909], and the tradition of study, exegesis, and attainment derived from the commentaries of Viśvamitra. Also propagated were the commentaries on the *Buddhasamāyoga* belonging to the aural lineage of Kukkurāja [the *Six Arrays of Esoteric Meaning*] and of Hūṃkara [*Elucidation of the Significance of the Four Limbs, Caturaṅgārthāloka*, T 1676], and the lineage of its teaching,

study, and attainment which follow the *Great Commentary on the Buddhasamāyoga*, by the accomplished master Indranāla, a king of Oḍḍiyāna.

Other fortunate beings were granted meditational deities based on the maṇḍalas of *Heruka* and of the *Supreme Horse.* Of these, King Trhisong Detsen propitiated Hayagrīva, with the result that the neighing of a horse was heard throughout Jambudvīpa.



Namkei Nyingpo

The Mahāyoga Class of Means for Attainment

[182.1-187.1] Generally speaking, the *Yamāri* cycle was propagated in Tibet by master Śāntigarbha. Master Vimalamitra propagated the *Vajrāmṛta* cycle, teaching it to Nyak Jñānakumāra and others. Most of the other cycles were propagated and disseminated solely by master Padmasambhava.

In particular, at Tregugeu, in glorious Chimpu, the great master answered the prayer of King Trhisong Detsen by granting complete empowerments in the outer, inner, and secret maṇḍalas of the Eight Great Classes of the Means for Attainment to a most fortunate group of eight, consisting of the king and his subjects. When they had practised

the means for attainment and esoteric instructions for the deities on whom their flowers respectively alighted, each of them saw his or her deity in a vision.[574]

By propitiating Mahottara [Chemcok] Heruka, the king developed special contemplation; and owing to the development of discriminative awareness which is born of meditation, he composed works such as the *Treatise on the Proof of Authentic Transmitted Precepts* (*bka' yang-dag-pa'i tshad-ma'i bstan-bcos*, T 4352).[575]

By propitiating [glorious] Yangdak Heruka, Namkei Nyingpo ascended on the rays of the sun.

By propitiating Mañjuśrī [Yamāntaka], Sangye Yeshe drove a kīla into solid rock.

By propitiating Maheśvara [Hayagrīva], the head of a horse emerged from the crown of Gyelwa Choyang's head, and neighing resounded.

By propitiating Vajrakīla, Kharcen-za [Yeshe Tshogyel] could resurrect the dead.

By propitiating Mātaraḥ, Pelgi Yeshe employed the host of female protectors as servants.

By propitiating Mundane Praise, Pelgi Senge was served by the eightfold groups of spirits.

And by propitiating Malign Mantra, Vairocana acquired the eye of pristine cognition, and miraculous powers.

Moreover, regarding those disciples of master Padmasambhava who obtained accomplishment sooner or later by his empowerment, instructions and further advice: Nyak Jñānakumāra could extract nectar from dry rock.

Gyelmo Yudra Nyingpo could transform his body into a golden vajra.

Nanam Dorje Düjom could pass through a mountain of solid rock.

Master Yesheyang could actually travel to the realms of sky-farers.[576]

The Sogdian Lhapel could seize savage beasts of prey by the neck [with his bare hands].[577]

Nanam Zhang Yeshe De could fly like a bird in the sky.

Kharcen Pelgi Wangcuk, by merely brandishing his kīla, could "liberate" those at whom he brandished it.

Denma Tsemang obtained retention of all doctrines, such that he forgot none.

Kawa Peltsek intuited the minds of others without obstruction.

Shüpu Pelgi Senge could reverse the flow of a river.

Dre Gyelwei Lodrö could transform a zombie into gold.[578]

Drokben Khyeucung Lotsāwa could summon birds in the sky, merely through his gaze and a gesture of menace.

Odren Pelgi Wangcuk could swim like a fish in a wide river.

Ma Rincen-chok could crush and digest boulders as food.



Gyelwa Choyang

Lhalung Pelgi Dorje could pass unobstructedly through mountains of solid rock.

Langdro Köncok Jungne could hurl mighty thunderbolts like arrows.

And Lasum Gyelwa Cangcup could sit cross-legged in the sky, without any support.

There were also women who were accomplished masters: Mandāravā of Sahor obtained immortality, miraculous powers, and unsurpassed, supreme accomplishment.

Kharcen Yeshe Tshogyel achieved indestructible life, infallible recollection, miraculous powers, the abode of the sky-farers, and the supreme accomplishment of great bliss. The two noble ladies just mentioned were actually no different from Vajravarāhī, herself.

Tshenamza Sangyetsho vanished in a body of light.

Shekar Dorjetsho crossed rivers as if they were plains.

Tshombuza Pematsho's vital energy and mind matured into the body of her deity.[579]

Melgongza Rincentsho hung her silk gown on the rays of the sun.

Rüza Töndrupma used her gaze to employ the services of the twelve goddesses of the earth.

Shübuza Sherapma knew all the transmitted precepts of the buddhas, as well as the commentarial treatises, without having studied them.

While Yamdrokza Chöki Drönma taught the scriptures she was applauded by celestial deities.

When Oceza Kargyelma had a question about the doctrine she asked her meditational deity.

When Dzemza Lhamo needed food or drink she took them from the sky.

Barza Lhayang knew how to tame the minds of others.

Cokroza Cangcupmen could transform her body into fire and water.

Dromza Pamti Chenmo could fly like a bird in the sky.

Rongmenza Tshültrim-drön could ingest stones like food.

Khuza Peltsünma could cause the ritual kīla to vibrate.

Trhumza Shelmen could arrange flowers in the sky.

These and others were able to display various miracles to many people, and all of them attained the state of coalescence in their [human] bodies.[580] So it was that countless accomplished masters emerged: the twenty-five great accomplished masters of Chimpu; the fifty-five realised ones of Yangdzong; the [two groups of] one hundred and eight who attained the body of light at Yerpa and at Chuwori, respectively; the thirty mantra adepts of Sheldrak; the twenty-five ḍākinīs who attained bodies of light; et cetera.[581]

ANUYOGA, THE STAGE OF PERFECTION

[187.1-187.2] Dharmabodhi and Vasudhara, who were preceptors of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, and the master Chetsenkye of Bru-sha instructed Nupcen Sangye Yeshe; and he brought the Anuyoga tantras to Tibet. This will be described later in detail.[582]

2 *The Mental and Spatial Classes of Atiyoga*

[187.3] Atiyoga is divided into three classes: [Mental, Spatial, and Esoteric Instructional]. The lineage of the first two is as follows:

VAIROCANA

[187.3-190.4] Scorning more than fifty-seven unbearable hardships, including the eight great fears, the master Vairocana, a native of Nyemo Cekar, journeyed to India, following the command of King Trhisong Detsen. He proceeded towards the Great Nine-Storey Pagoda (*ke'u-tshang chen-po dgu-brtsegs*), created by the miraculous power of master Śrī Siṃha in the cooling sandalwood forest of Dhanakośa. There, he introduced himself to a yoginī who was carrying water; but when she made no response he made her waterpot stick to the ground by means of his gaze. The yoginī then exposed her breast and in so doing revealed to Vairocana the Maṇḍala of the Indestructible Expanse.

In company with her he met the master Śrī Siṃha and, offering to him a golden maṇḍala, he requested teaching on the effortless vehicle.[583]

Śrī Siṃha said he would have to consider. The main points of the profound doctrine could be revealed in the morning, under the cloak of secrecy. But, without utmost secrecy, the master would run the risk of capital punishment, imposed by the local rājā. So he said to Vairocana, "Study the doctrine of cause and effect with other scholars during the day. I will have to reveal the doctrines of the esoteric instructions to you at night." In this way, and under these circumstances, others were kept ignorant.

During the night the master wrote down the *Eighteen Esoteric Instructions of the Mental Class* on white silk with the milk of a white goat; and he showed Vairocana how the letters became clear when fumigated by smoke. He made him swear an oath before the protectors of the teaching to maintain the utmost secrecy.

But even then Vairocana was not satisfied; so he remained there. Śrī Siṃha granted him all the empowerments and esoteric instructions of sixty tantrapiṭaka, along with the three branches of the Spatial Class – White, Black, and Variegated – which reveal that the goal is already naturally present.[584] Thus, Vairocana plumbed the very depths of all doctrines.

Still he remained unsatisfied. Śrī Siṃha said to him:

> The expanse of reality is infinite,
> But if you realise solely just what is,
> Everything is perfectly present in that
> which lacks none.
> What accomplishment goes beyond that?



Vairocana

Then the master taught him the three ways to bring forth the fruit of the instructions, the four cases when the teaching should be granted, and the four cases when it should not.

Vairocana also met the master Garap Dorje in the great charnel ground of Dhūmasthira. He obtained the true lineage of the six million four hundred thousand verses on the Great Perfection and actually

attained the great accomplishment of simultaneous realisation and liberation.

Relying on the accomplishment of swift-footedness Vairocana then returned to Tibet.[585] During the day he gave teaching to the king on the ordinary doctrines of cause and effect, but at night he taught only the hidden doctrines of the Great Perfection. He translated the five texts of the Mental Class which were the earliest translated.[586]

It was at this time that Vairocana was slandered by the Indians, who were jealous that the instructions had been lost to Tibet. And because one of the queens and her ministers became ill-disposed to the doctrine, master Vairocana was obliged to pass some time [in exile] in Tshawarong.[587] In the temple of the protector at Rongtrak in Gyelmorong, he accepted Yudra Nyingpo as his disciple, and caused him and others to be matured [by the empowerments] and liberated [by the instructions]. In the Taktse Castle at Tsharong, he taught the cycle of the Great Perfection to Sangtön Yeshe Lama. At Trakmar Göndzong in Tongkungrong he instructed Pang-gen Sangye Gönpo. And in Central Tibet Vairocana gave teaching to Nyak Jñānakumāra and to the Khotanese lady, Sherap Drönma. Thus, he is said to have taught five people in succession. The last mentioned also invited him to visit Khotan.

In the end, Vairocana attained the buddha-body of coalescence in Bhasing Forest in Nepal.

Gradually, one lineage developed from Nyak Jñānakumāra, which passed through the Sogdian Pelgi Yeshe, Tra Pelgi Nyingpo, and Lhalung Pelgi Dorje to Odren Pelgi Zhönu. One issued from the Sogdian Pelgi Senge to Nupcen Sangye Yeshe; and yet another from Tsang Śākdor, through P̀ang Rakṣita, Yatri Tarma Sherap, and Zermo Gelong to Marpa Sherap-ö. That lineage was subsequently transmitted to Zur Dropukpa.[588]

PANG-GEN SANGYE GONPO

[190.4-191.1] Moreover, there was the lineage of Vairocana's disciple Pang-gen Sangye Gönpo, in which everyone achieved the rainbow body. Pang Gönpo himself reached the age of eighty-five without having practised the doctrine during his youth. As an old man he was despised by his brothers and relatives. Owing to great age his body had a decrepit posture, but Vairocana gave him a meditation belt and a support [to prop up his chin], and showed him how to retain the teaching in his mind. By practising according to the transmission of master Vairocana he came face to face with naked reality, and an all-surpassing realisation was born within him. Becoming very joyful, the old man embraced his master about the neck and would not let go for a whole day. After attaining accomplishment he lived for over one hundred years more.



Pang-gen Sangye Gönpo

NGENLAM CANGCUP GYELTSEN, ZADAM RINCEN-YIK AND KHUGYUR SELWEICHOK

[191.1-192.2] Pang-gen Sangye Gönpo's disciple was Ngenlam Cangcup Gyeltsen, a monk from the three-valley district of Ngenlam in Uru. At the age of sixty-seven he went to Gyelmo Taktse Castle, where he requested instructions from Pang Mipham Gönpo [Pang-gen Sangye Gönpo]. The master granted them to him and told him not to go home, but to practise meditation at Wa Senge Trak. He went there obediently and meditated until his body vanished without a trace at the age of one hundred and seventy-two.

His disciple, Zadam Rincen-yik, came from upper Dokam. He requested instruction from Ngenlam and then sat absorbed in meditation, without leaving his guru, in the same rock cavern. His body vanished without a trace at the age of one hundred and forty-four.

Zadam Rincen-yik's disciple, Khugyur Selweichok from Yarlung Chö, was a monk of fifty-seven years. When he received instruction from Zadam Rincen he abandoned the idea of returning home and remained in meditation at Wa Senge Trak as well. His body vanished

without a trace when he was in his one hundred and seventeenth year.

In this way, the bodies of the three masters and disciples vanished in the Wa Senge Cavern during the same year of the snake, one after the other, like mists, or rainbows, fading away.

NYANG CANGUP-TRA AND NYANG SHERAP JUNGNE

[192.2-193.2] Cangcup-tra, the disciple of the last mentioned, was a monk of forty-two years from upper Yudruk in Nyang. After requesting instruction from Khugyur Selwa he returned home. While practising meditation at Samye Chimpu he met an aged monk from Zha, in Uru, who was called Nyang Sherap Jungne, and who said, "I have been fully ordained for longer than you, but your teaching is greater. Please accept me as a disciple."

Nyang Cangcup-tra gave him instructions and then went to stay at Phukpoche, and at Yangdzong, where he revealed his power to transform the four elements to his disciple and grand-disciple. Finally, at Phungpo Riwoche, in Gyamnyeduka in Tsang, his body vanished without a trace, like a cloud disintegrating on a mountainside.

After that, Nyang Sherap Jungne lived in the glorious forest of Chimpu, at Yangdzong in Dra, and at Phukpoche. He experienced the naturally manifest, unbiased intention of the Great Perfection, and, after hanging his robe, rosary, and skull-cup on a juniper tree on the summit of Lhari in Phukpoche, his body vanished in the sky, just like a brilliant rainbow.

BAGOM

[193.2-195.6] Sherap Jungne's disciple was a native of Lomo, who became renowned as master Bagom, the meditator of Ba, after the name of his clan. While he was living at home a war broke out. His mother said, "This boy is my only son, and the brother of six sisters. I will entrust him to the master Sherap Jungne, and shall be content if he does not die." Therefore, in his sixteenth year he was entrusted to Nyang Sherap Jungne.

At that time, the aforementioned Nyang Cangcup Trakpa passed through Phukpoche, Yangdzong, and Chimpu, leading a stag. For this, he became famed as Nyang Shawacen, "Nyang with the Stag". On his next visit to Phukpoche, Nyang Cangcup said, "Look! I will put on a show for you both."

As master Sherap Jungne and Bagom looked on from the left and the right, the master, who was between them, became invisible. As

their astonishment grew, he changed into a whirlwind one cubit high, which, after spinning to and fro, turned into a fire. The fire then turned into a bronze bowl for water offerings, filled to the point of overflowing. Then, in a fury, it turned abruptly into the master himself. When he had thus revealed his power over the activity field in which the four elements are overcome, he said, "From the time when the impurities of the elements are removed, and until their pure essences vanish, this may occur. Though one may perceive, through discriminative awareness, the significance of there being no basis for meditation, it is by adhering without distraction to symbolic content that one obtains such independence without difficulty. Therefore, it is most important to remain undistracted."

Once when Bagom went to gather wood in the forest of Pelbu, he saw the red glow of a fire around their thatched cottage; but the master had not lit a fire. Thinking the house was ablaze, Bagom went to investigate, but the thatched cottage appeared as before without a sign of fire. When he asked him what had happened, the master replied, "I became absorbed in the contemplation of fire. Do you not remember my guru, Nyang Cangcup-tra?" And, on another occasion, Bagom saw that his teacher's seat was covered with water.

Finally, the master said, "If I disappear, look at the summit of Lhari." But when the master did disappear Bagom thought that he had gone to the mountain for recreation and would return that evening. When the master failed to return Bagom went to investigate. He found his hat, his bodhiseed rosary, and so forth, hanging from a juniper tree, but Sherap Jungne's body had vanished without a trace. According to the natural Great Perfection, this is only one of the ways of death: ways resembling space, fire, sky-farers and awareness-holders are spoken of.[589]

In his twenty-fourth year Bagom had received instructions from Sherap Jungne. Bagom lived as a layman, and his proper name was Yeshe Cangcup. He possessed extraordinary realisation, whereby he could turn stone into clay and leave the imprint of his body in rock. In his ninety-eighth year he passed away without sickness. His wife, Como Kangmo, did not show the body to outsiders, but she cremated it in the household shrine. All of the people outside saw a pot-sized ball of light go off into the sky. No remains at all were left behind.

DZENG DHARMABODHI

[195.6-208.4] Bagom's disciple was Dzeng. Dzeng's mother was a nun from Thangcung in Yarlung. Her name was Tshargu Kyide. Dzeng was born from her union with the eldest son of the ruler of Thangcung. In his sixteenth year he went with a caravan of travellers to trade at Dong-na, in Töl. At Tshercung in Töl, he found a large gathering of



Dzeng Dharmabodhi

people. Going to investigate, he met Phadampa Sangye of India.[590] He followed Phadampa as a servant for fourteen months. When they reached the Zangcen district in Tsang, Phadampa gave him a blanket and, because Dzeng was very young, said, "You should return to your own country. Come and take apricots from Takpo. There is a caravan of travellers bound for Töl."

Then, while Dzeng was setting out on the journey Phadampa escorted him a little of the way. When Dzeng embraced him on the cheeks Phadampa said:

> That which is nothing at all transforms.
> In its transformations no duality is grasped.

They knocked heads together twice, and in Dzeng's astonished mind a sharp and clear understanding arose. His mouth grew moist.

So it was that he was blessed by Phadampa, who also predicted that he would encounter the *Vajra Bridge* (*rdo-rje zam-pa*, DZ Vol.1).[591] But later, he maintained that he did not understand all this at the time. Phadampa gave him some auspicious tokens and many essential points concerning the way of mantras. When he was given the instructions

concerning the Six-Syllable Mantra[592] at Gyang-ro Tshelma, he obtained a great blessing by performing the practice. Then Phadampa prophetically said, "To the east of this great river lies a sandalwood forest. There lives your guru."

Afterwards, Dzeng went to Central Tibet, where he received teachings on Heruka and Pehar from Akhu Pelbar, and on Kriyātantra and the great *torma* offering of Jvālāmukhī from Nup Shangpoche. Having been sent to convey offerings to Lama Pari in Tsang, he received from him the means for attainment of Mañjuśrī and of Garuḍa. From Geshe Po he received teaching concerning the ancient translations.

In his thirty-fifth year he went to Cangtsik via Ngamshö. At the approach to the pass at Phukpoche, he heard that one Comowa had invited the spiritual benefactor Tsen Khawoche,[593] who had just returned from India, to visit and that there would be teachings, food, and entertainment. Early the next morning, when Dzeng was on his way there, a woman said to him, "If you go up on this side of the road from Trhap, you will meet a master called Bagom, who gives food most generously."

He proceeded in that direction, and a group of yogins also arrived. Bagom invited them to partake of a warm meal and gave to each a copper-ladleful of roasted barley flour as well. When he had served the group, he said, "There is also a novice among you," and sent him out to fetch a pot of water. He then performed the water offering and led Dzeng to a corner of his small cave and gave him a bowl of vegetables. The same evening he also provided him with food. Afterwards, Dzeng went to sleep at the foot of a rock.

In the morning Dzeng thought he would have to go, but Bagom again gave him food and said, "I have a young disciple who has gone to bring gold from Zotang, but owing to the heavy rain he has not returned. Gather some wood."

Dzeng brought a great bundle of wood from the forest. Bagom was delighted and gave him esoteric instructions on the symbolism of the Great Seal (*phyag-rgya chen-po brda'i man-ngag*) and the teaching called the *Seven Cycles of the Great Perfection which are Naturally Present* (*rdzogs-pa chen-po skor-bdun rang-chas*). At that time Bagom's disciple returned and said, "I thought the master would be troubled by my absence, but you have filled in. Stay for some more days." The disciple then made one more circumambulation of Yarlung and returned.

During the intervening period Dzeng had learned that Bagom was a special person. So he did not return to his own country, but went as far as Ön and Zang-ri, begging for alms. He bought a sack and then offered it, full of barley, to master Bagom. "It is enough that you serve me," said the master. "Keep this barley for your own provision. I have an esoteric instruction called the *Vajra Bridge*. By understanding its meaning in an instant one may attain buddhahood in a single lifetime,

leaving no trace of the body. This has occurred in an unbroken lineage. I have mentioned it to no one until today. Now, I shall give it to you."

Dzeng earnestly offered the barley and prayed, "I have gathered it for you. Please confer the instructions upon me. I will return with new provisions."

Bagom placed his left hand on the crown of Dzeng's head and thumped him on the back with his right, saying, "Many thanks. Your commitments are strong. You deserve to benefit by my instructions."

Dzeng gave the means for the attainment of the Red Yamāri to a mantra adept from Locung, and received in return eight loads of peas and barley. Sometimes he would perform protective rites at Lomo and at Trhün, whereby he would receive sufficient provisions for the religious life. But still, he could not collect the requisites needed to request the blessing of the *Vajra Bridge*. The master said that if he were to grant the blessing just then, there would be obstacles later on.

Dzeng went to sell one pot of ale (*sir-mo*) to a friend in Kangbar and get payment for it, but instead he received a nun's robe. He divided up the woollen patches of which it was made, sold them and collected ale for offerings, *tormas*, five measures of barley, and a meat carcass. The master said that daylight would have to substitute for butter lamps, and bestowed fully on Dzeng the four empowerments of the path of liberation,[594] along with all the instructions. Even afterwards, Dzeng requested the blessing four times, and made offerings of barley and gold five times.

On one occasion Bagom said, "This world of appearances is completely false." Suddenly, he struck a blue "water-stone"[595] with his hand, whereupon his arm vanished up to the elbow. Then, with a twist, his body passed through the rock and left a distinct impression behind. In Phukcungrong he uprooted many juniper trees with his gaze, and said, "Here is the timber for building Como's shrine room." From such a master did Dzeng obtain the entire teaching of the *Vajra Bridge*.

Moreover, Dzeng obtained such teachings as those of the direct and circuitous paths of Transcendental Perfection according to the system of Atiśa.[596] Similarly, he received the *Six-limbed Yoga [of the Kālacakra]* from Yumo; the *Eight-Session Practice* (*thun-brgyad-ma*) from Khampalungpa; the *Three Cycles of the Intentional Object* (*dmigs-pa skor-gsum*) from a disciple of Neu Zurpa; the *Short Commentary* from Shongbu the translator; and Nāropā's *Path of Skilful Means* (*thabs-lam*) from the spiritual benefactor Drölgom. In return, Dzeng expounded the *Vajra Bridge*.

Dzeng also heard a great many other teachings: the *Emanation of the Lamp* (*sgron-sp [b] rul*) and the *Protective Cover* (*rgyab-sha*) from So-nyün Dang; the *Three Drops of Nectar* (*bdud-rtsi thigs-gsum*) from Dzaborwa; the *Three Verses on the Aural Lineage* (*rna-brgyud tshigs-gsum*) from Ritrö Lungcung; the esoteric instructions of the *Dohā* from Lung-ham Chenpo; the *Object of Cutting* (*gcod-yul*) from Lapdrönma, the sole

mother;[597] the *Seven Cycles* (*sde-skor bdun-pa*) from Gyelwa Potön; the *Fifteen Doctrines on the Kriyātantra according to the System of Pari* (*ba-ri-pa'i kriya'i chos bco-lnga*) from Nup Shangcen; and various other teachings from Künga of Tingri.[598] He received the *Six Doctrines* (*Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa*, T 2330) and the *Yoga of Co-Emergence* (*lhan-skyes rnal-'byor*) from the physician of Takpo [Gampopa].[599]

Dzeng juxtaposed the various realisations [of the teachings he received] and became highly delighted. By practising the conduct of a mantra adept at the school of Ce-nga Neljor he became renowned as an exponent of the discipline [of the way of mantras]. His spiritual brothers included master Takshamcen, Lama Udrenpa, Lama Thü Khambar, Lama Tröjor, and Zhang Dronyön. Thus, he only associated with masters of yoga.

Dzeng went naked for five years in Tsang. Moreover, owing to his extremely great power over phenomenal appearances he left undone none of the many austerities such as bathing in icy water during the winter and in mid-stream during the summer, jumping into ravines of uncertain depth, bashing his head, and wounding himself with weapons. Therefore, he became renowned as Pawo Dzengcung, "Little Dzeng the Warrior".

When he instructed So Mangtsen on the Great Seal, the latter's delusions became pristine cognition. When he gave teaching on the Four Syllables,[600] and on the Great Perfection, to Ritrö Lungcung and Ngülmo Gyalecam, they became great destroyers of delusion; and finally their bodies vanished without a trace. In the same way, when he revealed the *Vajra Bridge* to a faithful nun and to a steadfast Khampa, their bodies vanished without traces, the nun at Lake Mönka Sermo, and the Khampa at the Lake Castle of Kongpo. They died according to the ways of space and of the sky-farers.

By merely giving instruction to Repa Gomtak, Shore, Gyare, Lungre, and others, Dzeng caused the inner heat to blaze up within them. Similarly, when he just pointed out reality, a great many of his followers gained liberation and realisation. Dzeng Dharmabodhi himself said, "About four translators have come to me, and also monks, great teachers, yogins, and yoginīs, who were arrogant, thinking only of themselves. A great many of them have correctly taken the teachings to heart. There were eleven housewives who practised a bit in Takpo. When the time of death grew near, they passed away painlessly, and rainbows enveloped their bodies. If anyone should practise these instructions of mine for five or six years, with the care of a spinner spinning wool, or of parents raising a sole surviving child, then his body will certainly vanish without a trace. He will leave no physical remains behind."

Because he had mastered an oceanic array of miraculous powers, Dzeng's body was sometimes enveloped by a rainbow. At other times

he travelled without his feet touching the ground. By integrating his mind and phenomenal appearances he could travel to very distant places in just a moment. Through unimpeded, supernormal cognitive powers, such as the knowledge of other minds, he could foretell all future events. For example, being endowed with pure clairvoyance, he saw the son of Cosema Dorjekyi, who had fallen asleep, almost fall through a skylight at midnight. Since night and day were the same for Dzeng, he easily saw, even at night, a needle that had fallen into a pile of chaff.

Later on, after Dzeng had lived in Tsang for seven years, he returned to Phukpoche. Master Bagom said to him, "Comprehend fully [the implications of] space! When you realise fully that it has no basis, the great nail of non-meditation will have struck home!"

Thus, Dzeng developed profound certainty.

While residing at Takpo Zhu he received the instructions of the *Seven Cycles of the Peaceful Guru (gu-ru zhi-ba sde-skor bdun-pa)* from Lama Zheldam. By practising the *Four Symbols (brda-bzhi)*[601] for three years at Lhazur Monastery, he mastered all doctrines. His mind became as simple as space.

Again, Dzeng could endure great austerities: He practised the austerity of the deathless nectar[602] after he had received the *Vajra Bridge* at Phukpoche, owing to which he became immune to disease.

After performing the austerity of serving the guru Nup Shangpoche, that guru protected his mind wherever he went.

By the austerity of learning, under Phadampa Sangye of India, to examine [reality] critically, he mastered all things.

By practising the austerities of the Vajrakīla recitation at Kyikung, he was obeyed by mundane gods and demons.

From Atiśa's Kadampa school he learned the austerity of humility, owing to which people loved him wherever he went.

By performing the austerity of the "three movements with reference to the Four Syllables"[603] the inner heat blazed within him and he went naked for five years.

Having thus developed certainty he practised the austerity of propitiating Vajravarāhī, whereby he saw the venerable goddess in a vision to the west of Gurmo; and from her he received many symbols.

By following the discipline of the dream yoga in Nup Yülrong, he realised that all appearances are like dreams.

In the Crystal Cave of Zhotö Tidro, Dzeng had a vision of the wrathful Amṛtakuṇḍalin. A spiritual being served him with great veneration. Once he saw a venerable monk flying to and fro in the sky, but after making search could not find him. Dzeng said that he did not know whether it was a man or spirit.

At Zhu, in Takpo, he propitiated Aparājita (*A-dzi*), and had a vision during the morning. Then, while he was thinking of exchanging vows

[with the deity], his consort Chale came in. The deity exclaimed, "He's married!" and vanished in a flash of light.

When Dzeng practised alchemy in Lhazur he had a vision of Amitāyus. The definitive order of many doctrines arose in his mind.

When Dzeng practised at Ökar Rock he had a vision of Cakrasaṃvara with consort.

Once, when he had decided to travel, Dzeng came to the town of Möngar. He boldly jumped onto a frozen pond, but the ice cracked and he fell into the water. When he felt ashamed, steam rose from the water and almost clouded the sky. The people said in astonishment that he resembled a red-hot iron image[604] entering the water in the bitter cold of winter. Dzeng merely said, "I was frozen!"

Then, on another occasion, Dzeng and his consort went to gather wood, and obtained a heavy bundle. Carrying it they reached the edge of a sheer precipice. Dzeng thought it was like a dream. He jumped and floated down like a bird. His consort exclaimed, "O extraordinary guru! are you human or not? You remind me of Phadampa Sangye!"

Until that time, Dzeng had not propagated the instructions much. He acted as a village priest and preserved his own practice in secret. But thereafter his disciples increased, as many came from afar.

Once, when he was invited by one Pelbudor, and gave instruction, many rainbow canopies and patterns appeared at the first moment of sunrise. When he finished his discourse he went up to the mountainside for recreation. Someone asked whether the rainbow was the unhappy portent of his death, but he replied, "At the very time my guru Bagom gave these instructions to the spiritual brothers Bartön and Sherap-tra, the valleys of Ngamshö and the slopes of Phukpoche were almost filled with light. The sign accompanies these instructions."

Again, while the guru was living at Dzeng his disciple Co-se arrived. Dzeng was sitting at an embankment beneath the base of a stūpa, so when Co-se reached the hermitage he could not see the master. But he did see an orb of light [at the stūpa]. When he drew near the light vanished. "How did this happen?" asked Co-se. Dzeng told him that it was a sign of meditative absorption, which he should not divulge to anyone.

Furthermore, Dzeng used to say, "When brother Ngödrup had leprosy, I tried to help him by reciting mantras, but the leprosy was not cured. Instead, *I* had a vision of Vajrapāṇi.[605] What a joke!"

Dzeng the meditator, [whose proper name was] Dharmabodhi, had fully mastered all the real goals of such instructions as the *Common Savour* (*ro-snyoms*), *Six Doctrines*, *Object of Cutting*, and *Five Stages*, which are renowned in the other traditions of the doctrine. When he was an old man, in his one hundred and second year, he fell ill and his followers feared their guru would pass away. But he said, "Last night I had an auspicious dream. I will not die. I dreamt that I was on

the summit of Gyelpori, when the sun and moon rose together. On the roofs of many huts made of bone there were many women who said, 'Lama Dzeng! come after four years.'"

Then, on another occasion, Dzeng said, "I have reached old age; and certainly I have nothing to teach." This signified that he had inwardly reached the end of his intentions, because he was no longer attached to his own discursive thoughts. Then, when his followers requested that he perform acts of merit [to extend his life], he took no interest in conditioned merits. They then asked him to practise alchemy, but he said, "If I practise alchemy I can prolong my life for about ten years, but there is no need for longevity in bad times."

In this way, having encouraged others to practise true renunciation, Dzeng passed away. During his cremation the sky was filled with rainbows. Many relics[606] and stūpas were discovered [among his ashes]. Because he had continued to protect his disciples, his impure body did not dissolve into the rainbow body; but, in fact, he fulfilled all the signs of having passed into nirvāṇa on the primordially pure level which is beyond all phenomena.

It was from this time on that the aural lineage of the *Vajra Bridge* became widely propagated. Dzeng had a great many disciples: master Künzang, Dzeng Co-se, Tsentangpa Nyang Dharmasiṃha, master Ser-lungpa, Lama Tu Dorje Gyeltsen, Zik Yeshepo, and Yaktön Dawa Özer, to name just a few. And Dzeng passed away when he had reached the age of one hundred and seventeen. He was a contemporary, more or less, of masters such as Atiśa, Dromtön, Chapa Chöki Senge,[607] the venerable Milarepa, and their masters and disciples.

DZENG CO-SE

[208.5-210.3] Dzeng Co-se was born into the family of a mantra adept. During his childhood he studied writing and arithmetic. He requested Nyingma teachings, such as the *Magical Net* as well as [teachings of the new translation schools such as] the *Hevajra Tantra* and the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī*, from an artist of Ölka. When his master, the artist, was about to die, he declared, "Though I know all these great texts, now, as I am about to die, nothing has been at all beneficial, except the *Seven Sessions of Aro* (*a-ro thun-bdun*, DZ Vol.1).[608] You should apply yourself to the instructions, without studying texts. Your guru is called Dzeng. He lives in Takpo. Go there."

Then, in Kangbar, Co-se passed three summers and three winters at the centre of master Zam, who was learned in the spontaneous presence of the Great Perfection; but they did not form a spiritual rapport. Without having first cut through his elaborate conceptions of the instructions, Co-se thrice requested teaching on the *Vajra Bridge*

from master Dzeng in Pelung. Dzeng gave his blessing and said, "Go to Tsang for some time and study the texts. When you return from Tsang, stay at your ancestral hermitage."

Co-se realised that Dzeng would not give him the instructions. He asked who else knew them and was told, "There is one called Co-se Zhanglakyap of Traci who knows them." While he was thinking of requesting them from him, that guru passed away; so again Co-se went to Takpo and requested them from Dzeng, who again refused. Co-se then thought of asking one of Dzeng's disciples, and went to meet master Tu in Shokyam, who said, "This teaching will not come to you by such artificial hopes. Go back to Takpo and ask Dzeng."

Once more he went to Takpo and made his request. Dzeng said, "If you want the instruction above all else, you must persevere." And he gave him the complete instructions.

Co-se then stayed with the master for a number of summers and winters. During the course of six years he received even the most minor aspects of the teaching. He also acted as the master of ceremonies during the conferral of blessings [to others]. When about fifty disciples, including Rokpoga, the lama of Thöpa, and Majo Dowa, requested the *Vajra Bridge*, Dzeng said, "Let Co-se explain it! You others listen!" Co-se delivered the teaching from the master's own seat.

These two masters, Dzeng and Co-se, were associated over a period of about eighteen years. Co-se was appointed to be the lineage-holder, having received the transmitted instructions.

MASTER KUNZANG AND TRÜLKU ÖBAR SENGE

[210.3-211.4] Similarly, the master Künzang was a disciple of both Dzeng Dharmabodhi, and of "mad" Co-se, the younger Dzeng. Künzang's father, Khuwo Phajo, was a brilliant meditator, who had been a disciple of the Central Tibetan, Phakmotrupa.[609] His mother, Ziza Tecok, used to listen to the doctrine from the ascetic woman "mad" Samdrup. Künzang's birth was augured by auspicious dreams. At the age of eight or nine he studied a little under the master Kortön Radza. When he was fifteen his master passed away and he received teaching on *Pacification* (*zhi-byed*) from master Tuwa over the next five years. During that period he served the master to the best of his ability. When he met master Tuwa at Serlung Monastery he dreamt that two stars were absorbed into the full moon. He requested the *Vajra Bridge* from the elder Dzeng once. Then, when Dzeng Co-se was invited to Pungring he requested the *Vajra Bridge* seven times. He went to Takpo for four winters and obtained the *Vajra Bridge* thirteen and a half times. He stayed with Co-se for eight years and received the *Vajra Bridge* seven more times. Afterwards, he received it twice in Sho, once in

Serlung, and also received parts of the teaching as it was being given to others. Altogether he obtained the *Vajra Bridge* thirty-five times from the two Dzengs, elder and younger. Künzang became the successor to the lineage of their transmitted instructions and also wrote two exegetical treatises, long and short.

Master Künzang had a son called Trülku Öbar Senge, who was endowed with intelligence and perfect discrimination. At the age of fourteen he was taught the *Vajra Bridge*. He transmitted it to the lineage-holder Cogön; and the latter transmitted it to Carme Tshülrin.

OTHER LINEAGES STEMMING FROM DZENG

[211.4-213.5] Dzeng also taught the *Vajra Bridge* to Nyang Dharmasiṃha of Tsentang in Yarlung, who received the blessing and developed all-surpassing realisation. He stayed at Turtrö Monastery and performed extensive acts of service to the world. Finally, he passed away in his seventy-seventh year. There is also an exegetical treatise according to his lineage. His disciple was Vajrapāṇi, and the latter's was Lama Lha.

Again, Dzeng taught Serlungpa. Serlungpa's disciple was the master Rangdröl, who gave the teaching to his son Chörin.

Dzeng also taught Tu Dorje Gyeltsen, who gave the teaching to Tutön Tepa Tsöndrü. There is also an exegetical treatise composed by one of his disciples.

Dzeng gave teaching to Zik Yeshe Wangpo, as well. He transmitted it to Khenpo Lhakawa; he to master Gönkyap; he to master Goriwa, who taught Sotön. And there is an exegetical treatise composed by Sotön.

Dzeng also taught Yaktön Dawa Özer of Pung-ring. He transmitted the teaching to Loktön Gendünkyap, from whose lineage there also originated an exegetical treatise. This Yaktön of Pung-ring lived for almost one hundred years. He also passed the teaching to Laru Pende of upper Önak, and it was duly propagated.

Finally, Dzeng gave teaching as well to Kyetse Yeshe Wangcuk. He passed it down to Zik Yeshe Wangpo; he to the great preceptor Ngurpa; he to Tutön Vajreśvara; he to the great preceptor Sonam Gyeltsen; he to the great preceptor Zhönu Sherap; he to the master Zhönu Trakpa; he to the great preceptor Sangye Zangpo; he to Lama Tsöndrü Wangcuk; he to Thazhi Trakpa Rincen; and he to master Śākya Gyelpo. When the latter was young he was ordained as a novice at Trhaplakha; and eventually he received the complete ordination. He became learned in the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* and the Vinaya, and became a scholar at the college of Kyorlung. His spiritual resolve steadily increased. In old age he grew blind, but continued to teach by explaining the texts after they had been read by another, so great was his enlightened

aspiration. When he passed away at the age of almost one hundred years, numberless relics were recovered from his heart.

Śākya Gyelpo taught [the *Vajra Bridge*] to Gölo Zhönupel,[610] who gave [this and other teachings] to Ce-nga Chöki Trakpa; he to Chöki Lodrö of Sheldrak; he to Khyungtsangwa Lodrö Pelden; he to Pangtön Karma Gurupa; he to Pangtön Chöwang Lhündrup; he to Chöwang Künzang; he to Pangtön Künzang Chögyel. The latter gave these teachings to Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa.[611]

3 *The Esoteric Instructional Class of Atiyoga, the Innermost Spirituality*

[213.5] In the teaching of the Innermost Spirituality, which is most profound, and which belongs to the Esoteric Instructional Class, there are two traditions: that of the transmitted precepts of the great master Padmasambhava and that of the transmitted precepts of master Vimalamitra.

THE TRADITION OF PADMASAMBHAVA

[213.6-215.2] In general, since Orgyen [Padmasambhava], the Second Buddha, embodies the whole ocean of teachers who are endowed with the three buddha-bodies, he does not require an unbroken lineage; for his own characteristics are no different from those of the realms of the three bodies, which include both the realms themselves and the buddhas who inhabit them. None the less, he overtly received the succession of the transmitted precepts from Śrī Siṃha, Mañjuśrīmitra and so on, in order to guide others by his example.

In Tibet, after Vimalamitra had propagated the Innermost Spirituality which belongs to the Esoteric Instructional Class, and Vairocana had propagated the Mental Class, Padmasambhava taught [his own Innermost Spirituality] secretly to Khandro Yeshe Tshogyel at Zhotö Tidro, with the intention of greatly serving living creatures at a future time, when the other traditions would be confused and divorced from the essential instructions.

Then, the princess Pemasel, daughter of the royal consort Cangcupmen of the Drom family, died at the age of eight. Her father the king grew weary in sorrow.[612] To dispel his bereavement Padmasambhava wrote the syllable NR[613] on Pemasel's breast in vermillion – this took place at Chimpu – and he caught hold of her consciousness with the sharp hook of his contemplation. When she could again open her eyes and speak, he gave her the esoteric instructions of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī* (*man-ngag mkha'-'gro'i snying-tig*, NYZ Vols.2-3) by

means of his power to transfer blessings directly; and he empowered her to reveal this doctrine in a future birth. Then he concealed it as a profound treasure. It is this teaching that was later revealed by Pema Lendreltsel,[614] and is known as the *Khandro Nyingtik*, the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī*.

Longcenpa, the all-knowing lord of the doctrine, became the successor to this profound doctrine. A brief description of his life will follow. Moreover, most of the treasures [of Padmasambhava], which contain cycles for the attainment of the three roots, include esoteric instructions in which the fundamental points of the Innermost Spirituality are presented fully, without error.

THE TRADITION OF VIMALAMITRA

Vimalamitra

[215.3-216.3] When King [Trhisong Detsen] established the teaching in Tibet, Vimalamitra was nearly two hundred years old. At that time, there was one named Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo, who could sit without moving for seven years in one continuous session of contemplation and see the four continents all at once with his naked eye. He made a prediction and, at his insistence, the king sent the translators Kawa Peltsek and Cokro Lüi Gyeltsen along with gifts of gold to invite Vimalamitra to Tibet. Vimala saw that the time was ripe for conversion and set out with them. At this point, jealous Indians created discord, so he had to induce faith in the sceptical Tibetans by his amazing miraculous powers. He translated texts concerning the doctrines of cause and effect in general; and, with the help of the translator Yudra Nyingpo, he translated, in particular, the thirteen texts of the Mental Class that are known as the "later translations".[615] He gave teaching on the most profound esoteric instructions, those of the Innermost Spirituality, to the king and to Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo in secret, but seeing no other worthy recipients, he translated and concealed the books at Gegong in Chimpu. After passing thirteen years in Tibet, master Vimalamitra set out for Wu-t'ai-shan[616] in China. He promised to remain alive in that very body for as long as the teaching of the Sage endures, and to elucidate the teaching of the Innermost Spirituality by appearing once every century as an emanation in the land of Tibet.

Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo

[216.3-216.5] Fifty-five years after Vimalamitra went to China, Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo became one who had exhausted the corruptions. When [the deity] Dorje Lekpa devastated Kham with a hailstorm, he offered to Nyang the one hundred camel-loads of barley [he had received



Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo

for it], on the basis of which Nyang built the Zha Temple in Uru.[617] He concealed the books which contained the instructions in the entrance pillar of the three-tiered portico of the temple; and he gave the teachings of the aural lineage to Dro Rincen Barwa. Finally, in the Trak Lhalu Cave at Lhasa, Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo vanished in the rainbow body.

Dangma Lhündrup Gyeltsen

[216.5-218.1] Eight years after the great priest Nyang had dissolved into light, and in the time of Nyangmi Tarma, Uru Zhölma Gecok had a son, called the elder, Dangma Lhündrup Gyeltsen. He was known to be the emanation of Vimalamitra himself, but to the ignorant he appeared as an ordinary elder.[618] Following a prophecy he received from Dorje Lekpa, he discovered the treasures which had formerly been concealed. He also received the verbal lineage from We Lodrö, and then cultivated the experience of reality, without leaving [the teaching] to be merely academic. Fifteen years after obtaining the esoteric instructions he went in search of a worthy recipient, to whom to entrust the exegetical lineage. Then, in upper Nyang he found one Cetsün Senge Wangcuk, and conferred on him the instructions in seven stages.



Dangma Lhündrup Gyeltsen

He also entrusted them to Kharak Gomcung, who lived nearby; and through them the latter, too, attained liberation.[619]

Dangma told Cetsün to copy the books accurately and to take them away during the month of Uttaraphalgunī.[620] Later, when Cetsün was returning with a great many presents, he met Nyang Kadampa of Meldro at Nyetang. Nyang Kadampa informed him that Dangma had passed away. Therefore, Cetsün offered the presents to the monastic community in that place. Nyang, moreover, said to him, "Before, no one knew that Dangma was a remarkable person, and not just an ordinary elder. But when he passed away the sky was filled with rainbows. The remains and relics were innumerable. Everyone present became astonished and regretful. But you appear to have his special instructions, because you were bringing all these presents. Please bestow them upon me." Nyang Kadampa was given the instructions he requested. Then, by meditating for two years at Tidro Rock in Zho, his body vanished without a trace.

Cetsün Senge Wangcuk

[218.1-219.4] The great Cetsün was the son of Ce Thupei Wangpo of Nyangro Nyentso. From his youth he became conversant with many



Cetsün Senge Wangcuk

teachings. He met Dangma the elder in the valley of Rizar Göpo. When Dangma gave the instructions to Kharak [Gomcung], he obtained them all. After the death of his master, Cetsün concealed the books found in the ancient treasures as three separate treasures – one at the foot of the spring at Langdro Chepa Takdra, another at Uyuk, and the third in the upper valley of Cel. He traversed the mountain ranges from Uyuk to Shang practising meditation, at which time an *ācārya* appeared to him in a dream saying:

> O fortunate one! I am the learned Vimalamitra.
> If that which you seek is innermost quintessence,
> On the upper slope of Trakmar Gegong in Chimpu
> there is
> The heart-like, secret Innermost Spirituality.
> Take it and meditate for seven years,
> Not seen by anyone, at Oyuk Chigong.
> The corrupted body will then disappear.

On hearing these words Cetsün went to Chimpu, where a woman with teeth of conch and eyebrows of turquoise gave him the books.

Then, when he sat in meditation in a clay enclosure at Oyuk Chigong, Vimalamitra actually appeared and gave him the complete empowerment, guidance, and instructions in a fortnight. Then master Vimala returned to China.

After meditating for seven years Cetsün attained freedom from any trace of corporeality. He gave the complete instructions to Trülku Zhangtön and, at the age of one hundred and twenty-five, vanished in the sky in a mass of rainbow light. In the thirtieth year after Cetsün had concealed the treasures, Rongnangda Cegom Nakpo discovered some, which he practised himself and taught to many others. Similarly, Shangparepa is also known to have found those concealed at Langdro Chepa Takdra, and to have propagated them widely.

Zhangtön

[219.4-222.2] Zhangtön was born in Yamdrok Tonang in 1097 (fire female ox year). He was named Trashi Dorje. In his eleventh year he asked Lama Cegom for many teachings. From then until he was twenty-one he served many learned and accomplished gurus. By studying the



Zhangtön



Dorje Lekpa

Tripiṭaka and all the tantras, of both the ancient and new translation schools, the lotus of his discriminative awareness blossomed. While living at Khüyül in upper Nyang he had a vision of his guru, the Great Compassionate One, Tārā, and others, all in the sky; and he received prophecies from them.

Once he was guided by Dorje Lekpa, who appeared to him as a white man wearing a white hat and said, "Come with me to find accomplishment." Since there were many attendants of that deity in Patsap in lower Nyang, who provided him with food and drink, he thought that that might have been the accomplishment referred to. But the white man said to him, "Come on to another place for accomplishment," and guided him along the path with his light.

They slept that night in an empty house. But when told that it was a dangerous place they moved to a cave. At that moment the empty house collapsed.

The emanation of Dorje Lekpa also provided Zhangtön with food and drink. When they reached the Oyuk river-basin, a great battle was in progress, but Dorje Lekpa arranged it so that he was invisible to the armies. Then, when they reached the peak of a lion-shaped rock,

Dorje Lekpa disappeared. Zhangtön thought of returning, but there was no way of escape. While looking hesitantly around he discerned the grass-covered entrance of a cave facing north [or: which revealed the inventory of the treasures].[621] On exploring it he at first found many snakes and frogs. Then, when he had found the inventory, the white man came out with a lamp. For a moment Zhangtön heard a harsh piercing sound. When Dorje Lekpa explained that it was the voice of his sister, Ekajaṭī, she herself appeared, fearful to behold with her single eye boiling with blood, and her gnashing fangs. "She has given an oracle that you must undertake one hundred and eight feast offerings, and not teach anyone for three years." Zhangtön arranged for the one hundred and eight offerings by selling two turquoise stones which he found in the grass door of the cave.

In his twenty-fifth year Zhangtön journeyed to Central Tibet. At Chimpu he rediscovered the doctrinal treasures of Vimalamitra, after meeting the latter in person and in visions, and receiving his consent. Then, while returning to Shang Tanak he met the great Cetsün at Zamka, and received from him the complete instructions on the secret Innermost Spirituality.

When Zhangtön was older he had a son, Nyibum, to succeed him as the lineage-holder. Zhangtön used to say that if he had not maintained an assembly of disciples his body would have vanished without a trace. Since he had mastered the aspect of enlightenment known as physical refinement,[622] he sometimes appeared in the form of the Conquerors of the Five Families, and his body never cast a shadow. When he gave teaching on the doctrine of the Great Perfection there were many wonderful signs, such as the unfurling of a rainbow tent. On Saturday 13 May 1167 (twenty-second day, fourth month, fire female pig)[623] great claps of thunder resounded seven times in the eastern sky and the earth trembled three times. With a display of rainbows, light, music from heavenly cymbals, and the fragrances of divine incense, all the signs that he had attained manifest awakening in the original ground, Zhangtön passed away in his seventy-first year. After the cremation at dusk on the following day, five large remains and small relics in five colours, representing the Conquerors of the Five Families,[624] were left behind. A shower of flowers, a rainbow canopy, and other signs also appeared, owing to which many people developed firm faith and naturally entered into meditative absorption.

Nyibum

[222.3-223.5] Zhangtön's disciple was [his own son] Nyibum. When he entered the womb of his mother, Gyẹlmoyang, [she had a dream in which] many suns rose simultaneously. His father then predicted that he would illuminate the dark ignorance of sentient beings and therefore

named him Nyimabum, "One Hundred Thousand Suns". Starting during his fifth year he gradually received the empowerments, guidance, and instructions of the secret Innermost Spirituality from his father; and he thoroughly mastered them as well. When, in his tenth year, he was enthroned, he expounded the *Seventeen Tantras* (*rgyud-bcu-bdun*, NGB Vols.9-10),[625] to the astonishment of all his fellow students. Until his twentieth year he persevered only at practice.



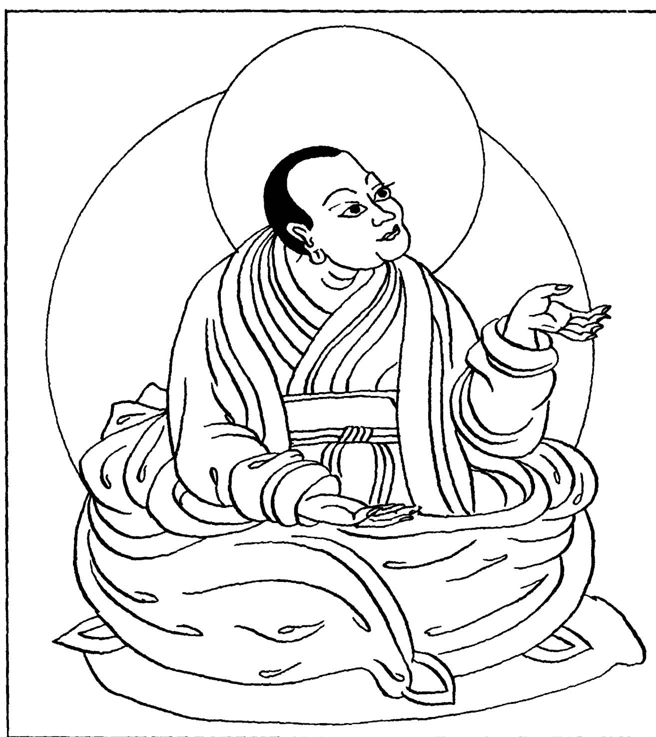
Nyibum

Having become familiar with the contemplation of the apparitional during the aftermath [of meditative absorption],[626] Nyibum went to study the new tantras, along with their esoteric instructions, under Ngok Gyeltse.[627] In his twenty-second year he took Como Gyagar to be his consort in the attainment of accomplishment. In his twenty-seventh, he served Khön Trakpa Gyeltsen[628] and Lama Taksowa; and he became learned in the *Three Continua (rgyud gsum)*[629] along with their instructions and in the Melgyo tradition of the *Cakrasaṃvara*. From Druktön Trakpa of Kharak he received the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Bhaṭṭārikā according to the Tradition of Ra Lotsāwa*, and the *Protector of Pristine Cognition*.[630] He attended on many learned and accomplished gurus, such as Zhang Yudrakpa[631] and Ngok Dorje Senge of Zhung;

and under them he studied many sūtras and tantras with an unbiased mind. He even composed a treatise entitled the *Great Exposition of Words and Meaning* (*tshig-don chen-mo*). Then, in his fifty-sixth year Nyibum passed away. After the cremation remains representing the five buddha families were left behind. A canopy of rainbow colours appeared. *Khukcö* flowers[632] bloomed, even though it was the first month of the year, and so forth. It is well known that Nyibum has been identified with Vajraphala, an emanation of Vajrapāṇi foretold in the *Penetration of Sound*.[633]

Guru Cober

[223.5-224.6] Nyibum's disciple, Guru Cober, was the son of his younger brother, Dawabum. Until his seventh year he appeared to be



Guru Cober

dumb, but from his eighth year onwards discriminative awareness blazed like a fire within him. Until his eighteenth year he lived with his uncle, Nyibum, and received from him the complete empowerments, guidance, and instructions of the unsurpassed secret [i.e. Innermost Spirituality]. By listening to the explanations of the tantras his doubts were resolved. And by meditating on the meaning of the esoteric

instructions he developed diligence in practice. From nineteen to twenty he studied the *Three Continua* along with their instructions under the Translator of Sakya [Sakya Paṇḍita][634] as well as the Melgyo tradition of the *Cakrasaṃvara*. He comprehended Madhyamaka and logic, and also the other sciences. Similarly, he received the transmissions of many scriptures and tantras from many learned and accomplished gurus before reaching his thirty-sixth year. Among them, he received the instructions of Mitrayogī from Trhopu Lotsāwa,[635] the *Compendium of Valid Cognition* from Chumikpa, and the *Dohā*[636] and the Great Seal opuscules from the Nepali, Trakbum. In this way Guru Cober became renowned for his sharp intellect and very great learning.

With each means for attainment he practised he had a vision of the meditational deity, but he never spoke of this because of his profundity. While worshipping the image of Lord Śākyamuni in Lhasa[637] he saw the sublime Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi emerge from within an orb of light. One day at dawn, he had a vision of Amitāyus and said, "Though we do not have a lineage noted for its longevity, it is owing to his blessing that it has turned out all right for me."

Thus, being endowed with infinite learning and compassion, Guru Cober became like a caravan guide for living beings. He finally passed away at the age of sixty. There was a net of rainbow light around him which endured for seven days, and remains in the form of the syllables OṂ ĀḤ HŪṂ and many other relics were left behind.

Trhüzhi Sengegyap

[224.6-226.6] His disciple, Trhüzhi Sengegyap, was born under a canopy of rainbow light at sunrise, in the village of Phuso Getreng in Tra, Yoru. From his ninth year on, his affinity with the enlightened family was awakened, and pure vision and devotion arose boundlessly within him. In his tenth year he perceived this seeming solidity of appearances, like that of dreams, to be without true existence. At twelve, he became utterly disillusioned with the world, and became certain that nothing would help except the doctrine. At thirteen he had a dream in which the sun and moon arose simultaneously; and on waking he had a vision of the sublime Great Compassionate One [Avalokiteśvara], who said, "To attain liberation in one life, meditate on the meaning of Innermost Spirituality."

After that Sengegyap developed boundless compassion, and he regarded all beings as a mother does her only child. For this reason he vowed neither to seek out the company of the high and mighty, nor to avoid the lowly. His great compassion was such that he would not forsake any sentient being, even a louse on his own body. He possessed other special signs of the family of the greater vehicle too, like showing loving kindness to the blind, to beggars and to the poor.



Truzhi Sengegyap

In his eighteenth year he realised that phenomenal appearances are without true existence and he began to rave like a madman. Once, he scattered his parents' offerings to the gods and offered them instead to Gyelpo, a malignant male spirit, and to Senmo, a malignant female spirit. His parents scolded him, saying, "Why did we have a son such as you?"

When Sengegyap was in his twentieth year he was ordained as a novice by the preceptor Deu Gangpa and the master Tre Gangpa. In his twenty-fifth year he went to Sengegyap [the place from which he would take his name] in Sizhel, and there he heard the Tshelpa cycle of doctrines from the middle Sengegyapa; *Crossing the Lion's Neck* (*seng-ge mjing-bsnol*, NGB Vol.2) from Lama Tsariwa; and many teachings of the way of secret mantra according to the ancient and new translation schools, as well as *Pacification*, the *Object of Cutting*, and the Great Seal, from such famous gurus as Repa Trimeö, Lharipel, Zhönubum, Töncar Cangyön, and Co-se.

In particular, as had been predicted by the Great Compassionate One, Sengegyap studied the Great Perfection under Guru Cober; and through it he developed all-surpassing realisation. He remained ab-

sorbed totally in his practice for many years in Trhowoma and other mountain retreats and desolate valleys. Thus, his mind reached the level of primordial purity. He secured many fortunate beings in spiritual maturation and liberation, and, manifesting the special signs that he had realised the fruit of the supreme vehicle, he passed away in his sixty-fourth year.

Melong Dorje

[226.6-229.6] Trhüzhi Sengegyap's disciple, the great accomplished master Melong Dorje, was born in the upper valley of Dra as the son of the yogin Samye. In his ninth year, he was ordained as a novice by the accomplished master Zalungpa, and the preceptor Selungpa. During that period, he would recite the long, medium, and short versions of the *Mother*, the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness* sūtras, at funerals and then, in his sixteenth year, he recited the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Eight Thousand Lines* one hundred times at Zhokteng in the upper valley of Dra. Thereby, he realised the meaning of the abiding nature of reality. When he



Melong Dorje

practised meditation at Zangtso, he blazed with spiritual experiences, and also developed supernormal cognitive powers to a slight degree.

Then, wandering without direction, he attended on Towarepa of Tshurpu, and on many other gurus. He visited many great pilgrimage places, such as Shawuk Tago and Kharcu. He could endure very great hardships, as when he sustained his life for one month and twenty days on a measure of barley. Indeed, his austerity cannot be imagined.

When Melong Dorje was in his eighteenth year, he met Sangye Önpo of Sengegyap [Trhüzhi Sengegyap] and received the esoteric instructions of Innermost Spirituality. He was inspired by the thought that his desire for esoteric instructions was now fulfilled; and he meditated upon them. Even while engaged in the preliminary practice he had a vision of Vajrasattva that continued for six full days. And during the actual ground of the practice he met the gurus of the lineage in a dream, and was blessed by them.[638]

In his twenty-third year he studied many treasure doctrines, including those concerning Vajravarāhī, under Sangye Repa; and after propitiating Vajravarāhī he actually met her in a vision. When he struck a rock with his "secret vajra" it actually penetrated the stone.[639] He also had visions of Hayagrīva, Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, the great master Padmasambhava, Samantabhadra, Vajrasattva, Vimalamitra, Zalungpa, Sangye Repa, and the lord of beings Phakmotrupa. At Tunglung he heard the most melodious voice of a ḍākinī declare that he had cut off the stream of rebirth. In Kawacen the Red Varāhī and the accomplished master Zalungpa appeared in the sky before him. When he visited Ngarcung, he saw Varāhī and her five attendants in a dream. And, on awakening, he actually saw her body of light. Then, at Kyapne Dzong, Vajrasattva empowered him into the Great Perfection during a dream.

In general, Melong Dorje attended on many gurus, but among them thirteen were particularly sublime. He obtained that which is of most central significance [i.e. the Great Perfection] from Zalungpa, an accomplished master of matchless compassion, from Towarepa of Tshurpu, and from Trhüzhi Sengegyap. Because of his very great discipline his conduct was impeccable, free from acceptance and rejection; so he was able to observe the commitments of the way of secret mantra to the letter. Like a young vulture soaring in the sky, he traversed the heavens by the sheer power of the discipline of awareness. And he made solid rock seem like clay. In the lands of Khenpajong, Khenpaling,[640] Sengedzong and Kharcu, he planted the banner of attainment and served living creatures.

Melong Dorje had been destined to live for thirty-seven years, but owing to the prayers of a worthy being named master Künga, he passed away at the age of sixty-one, in the charnel ground of Labar. At that time everyone saw a great light, accompanied by sound, which vanished in the western direction. During the cremation a blanket of five-coloured

light stretched out in the sky over the crematorium (*pur-khang*), and innumerable other wonderful omens occurred. Remains indicating that he had realised the five bodies of buddhahood were left behind, just as they are described in the tantras.

This Melong Dorje was a contemporary of the accomplished master Orgyenpa, but Orgyenpa was ten years his senior and lived a longer life.[641]

Kumārādza

[229.6-236.5] The disciple of Melong Dorje was the awareness-holder Kumārādza.[642] He was born in a market town called Önbar Sardzingka in Yoru in 1266 (fire male tiger). He received the name Tharpagyen. From childhood he possessed many special qualities; for he was endowed with faith, compassion, discriminative awareness and the other aspects of sublime wealth. Thus, he learned how to read and to write without studying. In his seventh year he received the empowerments of *Hevajra* and of *Cakrasaṃvara* from Lama Gyedor of Orshö Thoteng Monastery in Kongpo. In his ninth year he was fully ordained as a layman by the preceptor Tsangpa, and practised the doctrinal cycle of



Kumārādza

Avalokiteśvara, the Churner of Saṃsāra's Hellish Depths.[643] In his twelfth year he was ordained as a novice by the preceptor Yerwapa of Phakmotru and the master Ngaripa. The name Zhönu Gyelpo [Kumārādza] was conferred upon him and he studied the Vinaya. He studied, too, the *Six Doctrines of Nāropā* and other teachings, over a period of five years under Rinpoche Trak-ye, and the *Hevajra Tantra* under Tshar Tengpa. Also, he trained as an artist under Ön Sangshe.

When Kumārādza recited the Six-Syllable Mantra he had a vision in which he saw the smiling face of the Great Compassionate One in a crystal room. He received many tantras, transmissions, and esoteric instructions belonging to the Ancient Translation School from Khyung Nakshadar; and, when he met Melong Dorje at Ngarpuk, he requested guidance on the Great Seal, through which he came face to face with the naked reality of mind.

Then Kumārādza went to serve the great, accomplished master Melong Dorje at Khandroling in Mön. He received the cycle of doctrines devoted to Vajravarāhī and others as well. When he performed the ritual service [of Vajravarāhī] he had a vision of Padmasambhava of Oḍḍiyāna, who appeared on the evening of the tenth day of the month and said, "O son of the enlightened family! Always practise the doctrine!"

Kumārādza went to Tshurpu, too, where he received the cycle of the Karmapa's doctrines from Nyenre and from Tarma Gönpo. When he went to Tingri and to Purang in Latö he met the great, accomplished master Orgyenpa and the venerable Karmapa Rangjung Dorje, who, in his seventh year, had just been ordained as a novice. Kumārādza received many instructions from Orgyenpa, and in a single month he obtained all the teachings of the Innermost Spirituality, which Orgyenpa had received from Nyenre over some years.

Also, Kumārādza received the secret cycles of the Great Perfection, for instance, the *Introduction to the Essence of the Secret Cycle (gsang-skor gnad-kyi ngo-sprod)* from Namkei Dorje of Gyamen, and the *Secret Mirror of the Essence (gsang-ba gnad-kyi me-long)* from Keldenpa Chöki Senge.

Again, in Kharcu he fully obtained the empowerments, guidance, and instructions of the Innermost Spirituality from the great, accomplished master Melong Dorje. Because he had nothing else to offer he served his guru with body and speech, and spent two whole summers painting for him. The master gave him four loads of barley, and two of these he used to buy paper, on which he copied books during the night. The other two provided butter lamps and his own food. Because of his austerities he contracted a severe case of lice; but extraordinary spiritual resolve was born within him.

His guru was delighted and advised him to act on behalf of living beings. Once, during an empowerment, he saw the four-armed



Ekajaṭī

Mahākāla above the guru's head, and the dark-blue Ekajaṭī in front of the door. She appeared twice the size of a man, wielding an impaling stake and holding a she-wolf, while outside the door the witch who served her, whose locks were drenched in blood, drank blood which she held in her cupped hands.

Kumārādza served the guru for eight consecutive years. He passed a full winter in the hollow of Nyuktsel, one of the places of practice hallowed by the precious master from Oḍḍiyāna; and there he had a vision of Vajravarāhī. His discriminative awareness became limitless.

He built a hermitage at Tsharteng in Yarlung and stayed there for some time. Later, knowing that his guru had passed away, he went to Kharcu and met the guru's two sons in Sakyak. On returning home he held a memorial ceremony on the twenty-fifth day of the month.

When Kumārādza travelled to Tsāri, five-coloured rainbows penetrated a stone image in the meadow of Trikmo-lha and he encountered many other omens as well. Then, when invited to Tshurpu by Karmapa Rangjung Dorje, the master of the doctrine, he offered to him the instructions of the Innermost Spirituality. He went to Shang and received the aural lineage of the Secret Cycles and the *Lamp for the Eye*

of Contemplation (*bsam-gtan mig-gi sgron-me*) from master Gompa, a spiritual descendant of Cegom Nakpo. At Namar in Tingri he attended on Pönpo Cangdrup's discourses on Yang-gönpa's *Teachings for Retreat* (*yang-dgon-pa'i ri-chos rnams*). He also met Orgyenpa Rincenpel. On the return journey he received the *Black Yamāri* and other teachings from Lama Tralungpa.

Kumārādza mastered most of the teachings on the stage of perfection which were well known in Tibet: the *Secret Cycles* (*gsang-skor*); the *Cycle of Götsangpa's Guidance* (*rgod-tshang-pa'i khrid-kyi skor*); the *Cycle of Meaning, which is Aro's Great System of Guidance* (*a-ro'i khrid-mo-che don-skor*); and so on. These he received from many spiritual benefactors such as master Yegön and others.

He endured hardships for the sake of the doctrine: On one occasion he went to Tsāri Sarma and lived alone for eight months by the shore of Nyingmei Yutso, the Turquoise Lake. Because great miraculous powers arise when [one realises] the common savour with respect to the disposition of reality, Kumārādza held sway over the local divinities and invited them to his house, where they served and venerated him. Jambhala presented him with a precious gem. Once, he saw a bubble of five-coloured light, about the size of his thumb, dissolve into the lake.

Kumārādza's heart wept with disillusionment and sorrow [at the impermanence and suffering of the world] and, therefore, he always lived in mountain hermitages and totally desolate valleys like Shampo, with only a wind-break for shelter. Acting thus, he delivered many disciples from saṃsāra.

Because his foremost disciples in the Great Perfection were the indubitable emanation Karmapa Rangjung Dorje and the conqueror Longcenpa, Kumārādza's activity as a propagator of this teaching had no limit or end. Just so, the king of the doctrine Drigung Rincen Phüntsok has said, "The master of the teaching of this doctrine was the all-knowing Longcenpa. Its great expansion was effected in the time of the conqueror Rangjung Dorje."[644]

Kumārādza had thoroughly trained himself in the conduct of a bodhisattva and so, by the power of great compassion, he totally devoted himself to planting by skilful means the seed of liberation in many villages and districts. He gave safe passage to all who travelled on the terrifyingly dangerous trail from Kongpo to E; and he was truly endowed with loving kindness toward wild animals, fish, and other feeble creatures. Thus, he unstintingly exerted himself to form sanctuaries by the mountains, roads, and rivers; and he made the land happy and gentle. He alleviated the misfortunes of frost, hail, and infectious disease and so on, in all the districts, towns and countries in which he dwelt; and he was totally devoted to benefitting others.

Kumārādza was able to explain the instructions of the Innermost Spirituality without mixing them with other systems of the stage of

perfection; and thus he created a philosophical system in the technical language [of the Great Perfection itself].[645] The tip of his nose was marked with the syllable A. Ekajaṭī, protectress of the way of secret mantra, Rāhula, the planetary divinity, and the oath-bound Dorje Lekpa obeyed his command,[646] and he could converse with them as with men. By supernormal cognitive powers he knew the thoughts of those requiring teaching and thus was skilled at teaching, and could bless the minds of others.

To all the fortunate ones who were his disciples special signs arose at the time of his passing. For all of these reasons he is said to have been an emanation of Vimalamitra. And there is a prophecy in the *Penetration of Sound* which refers to him as Gelong Pelden, the "Glorious Monk".[647]

After innumerable acts of service to living creatures, Kumārādza passed away during his seventy-eighth year, on Sunday 14 September 1343 (twenty-fifth day, eighth month, water female sheep).[648] His passing was attended by sound, light, a rainbow canopy and other wondrous omens. His attendant Gomdar and other close followers were consumed with fervent devotion at that time, and the master rose again. Sitting cross-legged and smiling, he said, "Do not grieve. I am not dead." And he gave them suitable instruction and advice. He prolonged his life for thirteen days and then, on the morning of the seventh day of the following month, his disciples asked, "What are we to do after your passing? Should we invite the all-knowing guru, Longcenpa?"

He answered, "Do not bother him. If even now you have not resolved your doubts regarding the doctrine, then go to him. But I have already given you much advice. Do not indulge in idle talk."

Then, crouching in the posture of a *ṛṣi* he smiled, with his eyes fixed in the gaze of the buddha-body of reality. At dawn, on the eighth, he journeyed to wherever it is that the primordial city may be found. After the cremation, which was held on the twenty-fifth of the month, his whole skull was left behind. It contained the maṇḍala of the Conquerors of the Five Families, a whole blue-coloured image of Bhaṭṭārikā above the right ear, and five kinds of remains and relics. And all around there was a dense canopy of rainbow light.

Karmapa III, Rangjung Dorje

[236.5-238.5] The lord among conquerors, Karmapa Rangjung Dorje, was the actual presence in the world of the sublime Avalokiteśvara. He was summoned from the expanse of reality by a song of indestructible reality [sung by] the ḍākinīs of pristine cognition. Gazing upon sentient beings with boundless compassion he entered the world by resurrecting the corpse of the dead son of an elderly couple from Tölung. But people said, "It is an ill omen for the eyes of the dead to see the living!" And they gouged out his eyes with a needle.

The Karmapa then abandoned that body, which was no longer perfect with respect to the eight liberties and ten endowments. He transferred his consciousness and took birth as the son of a yogin and a yoginī.

It is well known that with the exceptions of Śākyamuni Buddha in India and this great, accomplished master in Tibet, no one else possessed such recollection of past lives, without even a hair's breadth of obscuration, and was completely unpolluted by the taints of the womb. In India and Tibet respectively, they were unique life-giving trees of the Buddha's teaching.



Karmapa III, Rangjung Dorje

Karmapa obtained the treasure of the elixir of life at Samye Chimpu and Yamalung; and he used it to prolong the life of the Chinese emperor.[649] He saw Vimalamitra vanish in the circle of hair between his own eyebrows, whereupon the intention of the Innermost Spirituality was properly revealed to him. But, in order to show others how to attend on the guru in accord with the way of secret mantra, he surpassed pride and studied the complete esoteric instructions of the Secret Innermost Spirituality under the awareness-holder Kumārādza. When he realised that there had to be a lineage of this teaching coming from the great master Padmasambhava, he had a vision of that master, the Second

Buddha. He received the esoteric instructions of the Innermost Spirituality directly from him; but to preserve the verbal lineage he invited Gyelse Lekpa of Sho, and received the complete teaching from him at the New Tsāri Hermitage.

Moreover, Rangjung Dorje taught his own disciples to be adept in the Great Perfection. He gave to Menlungpa Śākya Zhönu and others an order saying that, in order to prevent the decline of this doctrine, it should be propagated in Tsang by Yungtön Dorjepel,[650] in Kham and Kongpo by Yegyelwa, in Mongolia and China by Yeshe Gyeltsen, and in Central Tibet by Trülkuwa.

There is a well-known prophecy referring to Karmapa Rangjung Dorje:

> This teaching will be propagated
> To the shores of the oceans,
> By a bodhisattva who abides on the [ten] levels.[651]

Samantabhadra was naturally manifest in the expanse of Rangjung Dorje's mind; and when he had mastered the great treasure of his intention he originated the instructions known as the *Innermost Spirituality of Karmapa* (*karma snying-tig*), which was also one fountain-head of the teaching.

4 *Longcen Rapjampa*

[238.5-277.4] The second conqueror, the all-knowing lord of speech from glorious Samye, Longcen Rapjampa, hailed from a line of noble descent – that of Öki Kyinkorcen, the ruler of Ngenlam – in the village of Tödrong, in the Tra valley of Yoru. His clan was Rok, and his father was of the twenty-fifth generation descended from the family of the *bhikṣu* Gyelwa Choyang, who had been a direct disciple of the great master Padmasambhava, and one of the "seven men who were tested". This figure was also known by the name Jñānendrarakṣita or, in Tibetan, Yeshe Wangposung.[652] Longcenpa's grandfather, Lhasung, had lived for one hundred and fifty years by achieving the alchemical transformation of deathless nectar; and his father, master Tenpasung, was adept at the sciences and the yoga of mantras. Longcenpa's mother, Dromza Sonamgyen, was descended from the family of Dromtön Gyelwei Jungne.[653]

When Longcenpa was conceived his mother dreamt that the rays of the sun shone upon the forehead of an enormous lion, illuminating the three world realms, and vanished into her body. On Saturday 2 March 1308 (tenth day, second month, earth monkey year of Phurbu, fifth cycle)[654] he was released from her womb. Namdru Remati raised the babe in her hand,[655] just as Devendra had done to Prince Siddhārtha, and said, "I shall protect him." She returned the child to the mother and vanished.

Because the bodhisattva was rich from the beginning in sublime wealth, the attributes of faith and compassion were clearly and unobstructedly present within him. From his fifth year he knew well how to read and write. He received many means for attainment and ceremonies from his father, such as those of the *Gathering of the Sugatas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-brgyad bder-'dus*), *Vajrakīla*, *Hayagrīva*, and the *Text on the Rites of the Guru* (*bla-ma'i las-gzhung*). He also obtained a sufficient understanding of medicine, astrology and the other sciences. In his ninth year he memorised completely the sūtras of the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness in Twenty-*



Longcen Rabjampa

five Thousand Lines and in *Eight Thousand Lines*, by reciting them one hundred times. In his twelfth year he was ordained as a novice by the preceptor Samdrup Rincen of Samye and master Künga Özer; and he received the name Tshültrim Lodrö.

Longcenpa made a thorough study of the Vinaya of the true doctrine and was capable of explaining its meaning to others during his fourteenth year. At sixteen he received many empowerments, instructions and much guidance from master Trashi Rincen: those of the Path and Fruit (*lam-'bras*); the *Two Systems of the Six Doctrines* (*chos-drug gnyis*); the *Six Doctrines of Varāhī* (*phag-mo'i chos-drug*, T 1551-6); *Cakrasaṃvara according to the Tradition of Ghaṇṭāpāda (bde-mchog dril-bu-pa,* T 1432); and the *Great Assembly of Vajrapāṇi* (*phyag-rdor 'khor-chen*). From gurus such as master Wang-ye, Töntshül, and Trhopupa, he received many tantras of the way of secret mantra, including those belonging to the Kriyātantra, Caryātantra, and Yogatantra; and also the *Indestructible Tent*; the *Ocean of Ḍākas* (*Ḍākārṇava*, T 372); the *Buddhakapāla*; the *Vajra Garland*; and the *Kālacakra*. And from the precious Zalungpa and others he received the *Cycle of Instructions of Zhang Tshelpa* (*zhang-tshal-pa'i gdams-skor*); the *Guidance on the Path according to Götsangpa*

(*rgod-tshang-pa'i lam-khrid*); the *Object of Cutting*; and *Pacification according to the Early, Middle and Later Traditions* (*zhi-byed snga-phyi-bar-gsum*).

In his nineteenth year Longcenpa entered the seminary of Sangpu Neutok, which had been founded by Ngok Lekpei Sherap, and which was the great academy for the study of logic in Tibet.[656] Under master Tsengönpa, the fifteenth to hold the seat of Lingtö [at Sangpu], and Labrangpa Chöpel Gyeltsen, the sixteenth to hold the seat, he studied the scriptural authorities and theoretical reasoning of the dialectical vehicle, including the *Five Doctrines of Maitreya*, the *Seven Sections on Valid Cognition*, Transcendental Perfection, and Madhyamaka. From Pang Lo Lodrö Tenpa he received such inner treatises as the *Five Profound Sūtras* (*zab-chos mdo-lnga*), which include the *Sūtra of the King of Contemplation*; the *Detailed Commentary on the Heart Sūtra of Discriminative Awareness* (*Āryaprajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, T 3821); and many other miscellaneous transmissions, along with all the outer and ordinary subjects: grammar, poetics, prosody, drama and so on. Thus, he reached the culmination of learning.

When Longcenpa propitiated Mañjughoṣa, Sarasvatī, Acala, and the White Varāhī he had visions of them all. In particular, Sarasvatī, the goddess of melodious sound, carried him in the palm of her hand and showed him around Mount Sumeru and the four continents in seven days. From her he received a prophecy [of his impending enlightenment].

He independently achieved the great accomplishment of unobstructed intelligence, and so, obtaining fearless brilliance in [the study of] the prolific scriptures and sciences, the great drum of his reputation resounded in all directions, conferring on him the titles "Samye Lungmangwa" (Samye's Recipient of Many Transmissions) and "Longcen Rapjampa" (Extensively Learned One who is Like Vast Space).[657]

Under four gurus, including masters Ten Phakpa, Zhönu Töndrup, and Nyötingmawa Sangye Trakpa, he studied teachings belonging to the Ancient Translation School of the vehicle of indestructible reality, in particular, the *Trio of the Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions, the Magical Net, and the Mental Class*, as well as the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa* (*rnying-ma rgyud-'bum*). Under the master Zhöngyel and others he studied the complete tradition of the sublime Nāgārjuna, including the *Clearly Worded Commentary* and the *Introduction to the Madhyamaka* [both by Candrakīrti]. Under Zhöndor he studied [Śāntideva's] *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva* and *Compendium of Lessons*, and so on, as well as the *Cycle of the Meditational Deities of Atiśa* (*jo-bo'i yi-dam-skor*), the *Six-limbed Yoga* (*Kālacakraṣaḍaṅgayoga*), and the *Six Doctrines* [*of Nāropā*, *nā-ro chos-drug*, T 2330]. Under his preceptor he studied the *Cycle of Trhopupa* (*khro-phu-pa'i*

skor) and the *Doctrinal Cycle of Kharak* (*kha-rag chos-skor*), as well as the *Ocean of Means for Attainment* (*sgrub-thabs rgya-mtsho*, T 3400-644), the *Hundred Brief Doctrines* (*chos-chung brgya-rtsa*, T 4465-567), the *Transmissions of the Vinaya*, and a great many others.

Longcenpa studied many transmitted doctrines under lord Rangjung Dorje, including the *Six-limbed Yoga and its Means to Remove Obstacles* (*sbyor-drug gegs-sel dang bcas-pa*); the *Six Doctrines of Nāropā*, the *Introduction to the Three Bodies* (*sku-gsum ngo-sprod*), *Jinasāgara* (*rgyal-ba rgya-mtsho*), *Avalokiteśvara according to the Tradition of the King* (*spyan-ras-gzigs rgyal-po-lugs*), *Guhyasamāja*, the *Sampuṭa Tantra* (T 381), the *Mahāmāya*, and the forms of *Red* and *Black Yamāri* (T 468-70). Under master Wangtsül he studied the *Six-limbed Yoga*, the *Oḍḍiyāna Tradition of Ritual Service and Attainment* (*bsnyen-sgrub*, i.e. *o-rgyan bsnyen-sgrub*), teachings on vital energy (*rlung-skor*), and many others as well. Under Lama Tampa [Sonam Gyeltsen] of Sakya[658] he studied the many profound doctrines of the Sakyapa, including the *Great Development of the Enlightened Mind* (*sems-bskyed chen-mo*), and the Path and Fruit. Under Zhöndor of Shuksep-ri, a disciple in the line of the three famous gurus of the lineage of Pacification – namely, Ma [Chöki Sherap], So[-cung Gendünbar], and Kam [Yeshe Gyeltsen][659] – he studied the *Three Dohā Cycles* (*do-hā skor-gsum*), the *Three Cycles on Retreat Practice* (*ri-chos skor-gsum*), and the *Hundred Causal Relations* (*rten-'brel brgya-rtsa*).

In short, Longcenpa comprehended most of the philosophical and spiritual systems that were known in the land of snow mountains. He developed an unobstructed facility for explanation, disputation, and composition. Thus, he thoroughly mastered all the branches of conventional science [i.e. grammar, logic, etc.], the textual traditions of the sūtras and of the way of mantras, the cycles of esoteric instruction, and so forth.

Then, because in general he was endowed with boundless sorrow and disillusionment at the condition of the world, he resolved to live in solitude. Seeing the partisan behaviour and misconduct of the Khampa scholars[660] at his college Longcenpa became disgusted and decided to go off to live as a mendicant free from worldly cares. The preceptor and students, who perceived the rare incisiveness of this holy man, could not bear it, and earnestly tried to delay his departure. But he set out undeterred. Near the reliquary of the great translator Ngok,[661] he met an inquisitive monk who sought to delay him further. Longcenpa disclosed the nature of his distress and the monk also complained of the behaviour of the Khampa scholars. The monk encouraged him and said, "Now that you have left the college and there is no limitation on your ability as an author, you should publicise the infamy of the Khampas." For amusement Longcenpa filled a small page, which the monk carried and attached to the throne in the teaching court. When the Khampas noticed it they removed the letter from sight, but the thirty-

line alphabetical poem, beginning with the line, "Like the ogres who roam in Kaliṅga...," circulated all over the kingdom.[662]

Longcenpa then wandered about without direction, and devoted himself exclusively to practice. When he had practised yoga in darkness for five months in the Gyamei Cokla Cave, he heard the music of cymbals and melodious song. When a visible manifestation arose, he saw that it was a girl of sixteen years, robed in a train of silk, adorned with gold and turquoise ornaments. She rode upon a horse covered with leather mail that was adorned with bells, and her own face was concealed by a golden veil. He clasped the hem of her dress and prayed, "Please bless me, sublime one!" She removed a crown of precious gems from her head and placed it upon the head of the all-knowing one, saying, "From now on I shall always bless you, and bestow accomplishment on you." Longcenpa remained immersed for a long while in a blissful, radiant, non-discursive contemplation. This was an auspicious sign that he would encounter a doctrine associated with the esoteric instructions of the Great Perfection.

Then, in his twenty-ninth year, he went to meet the genuine guru Kumārādza, who was residing in the uplands of Yartökyam at Samye during the spring and summer seasons. On the way he met Yakde Paṇcen,[663] who urged him to approach His Presence, the Karmapa, but Longcenpa continued his journey without paying attention. In the uplands of Yartökyam he met the awareness-holder Kumārādza, who lived with his group of disciples in about seventy fabric wind-breaks. The master said to them, "Last night I dreamt that a wonderful bird, which announced itself to be a divine bird, came with a large flock in attendance, and carried away my books in all directions. Therefore, someone will come to hold my lineage." He was utterly delighted.

At the same time Longcenpa was abjectly sad, because he had no tribute to offer for the doctrine. He thought, "I should not approach the guru without some tribute for the doctrine. As I have none, I should be ashamed to move on during the daytime, so I will go to the lower part of this valley at dawn tomorrow." But the guru, who knew of his thoughts by supernormal cognitive powers, told [his disciples] that Longcenpa was blameless, for he had offered his tribute inwardly. Two of them repeated this to Longcenpa, who greatly rejoiced.

To arouse disillusionment [towards the world] in his disciples, the awareness-holder Kumārādza had no fixed home. During the spring and summer of that year he wandered nine times from one deserted valley to the next. Because it seemed as if they had to move just as they had made camp, Longcenpa could obtain neither food, nor clothing. With the change of seasons he was completely worn out by the bitter cold and the icy terrain; and he survived for two months on nothing but three measures of flour and twenty-one mercury pills. Then, when the snow fell he lived inside a sack garment which served

both as a robe, and as a bed. In these and other ways he endured inconceivable austerity for the sake of the doctrine.

That year he obtained the empowerments, guidance and instructions on the Great Perfection, the secret Innermost Spirituality, and then he meditated upon it.

The next year Kumārādza filled him, as if he were a vase, with higher empowerments and with the tantras, transmissions, and esoteric instructions of the Three Classes of the Great Perfection, along with the rites of the protectors of the doctrine. He was appointed to be the successor to the teaching, and vowed to practise [in retreat] for six years.

In his thirty-first year Longcenpa guided many fortunate beings to spiritual maturation and liberation at Nyipu Shuksep, by means of the Innermost Spirituality. At that time a yogin, Özer Koca, discovered the text of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī* after great trials; and he offered it to Longcenpa to examine. Simultaneously, Longcenpa received the book in a dream from [the protectress] Shenpa Sokdrupma (Butcher Life-grantress).

The following year, his thirty-second, while he was practising at Rimochen in Chimpu, he gave teaching of the Innermost Spirituality to eight fortunate yogins and yoginīs. When he conferred the blessing of the elaborate empowerment one yoginī was possessed by Ekajaṭī, the protectress of mantra; and she began to dance. The other disciples could not bear her radiance, but the guru said, "You need not worry because she is possessed by a ḍākinī. As I am a yogin who has realised that mind and appearances are of the same savour, no obstacles will come of it."

Then the yoginī bowed before the guru. Gazing upon the maṇḍala, she said, "Why is there no peacock quill?"

Longcenpa replied, "I have visualised it mentally."

"In this symbolic doctrine, what has that got to do with it?" With that question, she removed the vase's supporting platform and set down three vases fastened together. The master then performed the ceremony in perfect detail and she clasped her hands together and voiced her approval. When he omitted the final letter *s* from the word *rigs*, and pronounced it as *rik*, she said, "No, no! You should say *rigs*."[664] And while he was reciting the mantra, she said, "You should imitate me," and she sang it in a strange, harmonious melody in the ḍākinīs' language.

During the actual ground or main part of the empowerment, the yoginī sang a song about view and meditation which are beyond the range of intellectual appraisal:

> Mind free from meditation is joyful.
> Mind free from meditation – Oh my! it is happy.

Saying that the offerings were of poor quality and insufficient, she offered, instead, her melodious song. And during the feast offering,

when nectar was offered to the guru, she said, "This is a sacrament of the ḍākinīs. You must take it, by all means." And she invited him to drink it all.

At that time, the group of disciples also became exhilarated and they began to sing and to dance. They attained one-pointed absorption in inner radiance, which transcends ordinary sleep,[665] and they could actually see the forms of various warriors, ḍākinīs, and protectors of the doctrine. A black woman appeared and said, "The first fruits of the offering of barley flour have diminished." And the oath-bound Dorje Lekpa appeared in the form of a white man who said, "There is no red ornament [i.e. meat] on my *torma*."

Como Dangla came in the guise of a white man riding on a white horse, desirous of a *torma* offering, but he declined the red *torma* offered to him. A host of ḍākinīs raised a parasol above Longcenpa and circumambulated him uttering such fearsome sounds as HŪṂ and PHAT in a tumultuous uproar. And many other inconceivable miracles also took place. One yogin remarked, "Tonight heaven and earth are reversed. No doubt they're after flesh and blood!" And he was terrified.

In the same way, the protectors Ode Kungyel, Nyencen Thangla, and the seven Menmo sisters came to take their *torma* offerings.[666] Then Vajravarāhī actually appeared, her blue body adorned with precious gems and bone ornaments. At that time there was an exchange of questions. She said, "This is a wild night. I have come to spy on the worthy disciples. How is the health of your holy guru [Kumārādza]?"

"This year his health almost failed. Now what will happen?"

Vajravarāhī replied, "How can obstacles come to an emanation of a buddha? The obstacles are the expression of his intention on behalf of his disciples. Do you not know that he is Vimalamitra, returned to Tibet?"

Longcenpa asked, "How long will he live?"

"Until the next year of the sheep. After that, whether he lives or not will depend on his disciples."

"But have I not been urged by guru Kumārādza to help others?"

"Yes, indeed!"

"If I practise the means for attainment in solitude will I achieve the body of light? If I help others instead, then how much will I benefit sentient beings? And how long can I live?"

"Even though you achieve the body of light, you must help sentient beings. Serve others and you can live for thirty more years!"

Then the guru asked, "Who are the protectors of my transmitted precepts?"

"There are a great many. All those of the guru are yours, especially Dorje Yudrönma. Accordingly, the quarter in which you are to serve the world is in the south-west. In your next life your service to the world will be even greater than it is in the present one."[667]

"Well", he asked, "is that owing to the teaching of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī*? Is it all right to confer its empowerment and guidance?"

"Oh, yes indeed, yes indeed! There will be absolutely no error. You are certainly the master of this doctrine."

"But then will people not think that I am a hypocrite [for openly granting the secret teaching]?"

"Why pay attention to slander? I myself will assemble the worthy ones. The unworthy, after all, slander even the Buddha."

Then he asked, "Should I reveal the transmitted doctrines of the Innermost Spirituality in the domain of Dorje Yudrönma?"

"Because the ḍākinīs naturally assemble here, this is where you should reveal the teaching."

Then she made a clear prophetic declaration regarding the treasure troves in Bumthang.[668] Afterwards, he asked, "Will I meet the great master Padmasambhava?"

"In the uplands of three valleys, in the lowlands of three mountains, and in the right-hand corner of a small cave facing west; there you shall meet him."

"When will I meet Vimalamitra?" he asked.

"You have already met him," she answered.[669]

"Is the view that I have realised the ultimate intention of the Innermost Spirituality?"

"There can be no error with respect to the ultimate," she replied.

Then master Rindor [who was one of those present] asked, "Where is Pangangpa Rincen Dorje?"[670]

Vajravarāhī pointed her finger at Longcenpa and said, "Here he is!"

But Longcenpa objected, "His next life was to have been in Bumthang. How can I be he?"

"That is so, but he has not been born thus; for it became necessary for him to explore the field of the buddha-body of perfect rapture in the meantime. After the master Rincen Dorje discovered his treasures he was to practise for some years in secret. Had he done so, he would have mastered, for his own sake, the inner radiance that is the buddha-body of perfect rapture; and he would have been of great service to others. But, because he did not maintain secrecy, he did not live out his full span. Now that he has been born as yourself, the manifestation of inner radiance that you have integrated into your practice of the path *is* that brief exploration of the field of the buddha-body of perfect rapture."

Then Longcenpa asked, "Will my body vanish without a trace?"

"You could achieve that right now if you were to meditate in solitude, but if you serve others you will be liberated during the intermediate state. Your emanation will take birth in Bumthang and will serve others. He, moreover, will journey to the western land of Oḍḍiyāna and reveal the attainment of buddhahood."

"Which tradition", he asked, "will be more beneficial for me to use, the *Innermost Spirituality of Vimalamitra* (*bi-ma'i snying-thig*, NYZ Vols.7-9) or that of the *Ḍākinī*?"

"Both are beneficial. The Vimalamitra tradition will be widespread for a hundred years; and the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī* will endure for five hundred years, beginning today."[671]

After that Longcenpa also became exhilarated, and he arose. He sang a song of indestructible reality, which ended as follows:

> This life is bliss and the next will be happy.
> Bliss has arisen from knowing the intermediate state!
> And now, to greater bliss still will I pass.
> I offer this song, O Three Precious Jewels!
> Be delighted! Rejoice! you host of ḍākinīs!

[When he had finished singing] everyone saw an even more inconceivable host of ḍākinīs, all of whom finally dissolved into the guru. They perceived him, then, to be transformed into the buddha-body of perfect rapture for some time.

It was on the twenty-eighth day of the month that the great master Padmasambhava arrived from the south-western frontier. His complexion was white and radiant and he wore a silk cloak and a soft hat made from the hide of a young antelope. He was surrounded by an infinitely large retinue of followers and was seen to vanish into the guru himself. That night ḍākinīs wearing bone ornaments, who were flying to and fro in the sky, honoured him. Three dark brown women began to dance, and they sang:

> Yes, we have arrived, arrived from the land of great bliss.
> We have come to spy on your worthy disciples.
> We have come to inspect the purity of commitments.
> May you benefit the world, O enlightened son!

Then, when Longcenpa was making the inner offering, the great master Padmasambhava appeared, with Vimalamitra to his right, and Vajravarāhī to his left. In front of him there were many ḍākinīs, blowing on thigh-bone trumpets. And behind him were numerous mantra adepts, who were dancing, and ḍākinīs dressed in golden robes, who were singing and dancing. In the midst of the assembly the guru rose and sang songs of indestructible reality:

> Be joyful and happy, all of you yogins.
> Tonight, in the pure Akaniṣṭha realm,
> In my body, a palace of gods peaceful and wrathful,
> The maṇḍala of the conquerors, empty and radiant, unfolds.
> The Buddha dwells not outside, but within!

And:

> O meditator who abides in mind alone,
> Let your mind be at rest, not grasping one point;
> For mind is empty when it proliferates, empty at rest:
> Whatever arises is pristine cognition's play.

At that time the white goddess, Dorje Yudrönma, arrived with her seven sisters and asked him to visit her domain. "I want to live forever in your domain," said Longcenpa.

"I would rejoice if you were to live there forever, but it seems you will not stay beyond mid-winter."

He then asked, "Why have you come to me?"

"I was bound under an oath of allegiance by the guru Padmasambhava. I come in the wake of his treasures."

"But the treasures are yonder, and the adepts who discovered them have passed away. What will you achieve here?"

"The treasures are yonder, but the meaning is here. Though you passed away before, your good fortune did not pass away. Therefore, I have come. The protectors of the transmitted precepts have made a prediction that, because the instructions are very powerful, you are in danger of obstacles to your life. It will be better if you give guidance on them only a little."

He asked, "Will the written texts of the treasures come into my possession?"

"Yes, yes. We will keep it in mind. Do you not remember the accomplishment I bestowed upon you in Uru?"

He recalled the past incident at the Cokla Cave and said, "Then, are you not Dorje Yudrönma?"

"No, no. I am Vajravarāhī. Did you not recognise me? I require two forms, so that I can perform enlightened activities by this mundane body and confer supreme accomplishment in my transcendent form."

Then Longcenpa asked, "Here, where the seminal point is the foremost teaching, the third empowerment is conferred with the assistance of a partner.[672] Why is that?"

"It is necessary for introducing those of great desire to the path. For those without desire it is sufficient to confer it only mentally."

"During the bestowal of the introduction [to reality],[673] what is the significance of the words *absorption of thought in the unborn* and *absorption of intellect in the unaccountable*?"

"What is the use of causing the stabilisation of thought? Introduce the vast and open expanse, which has been liberated from the very beginning."

"Very well, but many expositors of this Innermost Spirituality have appeared. There are those who grant the transmission which is like the handle, for example Karmapa and Rincen Lingpa. Why should I teach it?"

"I am not pleased with their methods of teaching. Even a clay pot has [a handle],[674] but that is not enough. It must also have an owner."

"And what about the treasure discovered by Rincen Lingpa?"

"Oh, that exists, to be sure. But it is not pure [i.e. not the pure Innermost Spirituality]."

"How is it that I have realised you, without meditating upon you?"

"Am I a deity upon whom you must meditate? Have I a mantra you must recite? Am I an object of worship? Do you not know that I am ever present before all yogins who observe their commitments and who have realisation? Throughout all your lives, I have neither been with, nor without you."

Then he asked, "Where are the riches of the Princess,[675] that are said to be concealed in Chimpu?"

"They are on a crag, shaped like an offering of divine foodstuffs, but with the top cut off. The time has not yet come for their revelation."

"When will the treasures of Vimalamitra be discovered?"

"Five years from now they will be discovered and propagated by a mantra adept dressed in white. The four profound volumes will come into your hands."[676]

It was on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month that Longcenpa sent the yogin Özer Koca to bring the books [of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī*]. On his return journey an aura of rainbow light permeated and surrounded them. In particular, during the night of his arrival at Chukpo Trak, near the Stone Stūpas of Zurkardo, all the yogins and yoginīs saw auras of five-coloured rainbow light all the way from there to Rimochen.

Longcenpa performed a feast offering, the rites for the fulfilment of commitments, and so forth, and then opened the door of the esoteric instructions of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī*. The best of gurus, meditational deities and ḍākinīs blessed him so as to disclose fully to his mind the great way in which the [ultimate] essence abides, which cannot be even partially described by the well-known and popular jargon that refers to inner radiance, such as that from the manifestation of that inner radiance by night the intention of the body of reality merges with the primordially pure expanse; that the body of perfect rapture arises as its manifest expression; and that the emanational body and the six realms of existence arise separately from its outward radiance.[677] Thus, the ḍākinīs caused him to see nakedly that which was introduced.

At that time, when the texts for the esoteric instructions of the *Further Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī* (*mkha'-'gro yang-tig*, NYZ Vols. 4-6) were redacted, the master Guru Rinpoche [Padmasambhava] arrived

in the guise of Thukdrup (Achievement of Spirituality). One yoginī, who possessed the complete marks and signs of a ḍākinī also saw Tshogyel to his right and Yudrönma to his left, dictating texts. In particular, Yeshe Tshogyel actually remained there for six days.[678] She introduced the master to, and entrusted him with, the symbols, meanings, and texts of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī*. As a result, many of the objects of meditation, systems of introduction, and unique modes of expression – all of which were previously unknown, and unelucidated in writing – spontaneously poured forth from his mind. It is clear that in the land of snow mountains all the other writings on the Innermost Spirituality, those which are considered to be profound, contain not even a fraction of the profound points which are elucidated in this ocean of indestructible reality, the mind treasure of this Second Samantabhadra. Therefore, having realised that that which is found in those texts is like a painted butter lamp [that emits no light] one might well cherish even a single four-line verse of Longcenpa's writings. Most of the germinal instructions originated in this place [Rimochen], but they were systematically arranged in Kangri Thökar, as stated in the author's colophons.

Moreover, for this doctrine, which is like the heart-blood of the ḍākinīs, Kangri Thökar was most blessed: The hosts of the three roots, and of the ḍākinīs who congregated there were endless. They encircled the guru, holding a parasol of peacock feathers, adorned with a pinnacle of precious gems, above his head. When the maṇḍala was laid out, a red woman held the end of the measuring thread; and when the lines were drawn, a woman whose hair was braided with gold and turquoise assisted. Then, during the first empowerment, seven disciples gathered. At that time the guru's nose suddenly started to bleed, and he said, "No more than three can enter this empowerment. This bleeding is due to the excessive number. You four go outside."

The room in which the empowerment was being given was then permeated by an aura of rainbow light. Namdru Remati came in person and said, "Will you not give me an offering? For long I have endured hardship."

She then elucidated the descriptive basis [for the rites][679] of herself and her followers. She also made a prophecy concerning a treasure and displayed a great miracle. But Longcenpa said:

> For myself, having revealed the inner treasure of radiance,
> There is no need for treasure from rocky crags.
> It is fine if there is treasure, it is fine if there is not.
> It is fine if there are any worthy discoverers, fine if not.
> You need not barter your boasts of guarding some treasure
> With a yogin who has exhausted things, exhausted thoughts.

While Longcenpa conferred the background instructions and the precious secret introduction, everyone saw Yeshe Tshogyel take up the vase and grant the empowerment. They all instantly stood up and did homage. Then, when he conferred the introductions to the intermediate state, and to the penetration of the enclosure of inner radiance, the ḍākinīs were delighted. He said, "Non-human beings value this doctrine of mine more highly than do men, and they have greater aspiration and volition. You should keep that in mind!"

When Longcenpa conferred the introduction to the pristine cognition that is the inner radiance, the whole sky was filled with ḍākinīs, their palms pressed together as in prayer. That evening, the protectress of mantra, Ekajaṭī, descended and began to dance. The guru said, "This evening I am teaching the Innermost Spirituality. Are you protectors of the transmitted precepts and ḍākinīs not rejoicing?"

Ekajaṭī answered, "Guru Padmasambhava and Yeshe Tshogyel say just, 'Where is there another so wise as Longcenpa?' It is very wonderful. In general, all the ḍākinīs are rejoicing. Above all, in Orgyen Dzong there is one delighted devotee."

Then the oath-bound protector Kyebuchenpo appeared and urged the master to set out for Orgyen Dzong, saying, "You will have thirty disciples capable of serving the world. Among them, eleven will be great benefactors of living beings, and nine will be exceptional." [And to the disciples themselves] he said, "You disciples are fulfilled by having met this guru."

Afterwards, when Longcenpa granted them the seal of entrustment[680] of the protectors of the doctrine, Shenpa Sokdrupma appeared and said, "Please do not recite my means for attainment."

Similarly, on the evening when he completed all the empowerments and guidance of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī* the master said, "Yesterday the ḍākinīs granted accomplishment. Let us see whether they also come tonight. Mix some water with the ale!"

The disciples strained out the ale and filled a small pot.

"Is this not enough?" they asked.

"That will not suffice. Mix in even more water and strain it again."

They did as they were told, and all that they strained remained potent; so the whole company became intoxicated. The guru said, "This illustrates the reduplication and transformation[681] of a single substance."

After that, Yudrönma urged Longcenpa to set out for her domain once more. When he consented, she said joyfully, "I will go on ahead." But Namdru Remati descended and implored the guru not to go. He said to her, "Though I have given such doctrines to you spirits, you do not understand: Joy and sorrow are the miraculous emanations of mind. You may come wherever I am."

He then gave her an empowerment of contemplation. "I am much obliged," she responded.

"Where did you go yesterday?"

"I went to visit a herd at pasture."

It was well known that at the time the cattle were afflicted with an epidemic.

Then, the yogins and yoginīs also offered a maṇḍala of their own clothes and riches. They promised to practise [the teachings they had received], whereupon Longcenpa said, "Many will endeavour in this doctrine of mine to keep their vows of generosity and of practice." After giving the instructions on entering the enclosure of inner radiance, he said, "These esoteric instructions of mine are rare in Jambudvīpa. The worthy recipient who masters them will quickly achieve the body of light."

When Longcenpa returned from Samye Chimpu, he performed a feast offering at Chukpo Trak, and Yudrönma arrived to welcome him. Then, when he was invited to Shuksep, a ḍākinī possessed a yoginī and asked the guru to set out for Orgyen Dzong. He went to Özer Trin-ki Kyemötsel (Pleasure Garden of Clouds of Light) at Orgyen Dzong in Kangri Thökar, where, in response to the prayers of the yogin Özer Koca, he redacted the *Further Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī*.[682] At that time, the sky was filled with rainbows. Everyone together could see the array of ḍākinīs and endless miracles.

During this period, on various occasions, Longcenpa asked his guru to resolve his doubts regarding the instructions. Wherever he stayed, he planted the banner of practice and so delighted the guru. He was neither attached to, nor fascinated by, appearances; and he was free from both fear of saṃsāra and hope for nirvāṇa. Therefore, he did not involve himself in the affairs of either monastery or household. He honoured his guru five times with offerings that were utterly pure with respect to the three spheres,[683] as well as with two great offerings, and with seven utterly pure acts of worship. He held ceremonies on the eighth, tenth and twenty-fifth days of each month, at which he delighted the warriors and ḍākinīs with bountiful feast offerings and *tormas*.[684]

He reached the citadel of the realised potential of awareness by the passageway of the all-surpassing inner radiance (*'od-gsal thod-rgal*); and thus he entered into continuous yoga. He had visions of countless meditational deities, and, in particular, had a vision of Vimalamitra, who prophetically declared, "Simplify and summarise the meaning of my own Innermost Spirituality, and teach it to your present disciple Zhönu Sangye, who is the emanation of Kumārādza. He will have seven disciples bearing the name Zhönu, all of whom will have the syllable A marked on the tips of their noses. They will preserve and propagate this doctrine."

It was due to this that Longcenpa set forth, in thirty-five sections, the *Further Innermost Spirituality like the Wish-fulfilling Gem* (*yang-tig yid-bzhin-nor-bu*, NYZ Vol.1).[685]

Similarly, Vimala pointed his finger towards Zha in Uru, and declared that Longcenpa should restore the temple there. Accordingly, he went there and began the reconstruction. At that point, many skulls [which had been buried under the ground] in order to supress [evil spirits], leapt into the air. Absorbed in contemplation, Longcenpa recalled them by merely raising his finger in the gesture of menace. Then he extracted a full chest of gold from the back of the upper shrine, and this provided the funds for restoring the temple.



Guru Trakpo

The Oath-bound One [Dorje Lekpa] emanated as a boy wearing a turquoise ear-ring and helped the craftsmen each day. When two memorial pillars toppled over, and no number of assistants could raise them in any way, Longcenpa offered a *torma* to the doctrine protectors and made a solemn declaration of truth. Then, as he impetuously threw off his robe, the pillars could be raised.

Longcenpa restored the damaged charms,[686] which supress the Tamsi demons,[687] in various skulls [that were found at the site]; but when he was at the point of resealing them underground a wild stormy wind blew up, and a hail of earth and stones made the people run away. The skulls leapt up and collided with one another. Owing to the sorcery of

the Tamsi demons, the largest of them jumped up into the air, but Longcenpa recalled it by the "contemplation and gaze of blazing wrath", and crushed it under foot. As a clear sign of his championship, he actually appeared to others in the form of Guru Trakpo. Then he buried the skulls beneath the Stūpa of Sorcery (*phra-men mchod-rten*).

During the consecration of the temple, the master wondrously displayed numerous apparitions: Śākyamuni, Maitreya, and the Sixteen Elders appeared with beaming smiles. Maitreya pointed to Longcenpa and prophetically declared, "In your final birth you will become fully awakened as the Tathāgata Sumerudīpadhvaja in the Buddha-field of Padmakūṭa."

When a multitude gathered on both banks of the Kyicu in upper Uru to hear the doctrine, Longcenpa conferred on them the *Guidance of the Unsurpassed Secret* [*Innermost Spirituality, gsang-ba bla-na-med-pa'i khrid*]. Again and again, he sponsored bountiful feast offerings for those who congregated about him. Early and late in life he made fine donations to the college of Sangpu as well.

Near Kangpori the master perceived a fearsome apparition and so knew that there would be strife in the world and conflict between the Sakyapa and the Phakmotrupa.[688] Therefore, he went to Bumthang in Bhutan, a land very hard to convert because the light of the teaching was dim, but even there he found a vast field for the propagation of his doctrine. He founded a monastery called Tharpaling, where a multitude of monks gathered. The master Sangye Künga was appointed abbot, and the enlightened activity of the Ancient Translation School in general, and of the Great Perfection in particular, became widespread.

In order to teach by his own example those who practised the way of secret mantra according to their own whim, he received the verbal lineage of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī* from Gyelse Lekpa of Sho, who had been the direct disciple of Cangne Tertön.

When Longcenpa went to Lhasa and saw the image of Lord Śākyamuni Buddha, a ray of light emanated from the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the image, and vanished between his own, whereupon he remembered his previous lives as a scholar at Vulture Peak and in Khotan. He was welcomed here [in Lhasa] by a procession of many monks. Occupying the thrones of religion between Lhasa and Ramoche, Longcenpa extensively turned the wheel of such doctrines as the *Great Development of the Enlightened Mind* (*sems-bskyed chen-mo*). He stifled all the many proud intellectuals who openly and secretly examined his attainments, by means of his "bandit-force" of scripture and logic. Thus, he established them in that faith which gives rise to certainty; and his title "Künkyen Chöje", the "All-Knowing Lord of the Doctrine", rang in all ears.

Another time when Longcenpa saw the image of Lord Śākyamuni, a pure golden light radiated from it. Above the head of Śākyamuni he

saw the Seven Generations of Buddhas, as well as Bhaiṣajyaguru, Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra, Avalokiteśvara [in the form of] the "King of Space", Jinasāgara, and the multitude of the protectors of the teaching.

At such times as these, Longcenpa had visions of the great master Padmasambhava, Guru Trakpo, the Buddhas of the Hundred Authentic Families, the Deities of the Eight Transmitted Precepts of Great Attainment, and other buddhas and bodhisattvas, countless as a mass of sesame seeds; and he obtained their encouragement and permission to compose treatises. His compositions include: the *Seven Great Treasuries* (*mdzod-chen bdun*), which set forth the treasures of his intention in the manner of formal treatises; the *Trilogy of Rest* (*ngal-gso skor-gsum*); the *Trilogy of Natural Liberation* (*rang-grol skor-gsum*); the *Trilogy which Dispels Darkness* (*mun-sel skor-gsum*), which is a commentary on the *Secret Nucleus* that accords with the Innermost Spirituality; the *Twofold Innermost Spirituality* (*snying-tig rnam-pa gnyis*);[689] the *Three Cycles of Further Innermost Spirituality* (*yang-tig skor-gsum*); et cetera. The enumeration of his works, which transcends the imagination, is known from the catalogue entitled the *Repository of Precious Gems* (*dkar-chag rin-po-che'i mdzod-khang*).

Usually, the protectress of mantra Ekajaṭī, the planetary divinity Rāhula, and the oath-bound Dorje Lekpa served and obeyed him. While he was composing the *Seven Treasuries* and other works his attendant actually saw that he had compelled Khyapjuk Chenpo [Rāhula] to mix the ink at Kangri.

The places of practice, where Longcenpa dwelt in total solitude solely for the attainment of the nucleus of the teaching, included Samye Chimpu, Orgyen Dzong, Lharing Trak, Trapu, Shuksep, Kangri Thökar, Zhotö Tidro, Yerpa, Yarlha Shampo, Bumthang, Kyambu Pelgi Geding, Kongpori Lawalung, and Kongpo Tsagongphu. But most of all he stayed in Kangri proper. In Lhodrok, the Yoru region of Central Tibet, and in all the southern regions of Mön [i.e. Bhutan and neighbouring districts], his disciples often gathered in their thousands; and to all of them he displayed boundless compassion. Therefore, Longcenpa accepted no teaching fees, nor did he squander the offerings made by the faithful. He engaged himself only in activities on behalf of his disciples; and he tolerated their faults and tiresome quarrels. Because of his respectful performance of bountiful feast offerings and his intuition of the minds of others, his way of teaching by skilful means and his enlightened activity surpassed the imagination.

There was one Gompa Künrin of Drigung who, being insane with pride in his own power, made ready for war. The great master Padmasambhava had prophesied in his treasures:

> In the land known as Dri
> There will be a son of Māra named Künga,

Whose body will bear a weapon-like mark.
When he dies he will be reborn in hell;
But he will be converted by an emanation
Of Mañjuśrī, who will come from the south.

When Gompa Künrin saw that prediction, he examined his own body, for he still had a grain of past merit, and found that there was a sword-like scar on his back. He knew with certainty that he was the one referred to. Though he had considered waging a great war in Central Tibet and Tsang, he thought little would be achieved by his going to hell, and so he postponed action. He made it known in all quarters that he sought an emanation of Mañjuśrī. At that, all those who were knowledgeable pronounced the same opinion: "In the four regions of Tibet there is, at present, no one more brilliant than the man from Samye." Convinced that Longcenpa was the emanation of Mañjuśrī, Künrin invited him, and honoured him like the crown jewels. The guru uprooted the primary and auxilliary causes and effects of the evil actions, provisional and ultimate, of Künrin and his followers.[690]

About the same time there was, in Central Tibet and Tsang, one Tā'i Situ Cangcup Gyeltsen, who was so arrogant that he found it difficult to show his topknot to anyone [i.e. he did not bow]. He disliked Longcenpa, claiming that he was the "Guru of the Drigungpa" [who were Situ's rivals]. They were reconciled by one whose name Buddhaśrī [Sangyepel] rang in all ears, whose enlightened activity was inspired by limitless, great compassion, and whose exemplary life was that of a scholar and accomplished master. After that, even the "Eight-footed Lion", the Shing-go-chen-pa,[691] who was the king of Tibet [i.e. Situ] bowed his head at Longcenpa's feet.

Similarly, Situ Śākya Zangpo the myriarch of upper Uru, Dorje Gyeltsen the myriarch of Yamdrok, and many other nobles also showed deference to the master. Longcenpa never squandered on impossible schemes even a little of the offerings presented by such devotees, so they revered the Three Precious Jewels even more. He did not consider the things dedicated in the name of the doctrine to be his own property; therefore he could never misuse them. He used to say, "You must have reverence for the Precious Jewels, not for sinful persons." For this reason he never respected or honoured the nobility. "It is the duty of the patron to accumulate merit. Confusion of priest and patron is an evil," he said. And therefore he sealed whatever great offerings were made to him with the dedicatory rites, but gave no other "repayment". He particularly loved the meek, and he ate whatever the humble and indigent served to him as if it were a great treat. Then, he would recite the sūtras and the dedication of merit with exuberance.

Because Longcenpa's enlightened activities, such as those described above, were immeasurable, he could guide not merely those who were

visibly taken into his following, but even those who happened [by chance] to see, hear of, come in contact with, or even harm him, to blissful states; and he implanted within them the seed of purity and liberation.

In 1363 (water female hare), during his fifty-sixth year, at a time when he was bestowing on many worthy disciples the attainments of maturation and liberation, he told one Gyelse Zöpa to prepare ink and paper. Then, he composed his testament, the *Taintless Light* (*zhal-chems dri-ma med-pa'i 'od*), which began:

> I have known for sometime saṃsāra's condition;
> Because mundane things are lacking in substance,
> And I must now forsake this changing, apparitional body,
> I will set forth this instruction, alone beneficial: pay it heed!

And it included these verses:

> O Lotus-faced Lord! endowed with compassion,
> Having favoured me today with inspiring deeds,
> It is time I set out, like a traveller, on my road.
> In death I will obtain the profit of joy,
> More by far than the bliss of the merchant who gains
> All he seeks overseas; or that of Devendra,
> Triumphant in battle; or that of an attainer of trance.
> Pema Lendreltsel,[692] without waiting longer,
> Will go now to seize immortality's stronghold, bliss supreme!

When he had revealed this testament, Gyelse Zöpa cried out in tears, "Please do not talk like this!" whereupon the guru discoursed on many doctrines beginning with that of the decay of transient things. Being invited once more to Samye, he travelled to the forests of glorious Chimpu, via Gyama and Samye, turning the wheel of the doctrine on the way there. "This place is just like Śītavana charnel ground in India," he said, "I would rather die here than be born elsewhere. Here I will leave this worn-out, illusory body of mine."

Even though he was ill, he continually taught the doctrine. The disciples thought that he was tired and asked him to stop teaching for a time, but he said, "I have decided to teach this doctrine completely."

Then, on Saturday 23 December 1363 (sixteenth day, twelfth month, water female hare), he delighted the warriors and ḍākinīs with bountiful worship and offerings. He then advised his disciples as follows: "Since everything compounded is insubstantial, you should devote yourselves entirely to the doctrine. In particular, you should concentrate on achieving practical experience of [the esoteric instructions of] Cutting Through Resistance (*khregs-chod*) and All-Surpassing Realisation (*thod-rgal*).[693] If sometimes you do not understand, then examine minutely, and meditate on the *Further Innermost Spirituality like the Wish-fulfilling Gem*,

which is like a jewel that grants your desires. Then you will attain nirvāṇa at the level on which [the appearance of] reality is exhausted."

On Monday 25 December 1363 (eighteenth day, twelfth month, water female hare)[694] Longcenpa told his disciples to arrange an altar and to go off to undertake acts of merit, but they begged to remain in his presence. "Very well", he said, "but I am about to leave this worn-out, apparitional body. Be silent and remain absorbed in meditation!"

Then, his precious body assumed the posture of the buddha-body of reality; and he set his intention to rest in the primordial expanse.

At that time, there were limitless miracles, and the whole earth shook and resounded. His body was left undisturbed for twenty-five days, during which time the deities who rejoice in the teaching unfurled a canopy of rainbow light, and caused a shower of flowers to fall. When his intention had thus dissolved in reality, even the four elements departed from the stable order of the four seasons: The earth was warm during the twelfth and first months, the ice melted, and the leaves of the wild rose began to bud. Also, during the funeral ceremony, when the master's body was placed on the pyre, the earth trembled and a mighty thunder resounded seven times. After the cremation his heart, tongue, and eyes – the signs of his having awakened to the essence of the three indestructible realities of body, speech, and mind – fell into the laps of fortunate disciples. Because he had realised all that can be attained with respect to the five bodies [of buddhahood] and the five pristine cognitions, five large remains and countless minor relics were discovered. It is undisputed that the larger relics multiplied by the hundreds and thousands, without limit. And up to the present day, it has been plain to see that those who possess even a tiny fragment of his undamaged remains cannot be afflicted by the "upper demons".[695]

The gurus of the past identified Longcenpa with the grammarian Śrīdhara, who is referred to in a prophecy in the *Great Descent* (*babs-lugs chen-mo*); but according to the sequence fixed therein it would be correct to identify him with Lodröchok.[696] Moreover, the notion that the interval between Kumārādza and this next [emanation of Vimalamitra, i.e. Longcenpa] violates the axiom that "Once every century [an emanation of Vimalamitra will arise]," should not give rise to doubts, because "every century" implies that, in general, when this doctrine [of the Innermost Spirituality] becomes contaminated by sophistry, one will appear to elucidate it. In addition, emanations act, in the manner of apparitions, on behalf of those requiring training, referring solely to the unique circumstances of the situation at hand.

The foremost disciples who tasted the nectar of Longcenpa's teaching were: the three learned and accomplished ones who became famous, namely, Khedrup Delek Gyamtso of Zhoktarling, Khedrup Chöki

Trakpa, and Khedrup Khyapdel Lhündrup; his five spiritual sons, namely, Den-gom Chöki Trakpa of Dokam, Gyelse Zöpa, Lama Pelcokpa, Guru Yeshe Rapjam, and Zhönu Sangye; the four spiritual benefactors who propagated the doctrine, namely, Trülku Peljor Gyamtso, master Sangye Künga, master Lodrö Zangpo, and Tago Cadrel Chöje; and the four accomplished yogins, namely, Phagö Tokden Gyelpo, Neljorpa Özer Koca, Rikdzin Ösel Rangdröl, and Catang Sonam Özer.

Moreover, there were many spiritual benefactors who were holders of his teaching, such as Sangye Pelrin, who had reconciled him with the Lord of Neudong [i.e. Situ], Trakpapel, and Luken Sonam Senge.

At a later date, Longcenpa appeared in a vision to the master of the doctrine Drigung Rincen Phüntsok, and declared that he had been born as [Longcenpa's] son Trülku Dawa, the crown of whose head bore the mark of a horse's head [emblematic of Hayagrīva].[697] Longcenpa's hat was placed on his head and he became a direct disciple through the blessing. He was boundlessly dedicated to maintaining, preserving and propagating the scriptures of Longcenpa. In his lineage Padmasambhava's spiritual successor Śāntapurīpa, otherwise known as the great treasure-finder Sherap Özer, appeared. He established the monastery of Pelri Thekpachok-gi Ling, and persuaded his patron Zhapdrung Chongye to xylograph the *Mind at Rest* and its autocommentary (*sems-nyid ngal-gso rtsa-'grel*). Since they taught the necessity of both studying and practising this teaching, they affirmed themselves to be the genuine holders of the lineage.

So it was that the lineage of the complete cycle of the maturation [i.e. empowerment], liberation [i.e. guidance] and instructions of the Innermost Spirituality, which belongs to the Esoteric Instructional Class [of the Great Perfection] was transmitted in its entirety from the great charioteer, the all-knowing Longcen Rapjampa, by successive stages through:

Khedrup Khyapdel Lhündrup;
Trakpa Özer;
Sangye Önpo;
Dawa Trakpa;
Künzang Dorje;
Gyeltsen Pelzang;
Natsok Rangdröl;
Tendzin Trakpa;
Do-ngak Tendzin;
Rikdzin Trhinle Lhündrup; to
the king of the doctrine, Terdak Lingpa.

Later on, in 1759/60 (earth female hare), the great, all-knowing [Longcenpa] thrice revealed the body of his pristine cognition to Rikdzin

Khyentse Özer [Jikme Lingpa] at Womin Pelgi Chimpu.[698] He also entrusted him with a book and said, "All the esoteric instructions which are concealed in the *Great Chariot* and in my other works are clarified herein." When he had transmitted all the instructions and further advice to him, Jikme Lingpa came to comprehend thoroughly the oceanic doctrine, and all the textual traditions and instructions of the All-Knowing Guru in particular. Just as Mātaṅgī had been taken into the following of Āryadeva, so, such an extremely short lineage is permissible.

This completes the general explanation of the descent, in Tibet, of the teaching of the three inner classes of the tantras of the way of secret mantra, and, in particular, the account of the esoteric instructions of the great Innermost Spirituality, the fourth part of this book, *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra*, which is a history of the precious doctrine of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Five
The Distant Lineage of Transmitted Precepts

Introduction

[281.1-2] Now, I should explain in particular the way in which the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class* have come down to us.[699] These teachings are common to all [the Nyingmapa lineages] and have perpetuated, without decline, the river of the transmitted precepts, the "distant lineage" mentioned above. It is said that in [Tibet], the land of snow mountains, the teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School "fell first to Nyak, fell to Nup during the intermediate period, and fell to Zur in the end."

1 *The Lineage of Nyak*

NYAK JÑĀNAKUMĀRA

[281.2-289.4] The first of these, master Nyak Jñānakumāra, was born in Shepa, or Chö, in the district of Yarlung.[700] He was the son of Takdra Lhanang of the Nyak clan, and his wife Suza Drönkyi. When he was born, there was a mole on his neck which resembled a crossed-vajra, and he was given the name Gyelwei Lodrö. The preceptor Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita] ordained him as a novice and, later, as a monk with full ordination. He became an inconceivably brilliant translator of many of the doctrines belonging to the sūtras and mantra texts and so became the confluence of the four great rivers of transmitted precepts which were derived from [the teachings of] the great master Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Vairocana and Yudra Nyingpo. These "four great rivers" are: (1) the river of conventional textual exegesis, along with the commentaries and lecture notes; (2) the river of instruction of the aural lineage, along with the essential writings and the guidance which lays bare the teaching;[701] (3) the river of blessing and empowerment, along with the means for conferral and the introductions; (4) the river of practical techniques, that of the rites of enlightened activity and attainment, along with the wrathful mantras of the protectors of the teaching.

After the master Padmasambhava had matured Nyak Jñānakumāra in the maṇḍala of [Vajrāmṛta], Nectar the Enlightened Attributes (*bdud-rtsi yon-tan*), Nyak caused the water of accomplishment to spring forth from dry rock in the Crystal Cave of Yarlung. The *Magical Net* also must have been transmitted through his lineage, but he attained the signs of accomplishment primarily from Vajrakīla.

Sometime after the passing of King Trhisong Detsen, one of the queens, Tshepong-za, reviled most of the translators and scholars by her uncivil designs, so Nyak Jñānakumāra went to live at Yamdrok.[702] His own brother, Nyak Getön, became hostile and slandered him, declaring that Nyak was "an adept of extremist mantras". He stole

Nyak's skull-cup, which had been painted red and lacquered on the inside, showed it to foolish people and scratched the inside with the point of his knife, maliciously saying, "This is the work of a charlatan!"

In order to remove widespread doubts, Nyak Jñānakumāra materialised precious gems in the place where he lived. In this way the people learned of his miraculous powers and discounted his brother's words. But even then Nyak knew that his brother was planning many conspiracies and devising various ways to injure him, so he went away.



Nyak Jñānakumāra

When he reached the upper part of Chimyül in Kongpo he found a herd of seven goats wandering through a desolate valley. He ordered his servant Lelmik Woktsen to drive them away, but the latter asked, "What will the owner of these goats say when he arrives?"

Nyak replied, "Where is the owner of the goats to be found in a desolate valley? Drive them away!"

When the owner, Chim Carok (the "Crow of Chim") learned of this he accused Nyak of theft and demanded sevenfold compensation for the goats. Although Nyak gave him sevenfold compensation he remained unsatisfied, destroyed Nyak's hermitage, and pursued him with an iron hammer. Nyak ran away and entered a temple. It is said that

as the door closed behind him Chim Carok struck the threshold with his hammer and narrowly missed the head of a young novice.

But Nyak was not even allowed to remain there. He set out for Central Tibet and on the way met one Drosechung, who was chasing a deer. Drosechung's mount was startled, so that the deer escaped. He became enraged and attempted to kill Nyak, but Nyak fled from his sight, longing to escape.

It was at about this time that Queen Margyen had poisoned the crown prince [Mune Tsepo]. The master Vimalamitra had miraculously arrived from China to preside over the funeral ceremony, where Nyak met him and offered him a container[703] full of gold dust. Vimalamitra asked, "Are the translator and his servant well?" To which Nyak replied:

> We were doing well in Yamdrok-gang,
> But Gelatön would not let us be.
> We were doing well in the heart of Chim,
> But hell's own crow would not let us be.
> We were doing well in Central Tibet,
> But Drosechung would not let us be.

Thinking that it was very harmful to the teaching for a translator to be so insulted, Vimalamitra spontaneously taught him the *Perfect Practice of Vajrakīla (phur-pa phun-sum-tshogs-pa*, NGB Vol.27), and that of the *Blue-skirted One's Cycle* [*of Vajrakīla, gsham-sngon*].[704] In the Na Cave at Kharcu in Lhodrak the scholar and the translator propitiated Vajrakīla together, using twenty-one kīlas of acacia wood. Such was their accomplishment that the kīlas started knocking against one another. At that point, Nyak, who was absorbed in contemplation, brandished his kīla and said, "This is for the Crow." At once, all the crows in the sky gathered together. Then, he rotated the kīla, saying, "This is for the Crow of Chim." And a pair of crows arrived from Chim. In anger Nyak brandished the kīla at one of the crows and the bird instantly fell dead.[705]

At that Vimalamitra said, "Now you can kill by the power of sorcery, but, I wonder, can you revive by the power of reality? Go ahead and revive it!" But, as had previously occurred in the case of master Jālandharipā and his disciple Kṛṣṇacārin,[706] Nyak could not resurrect the dead. Vimalamitra scattered a handful of sand and instantly the crow came to life and flew away. The master said to Nyak, "When you undertake a wrathful rite without first having attained the realisation to 'liberate' the self [of your victim], then, even if you succeed in the rite, it is a great crime." And then he performed the rite of the "Tie to the Higher Realms" (*gnas-lung*).[707]

Then the deity of Chim appeared in the guise of a white yak, and Nyak "liberated" him first of all. By the power of ritually brandishing his kīla he "liberated" Chim Carok and obtained the superior, middling,

and inferior indications that he had destroyed his life-supporting wolf-spirit,[708] along with his servants and slaves, horses and dogs, and kith and kin, and thus put an end to his race.

While inflicting the same punishment on Nyak Getön, his own brother, Nyak developed great compassion, owing to the kindness of master Vimalamitra; for this sort of wrathful rite of occult power is particularly dependent on the coincidence of the indestructible reality of anger.[709]

So his intention turned to reality itself and he was completely unable to perform the rite. Master Vimalamitra said to him, "At this point, if you find an assistant who is endowed with all the signs of a sorcerer, you will be able to perform it." With this, he began to search.

He found a blacksmith called "Pektse the Sogdian" – for at that time blacksmiths were called "Sogdians" – who was wrathful to behold.[710] Nyak perceived that he had all the appropriate physical marks and signs: his head was knotted and the lower part of his body was triangular in shape.[711] Nyak came down behind him and acted as his assistant by operating the bellows. He expounded to him the dialectical doctrines of the causal vehicle, but the blacksmith paid no attention. Then, when Nyak explained the Kriyātantra, Caryātantra, and Yogatantra, he listened occasionally, but otherwise only heard the clanging sound of the hammer as it struck [the anvil]. Finally, when Nyak gave teaching on the three inner classes of tantra and at the same time swallowed the scraps of hot iron that were flying about, the blacksmith was amazed. "How did you acquire such miraculous power?" he asked.

"I acquired it by practising the doctrine I was just explaining."

The blacksmith developed great faith and, making an offering of all of his tools, he became a disciple. His name was changed to Lha Pelgi Yeshe.

Similarly, Nyak discovered that Odren Pelgi Zhönu also possessed the signs of one fit to attain Vajrakīla; so the master and his two disciples propitiated that deity. When Getön heard about it he began a murderous conspiracy. Others restrained him saying that it was not right to blaspheme a venerable monk, but Getön refused to listen. During the night he dreamed that many women encircled him and cut off his head. He told this to his wife, who earnestly tried to restrain him, but without paying attention he rode off on his horse. On the way an enormous bird flew over and startled the horse. Getön's flesh was torn to shreds and his blood was scattered drop by drop. It is said that he was actually "liberated" by the protector. The Sogdian Pelgi Yeshe removed his heart and offered it to the master, who said:

> Let no sin be committed.
> Virtue must be perfectly practised.
> Completely tame your own mind.
> May all sentient beings be happy![712]

In short, Nyak's guardian deity had appeared as a hawk and, having "liberated" Getön along with his life-supporting wolf-spirit, servants and slaves, horses and dogs, and kith and kin, put an end to his race.

In the same way, Nyak summoned the consciousness of Drosechung, who was grazing his herd of horses on the plain of Netang, and completely destroyed him by the ritual thrust of the kīla. He transformed the deity of Dro [Drosechung's clan] into a blue wolf and dealt with his life-supporting wolf-spirit, servants and slaves as before.

This great translator Nyak adhered to learned and accomplished masters who were equal to the Buddha himself, and in this way he acquired very great learning in grammar, logic, dialectics, and the outer and inner mantra texts. Having become a great translator, he interpreted many works on the true doctrine. He became a master of the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net* and the *Mental Class* and through his expositions the number of extraordinary disciples multiplied. Thus, his kindness was inconceivable. Finally, he realised the great accomplishment through the *Vajra Bridge of the Aural Lineage* (*snyan-brgyud rdo-rje zam-pa*) and through [teachings belonging to] the Esoteric Instructional Class of the Great Perfection (*man-ngag-sde*).[713] His body vanished in a mass of light, the union of radiance and emptiness.

Nyak Jñānakumāra guided his foremost disciples, until they became the "eight glorious adepts of Vajrakīla". These eight glorious sons were his four earlier disciples – the Sogdian Pelgi Yeshe, Odren Pelgi Zhönu, Nyencen Pelyang, and Thakzang Pelgi Dorje – and his four later disciples – Lamcok Pelgi Dorje, Tarje Pelgi Trakpa, Tra Pelgi Nyingpo, and Lhalung Pelgi Dorje. In addition, there were his nephews Üpa Tosel, Gyepak Sherap and Bhusukuchok, whose lineage gave rise to extensive enlightened activity.

THE SOGDIAN PELGI YESHE

[289.4-290.4] The Sogdian Pelgi Yeshe was a native of Yamdrok. Though he had already attained accomplishment during the time of the great master Padmasambhava, he lived as a blacksmith, so far as ordinary men could see. It is said that the great translator Nyak's life was thrice endangered because, being vastly learned, he had thrice thought himself to be more learned than his masters. For this, he had to show his acceptance of the infallible truth of cause and effect. On one such occasion, one of the three on which Nyak was confronted by mortal enemies, his relative Nyakmar,[714] from a neighbouring district, imprisoned him with homicidal malice. The Sogdian Pelgi Yeshe had



The Sogdian Pelgi Yeshe

previously displayed his courage by seizing a savage beast of prey by the neck, and by other acts associated only with actual accomplishment; so, on this occasion, he fulfilled his solemn, indestructible commitment to risk his life for the guru. He killed two prison guards and pulled the master from the dungeon. In this way, on all three occasions, he destroyed Nyak's mortal enemies and so caught his attention. Owing to this, Nyak actually materialised the maṇḍala of Vajrakīla and took Pelgi Yeshe into his following. Such was the extent to which Pelgi Yeshe abided in authenticity. In his turn, he instructed Nupcen Sangye Yeshe.

2 *The Lineage of Nup*

NUPCEN SANGYE YESHE

[290.4-300.3] "The teachings of the Ancient Translation School fell to Nup during an intermediary period..."

Nupcen Sangye Yeshe was born in the uplands of Dra in the mountains of Central Tibet in February 832 (first month, water male mouse year).[715] His father was Selwa Wangcuk of the Nup clan, and his mother was Chimo Trashi-tsho. At the ancestral charnel ground, on Mount Dra Riwoche, a sandal tree had sprung up. A Chinese monk examined it, said that it portended the birth of an emanation, and showed how to cultivate the tree.[716] In accordance with this early prophecy Nup was born. His secular name was Dorje Trhitsuk, his religious name was Sangye Yeshe, and his secret name was Dorje Yangwangter. In his seventh year, Nup entered the following of Odren Pelgi Zhönu and studied all the sciences.

There was a prophecy in the *Root Tantra of the Gathering of Awareness-holders* (*rig-'dzin 'dus-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud*, NGB Vol.32), as follows:

> In particular, the secrets of buddha-body will be revealed
> By the precious jewel, Buddhajñāna [i.e. Sangye Yeshe].

Accordingly, in his youth, when Nup received the empowerment of the Eight Transmitted Precepts from the great master Padmasambhava, his flower alighted upon the maṇḍala of Mañjuśrī, representing buddha-body. By propitiating that meditational deity, Nup actualised the signs of accomplishment. Later he also received many tantras and esoteric instructions [from master Padmasambhava] in the Dorje Tse-nga Cave, which lies on the frontier of India and Nepal. Moreover, he attended on such scholars and translators of India, Nepal, and Bru-sha [i.e. Gilgit] as Śrī Siṃha, Vimalamitra, Kamalaśīla, Dhanadhala, Trhaktung Nakpo, Śāntigarbha, Dhanasaṃskṛta, Śākyadeva, Dhanarakṣita, the brahman Prakāśālaṃkāra [i.e. Sukhodyotaka], Dharmabodhi, Dharmarāja, Tsuklak Pelge, Vasudhara, and Chetsenkye; as well as on the

learned Tibetan translator Nyak Jñānakumāra and all his eight glorious disciples. Among them, in particular, he attended on the Sogdian Pelgi Yeshe and Zhang Gyelwei Yönten, who had been a disciple of both Ma Rincen-chok and Nyak. Under all of those gurus Nup studied and



Nupcen Sangye Yeshe

mastered all the sūtras, as well as the outer and inner tantras of the mantra vehicle, along with their esoteric instructions. He travelled to India and Nepal seven times and translated many tantras, esoteric instructions, and ritual texts, along with [the rites of] the protectors of the doctrine.

In particular, in 885 (wood snake year), his fifty-fourth year, Nup went to Nepal, where he requested numberless empowerments and instructions from Vasudhara. For the sake of the doctrine he pleased that guru with offerings and faithful devotion. Then the preceptor[717] [Vasudhara] said, "In India lives my master Prakāśālaṃkāra. He is one thousand and six hundred years old. Go to him and request the doctrine."

Nup set out for India as instructed and met the master Prakāśālaṃkāra in Vārāṇasī. He asked for many teachings. In particular, he received the complete empowerment of the [Anuyoga] sūtras along with the

instructions of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions.* According to Rok Tsöndrü Senge, this master [Prakāśālaṃkāra] is identical to Sukhodyotaka.

Nup later asked Prakāśālaṃkāra for the textual exegesis of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, but the master said, "Dhanarakṣita, Dharmabodhi, and Dharmarāja have been invited to Bru-sha by Chetsenkye. Go there and request the exegesis from them."

Accordingly, Nup went to Bru-sha where, under those four translators and scholars, he made a critical study primarily of that textual exegesis but also of the essential instructions concerning its transmitted empowerment, the subtleties of its practical techniques, and so forth. Thus, he extracted the essence of their spirituality.

Concerning the way in which Nup attained accomplishment: During the nine months [spent in retreat] at Zhugi Dorje Gombu, his mind was liberated and he established [the realisation of] the abiding nature of reality. In Vajrāsana and in Yungdrung Rincen Terne, the Lord of Secrets (Guhyapati) revealed his visage to him. His emblematic vajra fell into Nup's hands and he conferred on Nup the empowerment of the name. Then, in Ölmotshel, the child of a gandhārva conferred on Nup the name Sangye. In Kangzang he was honoured by a yakṣa, and on the shore of the Nine-Island Lake of Yamdrok (*gling dgu'i mtsho*) by three young nāga brothers. In the charnel ground of Lhe the child of a tormented spirit bowed before his feet. In Ömeitshel, Yamāntaka appeared in a vision to confer empowerment and accomplishment upon him.

After achieving dominion over gods and demons, Nup was empowered as a master of secret mantra. The guardians of the *Mātaraḥ* and *Yamāntaka* (*ma-gshin*) cycles, lords of the ḍākinīs, were appointed to be his protectors. Then, as Mañjuśrī had prophesied, Ekajaṭī presented Nup with the sacraments of accomplishment in the Sanglung Nakpo charnel ground in India.

Thus, his pristine cognition illuminated the expanse [of reality], and the realisations of the great levels were actualised. He beheld in visions the entire maṇḍalas of Padmanarteśvara and of Yamāntaka, and he obtained their empowerments and accomplishments. Moreover, he possessed unobstructed supernormal cognitive powers – clairvoyance and so forth. The wonderful accounts of his career, [which describe him] floating on water, passing through mountains of solid rock, and performing other miracles, surpass the imagination.

Nup founded his foremost hermitage at the pilgrimage place of Yangdzong, in Dra, Central Tibet; and he intended to remain there in total solitude. But he and his disciples faced great hardship because, generally, the laws of the land disintegrated at about that time [owing to the collapse of the dynasty in the wake of the reign of Langdarma]; and there followed a period of increasingly partisan conflict. In particu-

lar, he had to train completely all within his sphere of influence who remained from a past life in India where he had taken birth as the butcher Marutse, and had worked on behalf of living beings.[718] Moreover, because here in Tibet the teaching of the royal grandson [Relpacen] had declined and there arose many who did harm to his early and later teaching, Nupcen became inspired by the enlightened activity of the Conqueror to eliminate these by wrathful mantras and so to protect the teaching. Above and beyond that, there were the circumstances created by the murder of his own two sons during the early, middle or later local rebellions.

As Nup himself said:

> Trouble arose in Central Tibet;
> The people deprived me of sustenance.

And:

> Though a minor ascetic of Nup, like myself, sincerely
> Developed an enlightened attitude in accord with the doctrine,
> Hateful enemies would not permit me to practise.
> In order to protect the Buddha's teaching
> I cultivated hatred thereafter.
> Thinking to expose the greatness of the good,
> I studied various malevolent mantra texts.

So it was that Nup introduced the wrathful mantras of the oceanic cycle of Yamāntaka from India and Nepal:

> I went before the feet of eleven gurus,
> But I met with four who were learned:
> These were the master Śrī Siṃha,
> Trhaktung Nakpo of India,
> Śāntigarbha the destroyer,
> And Vasudhara of Nepal.
> Penetrating the spirituality of these four learned masters,
> I fixed their profound esoteric instructions in my heart.

But Nup obtained the very quintessence of their teaching from his Nepali master. As he himself said:

> My master, the king of Nepal,
> Said, "O minor ascetic of Nup!
> Come here to this Yangleshö Cave!"
> He conferred the empowerment of the corpse of
> the great charnel ground[719]
> And entrusted me with the deity Mañjuśrī, Lord
> of Life.

Moreover:

> I, Sangye Yeshe, constructed
> My hermitage at Khar, in Yama.
> On the summit of the Black Pass of Dra
> I set a tornado in motion.
> It demolished thirty-seven hamlets of Dra.

That is to say, when the rebellions reached Dra, during Nup's sixty-first year, he destroyed many towns, using the sharp, wrathful mantra of Yamāntaka. Then, he escaped to Nup Yülrong, but he was not allowed to stay there. He seized Ce Fortress in Nyemo, but there, too, he was surrounded by armed brigands who put his life in peril. From the top of the fortress he called on the fierce gods and demons to bear him witness. After making a truthful declaration in verse,[720] he folded up his religious robes. At that moment the oath-bound protectors of the doctrine became visible, and said, "By our power we can crush Mount Sumeru to powder, we can strike the sun and moon together like cymbals and turn heaven and earth topsy-



Yamāntaka

turvy. But because the retribution for your actions in previous lives was unfolding we were unable to help you before. Now, we will obey your commands."

Nup extracted his acacia-wood kīla from the seam[721] of his robe and drew out the vital heart-mantras of the oath-bound deities. Rolling the kīla in his hands, he pointed it towards the mountain where the armed men were staying. An enormous fire blazed up on the mountain and burned the whole army to ashes. After subduing his enemies so, Nup lived in poverty for three years.

During the reign of King Relpacen, Nup had been in the habit of travelling between India and Tibet. On the other hand, when King Langdarma persecuted the teaching, he asked Nup, "What power do you have?"

Nup replied, "Behold this power of mine, which comes from the recitation of a mere mantra!"

With his index finger he pointed to the sky, and the king saw a black iron scorpion as large as a yak, sitting nine storeys above Nup's pointed finger.

The king was terrified and said, "By all that is precious, I will not harm this mantrin. Go practise your doctrine!"

Then Nup said, "Behold this power yet again!" And with his index finger he hurled a thunderbolt, which pierced the rock on the mountain opposite and smashed it to pieces.

Now the king was extremely terrified and afraid. He said to Nup, "I will harm neither you, nor your attendants." And then he dismissed him. Thus it was by Nup's kindness that the mantra adepts who wore the white robe and long, braided hair were unharmed [during Langdarma's persecution].[722]

Nup could not endure the supression of the teaching by Langdarma, so, having collected many razor-sharp, wrathful mantras, he resolved to bring him to an end by means of the compassionate application of sorcery. But when the evil king was "liberated" by Lhalung Pelgi Dorje,[723] Nup concealed the wrathful mantras as treasures, lest they be misused.

Nup Sangye Yeshe composed treatises, including the following: the *Armour Against Darkness*, which is a vast commentary on the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* (*mdo'i 'grel-chen mun-pa'i go-cha*); the *Disputant's Sword which Cuts through Difficulties* (*dka'-gcod smra-ba'i mtshon-cha*); the *Commentary on the Realisation of the Eighty-Chapter Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul brgyad-cu-pa'i mngon-rtogs 'grel*); and the *Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation, which is an Esoteric Instruction of the Great Perfection.*

By the enlightened activities of exegesis and attainment, he covered the earth with the teaching of the three aspects of creation and perfection. While he had many disciples, there were five particularly sublime ones,

namely, his four spiritual sons and the one most authentic son. It says in one of the master's own songs:

> In the forest of discriminative awareness
> That is Yangwangter, the ascetic of Nup,
> The divine tree of enlightened attributes grew.
> With it, I filled five supreme vessels:
> There was one who carried off the roots;
> That was Löncen Phakpa.
> There was one who carried off the leaves;
> That was Lekpei Drönme.
> There was one who carried off the flowers;
> That was Tengi Yöntenchok.
> There was one who carried off the fruits;
> That was Yeshe Wangcuk.
> But one alone took the whole tree;
> That was Yönten Gyamtso.

Thus, the four sons were: Pagor Löncen Phakpa, who was learned in the tantras, which are the roots; Sutön Lekpei Drönme, who was learned in [the texts of] deathless nectar,[724] which are the leaves; Tengi Yöntenchok, who was learned in answering objections, which is the flower; and So Yeshe Wangcuk, who was learned in the essential doctrines of view and intention, which are like fruits. The one most authentic son was Khulung Yönten Gyamtso, who was learned in all four subjects.

Moreover, in the history of the empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* in particular it says:

> The transmitted precepts of the empowerment, tantra, and instructions fell to Khulungpa [Yönten Gyamtso]. The transmitted precepts of the stream of the four empowerments fell to Su[tön Lekpei Drönme].

In the sūtras, Nupcen Sangye Yeshe is hailed as a bodhisattva of the fourth level. While there was a prophecy that he would be born two thousand years after the Teacher's nirvāṇa, this was an approximation, for it was close to two thousand years. If we make an accurate calculation, following the chronology of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, which is well known today, Nup was born one thousand seven hundred and thirteen years after the Teacher's nirvāṇa. This is because it is calculated from the iron dragon year of the Teacher's passing (881 BC).[725] Twenty-eight years later, in the earth monkey year (853 BC), the secret mantra texts fell onto the roof of the palace of King Ja. One thousand six hundred and eighty-five years after that in the water mouse year 832, Nup was born. This same water mouse year was the forty-third year of King Trhisong, who had been born in the iron horse year 790; and it was

the sixth after the ordination of the "seven men who were tested", which had occurred in the fire sheep year 827. In the earth tiger year 858, when Nupcen was in his twenty-seventh year, King Trhisong died. Eighty-five years later, in the water tiger year 943, Nupcen passed away. Therefore, it is clear that he lived for about thirty-seven years after the persecution of the teaching by Langdarma.

Nup passed away in his one hundred and eleventh year in the district of Khyönmi. Finally, he entered nirvāṇa in a mass of light, spontaneously accomplished by means of the path of the natural Great Perfection.

KHULUNG YÖNTEN GYAMTSO

[300.3-302.1] Nup's most authentic son was Yönten Gyamtso. He and Nup had been associated as master and disciple during previous lives. He was born in the district of Nup Khulung.

The Indian Dhanadhala, who had been Yönten Gyamtso's elder brother during a previous life, had attained the accomplishment of the "swift feet of the yakṣiṇī" (*gnod-sbyin-mo'i rkang-mgyogs*).[726] None the less, he could not perform it successfully, because of a broken wing. Again, having practised the other [means for the attainment of] "swift feet", a yakṣa carried him in the flap of his robe, and in a single night they reached Yönten Gyamtso at Khulung. There, Dhanadhala lovingly empowered the younger brother of his previous life. It is said that because he gave the common accomplishments to his patron, [the latter's descendants] flourished for seven generations.

Dhanadhala advised Yönten Gyamtso not to build his hermitage in the village and revealed to him the geomantic centre of Tsukrum Tawu in Khardong Yönmo.[727] He conferred the *Red* and *Black Yamāri*, who protect the teaching, the cycles of *Mātaraḥ* and *Yamāntaka*, et cetera. Then, he departed for India.

When Yönten Gyamtso was in his thirtieth year he went on a hunting expedition and met the master Sangye Yeshe at Shukla Nakpo in Nar. Recognising Yönten Gyamtso to be a kinsman and a worthy disciple, Nup caused him to enter the doctrine, and took him into his following. Because Nup gave him all the empowerments, tantras, and esoteric instructions, together with the rituals of the protectors of the teaching, in their entirety, the essence of Nup's transmitted precepts and the heart of his spirituality were transmitted to him. So it is known that he completely received all the instructions.

When persecuted by the rebellions and surrounded by a hundred assassins Yönten Gyamtso, who had actually achieved the miraculous power of the "burning gaze", magically caused fire to blaze from his right eye and water to pour forth from his left. The assassins found no

opportunity to harm him, and, abandoning their weapons, they had to escape.

Generally speaking, Yönten Gyamtso had visions of many meditational deities, and he developed the supernormal cognitive power of freedom from corruption. He gained control over the elements and was served by oath-bound deities. He acquired both of the great accomplishments, for the truth of reality had become apparent to him.[728] His life story may be known in detail from the texts of the So tradition.

YESHE GYAMTSO, PEMA WANGYEL AND THE LATER SUCCESSORS IN THE LINEAGE OF NUP

[302.1-304.3] Yönten Gyamtso had two sons: Yeshe Gyamtso and Pema Wangyel. Yeshe Gyamtso was the elder. He had accumulated the provisions and practised patience in his previous life. Therefore, he was endowed with a handsome physical appearance. His humility delighted the hearts of all. With supreme devotion he rendered whatever services of body, speech, and mind were pleasing to his guru. Because his discriminative awareness and his conduct of faith and perseverance were perfect, he realised the spiritual intention [of the lineage].

He was empowered as a master of all the tantras, transmissions, and esoteric instructions. The essence of the entire store of empowerment trickled down to him, so he became the full vessel of all his father's teachings. He realised the significance of the abiding nature of reality, which is the supreme accomplishment, by completing the practices of ritual service and attainment. He had visions of many meditational deities and he was able to reveal his body to others in the form of the divine maṇḍala. Oath-bound deities served him and all spirits offered up their vital heart-mantras to him. Because he swiftly manifested the signs of success at whatever rites of sorcery [he undertook], he was adept at occult powers.

His younger brother, Pema Wangyel, realised Yamāri. The active protectors of the *Yamāri* cycle offered up their vital heart-mantras to him. When he struck the water of a flooding river in Central Tibet with his kīla of acacia wood, in a single day the floodwaters receded by about the distance of an arrow shot. Once he "liberated" nine Pönpo sorcerers simultaneously. It is known that no one could rival his unobstructed powers in such wrathful rites of sorcery.

The son of Yeshe Gyamtso was Lharje Hūṃcung. It was he who taught the wrathful mantras to the venerable Milarepa, who then became renowned as a powerful sorcerer.[729] Lharje Hūṃcung had many disciples, but supreme among them was Nyang Sherapchok. Nyang was renowned for his learning in the three aspects of creation and perfection. He also built the temple of Toklashong. When he practised meditation

at Haogöl Rock he had a vision of the maṇḍala of Vajrakīla. When he struck a rock with his vajra, the vajra penetrated it like clay and dissolved into it. There are many such accounts of his accomplishments.

His disciple was Nyang Yeshe Jungne of Chölung,[730] who also grasped the spirituality of his guru and became renowned for his learning in the three aspects of creation and perfection.

Most of the lineage descended from the masters just mentioned are called the tradition of Rong, or else the tradition of Nyang, after their clan name.[731]

Again, [Nupcen's disciple] So Yeshe Wangcuk had these disciples: Ngentung Cangcup Gyeltsen, Kongtsün Sherap Yeshe, and Ratung Sherap Tshültrim. Because all three were Yeshe Wangcuk's disciples Gölo Zhönupel maintains that they do not form a linear succession.[732] [The same source states that] Nyang Sherapchok was the common disciple of Yönten Gyamtso and his son, and of So Yeshe Wangcuk. Nyang's disciple was Yeshe Jungne; and the latter's disciple was Lharje Zurpoche, who also received teaching directly from Tongtsap Phakpa Rinpoche [Pagor Löncen Phakpa]. Therefore, between Nupcen and Zurpoche there was only one guru [i.e. Tongtsap Phakpa Rinpoche].

3 *The Lineage of the Zur Family*

[304.3-4] Now, I must describe how [the tradition] "fell to Zur in the end". During the later period of the teaching's expansion, it was Zurpoche Śākya Jungne who planted the roots of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School, Zurcungpa Sherap-tra who extended its branches, and Zur Śākya Senge who cultivated its leaves and fruit. Therefore, they are known as the three generations in the line of Zur.

LHARJE ZURPOCHE ŚĀKYA JUNGNE

[304.5-339.4] In general, this family called Zur had originated in India: Ösel Lhawang Zhönu Tsuktorcen was born in the sublime land of India. He had a son called Manda Zangzhücen, whose son, Zur Gyelwa Sumdra, was born in Dokam [far eastern Tibet]. His son was Zurpa Shenyen Takdracen, and his, Rincen Gyamtso. He had a son called Tshozang Mikpoche. In the *Blue Annals* (*deb-ther sngon-po*), Lharje Zurpoche is described as the son of this last mentioned, but elsewhere he is held to have been the son of one Atsara.[733] Here, I regard as reliable a genealogy of the Zur family through to the twenty-seventh generation, which I have seen.[734] According to this, Mikpoche had three sons: Zur Atsara, Zur Khacenlakcen, and Zurzang Sherap Jungne. Of them, the youngest, Sherap Jungne, had four sons: Lharje Zurpoche, Zurtön Lama, Zurgom Dorje Jungne, and Zur Gomcung. The elder brother, Atsara, went to India where he had a son named Nyimei Nyingpo, and, when he returned to Tibet and dwelt at Thaklungpa, one named Zur Thakpa Gomcen. The son of the latter was Zurcung Sherap Trakpa.

Lharje Zurpoche was the visible presence in the world of the Great Glorious One [Yangdak Heruka]. He was born in the district of Yardzong, or Sarma, in Dokam as the son of the benefactress Dewacam. When he entered her womb, his father dreamt that a thousand-spoked golden wheel appeared in his hand, that the sublime Avalokiteśvara



Lharje Zurpoche Śākya Jungne

vanished into his consort's body, and so forth. So he knew his son to be an emanation and gave him the name Śākya Jungne.

The boy learned to read and write from his father. He received the cycle of the *Magical Net*, along with the minor esoteric instructions. Gradually, he received the three stages of ordination from Lacen Gongpa Rapsel, and, in time, was fully ordained. Lacen said that since Zurpoche was an emanation, there was no need to change his name. Under his grandfather, Rincen Gyamtso, he became learned in the Three Classes of Dialectics (*mtshan-nyid sde-gsum*), the Kriyātantra, *Vajravidāraṇa*, *Vairocana*, the *Magical Net* and the *Glorious Paramādya*, and also in the path of skilful means and other esoteric instructions belonging to the inner way of secret mantra. Zurpoche himself said, "Riding on the horse of the channels and currents of vital energy, wearing the robe of the inner heat, taking the instructions as my consoling companion, and guided by faith, I traversed the province of Dokam and approached Dam [to the north of Lhasa]."[735] So it was that when he arrived in Dam from Kham two sons of the gods pointed out the way from the midst of the clouds, and he proceeded towards Central Tibet, without having had to ask for directions.

While practising the Kriyātantra at Namolung, in Yarlung, Zurpoche's [affinity with] the unsurpassedly secret family of the greater vehicle was awakened. He thought to himself, "This exhausting path of renunciation and obligatory undertaking is the cause of bondage. May I find a path belonging to the unsurpassed way of secret mantra, which is easy to pursue and free from difficulty!" That same night he heard a voice telling him to meditate in a mountain forest.

Then, travelling up the Tsangpo River valley, he set out for Tsang. "Is there anyone learned and accomplished in the doctrine of the way of secret mantra?" he asked.

To this someone replied, "There is such a person living in a wood called Naktsel Sumdril."

Zurpoche remembered his former dream, went there, and received teaching on the attainment of nectar elixir (*bdud-rtsi sman-sgrub*) and so forth from Ceshak-chok of Gegong.

Generally speaking, Zurpoche lived with many gurus. But, in particular, he obtained the *Magical Net* and the Mental Class, which were the doctrines on which his flower had alighted, from Nyang Yeshe Jungne of Chölung. At first, he studied the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Parkap Commentary on the Secret Nucleus*, and the esoteric instructions of the Great Perfection under Namkade; the secret empowerment and the path of skilful means under Nyenak Wangdrak of Yülser and Ce Śākya Gyeltsen; [the teachings on] primordial purity and spontaneous presence (*ka-dag-dang lhun-grub*) and also the *Sequence of the Path of the Magical Net* under Dre Trhocung of upper Nyang; [the cycle devoted to] Yangdak Heruka under Rok Śākya Jungne of Chimpu and Sherap Tshültrim of Denma; and the entire *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* under Zhutön Sonam Śākya. He also received the transmission of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* (*mdo-lung*), its empowerment and means for attainment (*dbang-sgrub*), and the commentary on this tantra along with its rituals (*rgyud-'grel phrin-las-dang-bcas*) from Tongtsap Cangcup, Gyatön Lodrö, and Kadö Yeshe Nyingpo. Zurpoche presented many kinds of wealth, including horses, as offerings to those same gurus; and he only delighted them with worship that was utterly pure in the three spheres.

So it was that Zurpoche received the esoteric instructions of many learned men. He comprehended the nature of their intention and became learned and adept in all the philosophical systems of the Tripiṭaka, as well as those of the tantrapiṭaka. He brought together the root tantras and the exegetical tantras; the root texts and their commentaries; the tantras and their means for attainment; and the means for attainment with their ritual texts and so forth; and he applied them in practice. Dwelling in a mountain forest, he propitiated glorious Yangdak Heruka with one-pointed diligence, and so he became a powerful master of the profound depths of the three aspects of creation and perfection. He

unknotted the energy channels of the centre of perfect rapture, which is situated in the throat, and his discriminative awareness grew boundless.[736] He also taught the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Tantra of the Magical Net* to a large congregation of disciples.

Zurpoche always renounced all those actions which cause agitation, and he cut off pride and social diversions. Without hoping for enlightenment in the future, he practised with intense perseverance fixed in his mind, in order to disclose it in the present.

On one occasion, someone who had the appearance of being a yogin went to receive alms from him. He was offered only a small portion but he took all that there was, and left the door saying, "This Zurpoche is famous and accomplished, but this does not nearly equal the regular offerings of Rok Śākya Jungne." An attendant overheard this and informed the guru. At the guru's bidding he went to extend an invitation to the yogin, and found him in a cave eating porridge which was overflowing from a skull-cup. Although the servant encouraged him to accept the invitation, the yogin declined and said, "Rok Śākya Jungne dwells at Chimpu, having attained power over the duration of his life. Dispatch someone who will bring his doctrine to Zurpoche." And he departed, his feet not touching the ground.

Zurpoche then sent Zangom Sherap Gyelpo with a mule-load [of offerings] to obtain Rok's doctrine. When Zangom reached Samye and asked for directions, no one could give them to him. Then an old woman said, "At first Rok used to live on this mountain at Chimpu." A shepherd also said, "It seems he is living on the mountain just now. Sometimes I even hear the sound of his drum and of the *rulu mantra*."[737] Zangom deposited his load in a place where there were clumps of grass and prayed with faithful devotion. Then with a loud noise the door of a rock cave opened. Zangom passed straight through owing to his great devotion, which caused the Eighteen "Secret Liberators" (*gsang-ba'i sgrol-ging*) to declare, "We must 'liberate' this bringer of disorder!" But Rok Śākya Jungne said to them, "That would be inappropriate, for this one is worthy."

After asking Zangom why he had come, the guru said, "It is an auspicious coincidence that I, Rok Śākya Jungne, should encounter the disciple Zur Śākya Jungne, and that his envoy is Sherap Gyelpo (King of Discriminative Awareness)." Rok granted him the empowerments of sixty-two maṇḍalas, including those of the *Buddhasamāyoga*; the twelve intrinsic and extrinsic maṇḍalas of Yangdak Heruka (*yang-dag-gi bdag-gzhan dkyil-'khor bcu-gnyis*); and Yangdak combined with Vajrakīla.

When Zangom had obtained all the books, transmissions and further advice, and was returning via Samye, he saw a boy wearing a silk turban sitting on top of his mule-load. He returned and asked Rok about the boy. "It is Tshangpa Tungtö" said Rok, "Brahmā wearing a

crown of conch shells."[738] Then he granted Zangom [that protector's] offering rite. Later, the instructions were secretly offered to Lama Zurpoche.

Lama Zurpoche meditated with all his disciples for many years; and by maintaining teaching and study he greatly benefitted the world. None the less, he still longed to live in total solitude. He said, "Because I am distracted here by the performance of virtuous deeds, I am going to Ngadak Rock in Podong." He entered into solitary meditative practice there and his disciples also followed behind. He said to them, "If the aspiration for enlightenment is your motivation in coming to see me, there is no remedy except meditative practice. Leave worldly distractions behind you and devote yourselves to practice. I, too, will only practice." So, the master and his disciples practised individually.

Then, on one occasion, the ḍākinīs inspired him by declaring prophetically that he would benefit the world more by going to the lowlands. He proceeded to the valley of Tanak, where, in a cave facing east, which contained an owl's nest, he performed the means for the attainment of the nine-deity maṇḍala of Yangdak Heruka. He actually beheld the visage of the Great Glorious One there. Thus, it was owing to the name of his dwelling that he became famed everywhere as Lama Ukpalungpa, the "Guru of Owl Valley".

Because the provisions for practice were in meagre supply there, and because he had also received a prophetic declaration telling him to move on, he set out in the direction of the lowlands. The local divinity, who was named Zere Zetsen, showed himself and implored Zurpoche to stay. But the master said, "I have received a prophetic declaration telling me to go elsewhere. And, besides, there are no provisions here; so I will go."

The divinity replied, "I shall provide sustenance for you and your disciples. By all means stay!"

Zurpoche agreed to remain for some time.

Then, in Tanak, a rich man became seriously ill. An oracle declared that he should make feast and *torma* offerings, and seek the blessing of Lama Ukpalungpa. When the invalid approached the guru he felt better just by seeing him and asked for a blessing. As soon as the feast offerings had been made he was freed from his ailment. Similarly, Zurpoche had infinite blessings for those who were afflicted by sickness and by evil spirits. The people had faith in him and his merits grew vast. But the guru realised that this common merit was a great obstacle to the attainment of supreme accomplishment; and he decided to go to meditate on the slopes of Riwo Gudü. When he set out, the same local divinity said, "I have given provisions for your practice. Please stay."

Zurpoche answered, "It is very difficult [for you to provide] sustenance that has a pure basis. Because its accumulation is a source of distraction, this time I am going away."

With tearful countenance the divinity said, "If you will not stay under any circumstances, then please regard me with compassion." And he offered up his vital heart-mantra to Zurpoche.

The guru gave him layman's instruction and ordered him to protect the teaching. On his descent from that place, Zurpoche also bound [the local divinity] Como Namar under an oath of allegiance. Then he proceeded to Yesuthar. He said to Zurcungpa, "This rock of Gyawo seems to be the same Riwo Gudü where it was declared I should meditate." The master and all of his disciples remained there engaged in practice.

At that time Lharje Zurpoche's disciples included four "summits", who with the "summit-ridge" were five, as well as another one hundred and eight great meditators. Among them the four "summits" were: Zurcung Sherap-tra, who had arrived at the summit of the view and intention; Menyak Khyungdra, who had arrived at the summit of the exegesis of the *Tantra of the Magical Net*; Zhang Göcung, who had arrived at the summit of vast knowledge; and Zangom Sherap Gyelpo, who had arrived at the summit of meditative practice.

The "summit-ridge" was Tsak Lama, who, above and beyond the doctrine, had arrived at the summit of artistic prowess. Moreover, there are some works which speak of eight "summit-ridges".

In the same way, there were one hundred and eight who were adept in meditation. They include: Dru Gomgying, Yülgom Nakmo, Cegom Śākyagyel, Zurgom Dorjung, Yugom Cobar, and Gompa Sonam Nyingpo. It is said that all of them obtained miraculous powers including celestial travel.

On one occasion three women approached the guru and made this prophetic declaration: "In the lower valley of Shang in Yeru, to the east of the Shang River, lies a valley shaped like the half-moon. In its uplands there is a rock shaped like a heart. In its lowlands there is a plain which resembles the skin of Matram after he was 'liberated'.[739] On a mountain shaped like the trunk of an elephant is a rock which resembles the forehead of a lion. Three rivers flow from three mountain springs, symbolising the three buddha-bodies. If you meditate there you will attain buddhahood in this life and will serve the world for a long time."

At this, the guru bequeathed his hermitage at Trak Gyawo to Zurcungpa as his inheritance and went down [to Shang] with his followers. After he had surveyed the land there, Zhangmo Yöntengyen became his patron and donated a cave, in which the master took up residence. Zurcungpa and more than a hundred great meditators practised throughout the upper and lower reaches of the valley, living in thatched huts, under overhanging rocks, and in wind-breaks. Seven local tribes served the guru and Trampa Pöndrongpa became his main patron. They all held the guru to be the very presence of the Buddha.

Zurpoche practised there for many years. He had visions of the Forty-two Peaceful Deities and of the Fifty[-eight] Blood-drinkers. In particular, he beheld the deities of the maṇḍala of Yangdak Heruka and conversed with them as with other men. He made the Eight Gaurī and others his servants, and spirits attended to the tasks with which he entrusted them. The guru himself said, "I perceive all the earth, stones, mountains and rocks of Ukpalung to be the host of peaceful and wrathful deities. But in particular, I always see this southern peak of Ensermo as the Buddhas of the Five Enlightened Families. Therefore, I shall build a temple of the peaceful deities."

He then made preparations: After surveying the land he exorcised the hostile and evil earth spirits. In the col between the two peaks of the southern mountain, which resembled the claws of a black scorpion running downhill, he assumed the form of the Great Glorious One, Yangdak Heruka. He even left behind a footprint in the place where he stamped down with his right foot. There, he constructed a stūpa containing one hundred thousand images of Heruka; and in each of the four directions and at the centre the four "summits" and the "summit ridge" built a stūpa.

Zurpoche covered a spring, which was the residence of the nāga Tungkyong, with a sheet of copper. Upon it he laid the foundation of a temple. It is said that it was designed to equal the temple of Nyangtötsi in its dimensions, but that the stonemasons slightly reduced it. In the same way, most of the artisans were overcome by unmeritorious thoughts, and only wasted their materials by cutting all of the wooden planks unevenly, and of various lengths, et cetera. But a bodhisattva who has the courage of one who has practised generosity cannot be led astray by miserly and covetous thoughts, and so sees that wealth and property are dream-like and apparitional. Thus, when one of the great pillars had been cut short, and unevenly, Zurpoche, displaying the signs of his accomplishment, rolled the pillar with his foot until it was of the same length as the others. And on that pillar he left the imprint of his vajra. Similarly, he made all the crooked pillars straight as arrows by rolling them with his feet. When the artisans saw this, his patience in the face of their abuses, and other signs of his boundless compassion and power, they became exceeding remorseful. Using the wood that was left over from the temple, they built an exceptional, open portico, supported by four pillars. It became known as the Gyötsang Gyapup, the "Pavilion of Pure Remorse".[740] Later, it was made into the shrine of the protectors of the doctrine.

Zurpoche installed images of the peaceful deities, of whom Vairocana-Samantamukha (*kun-tu-zhal*)[741] was foremost, in the four-pillared upper shrine of the temple; images of Hayagrīva and Amṛtakuṇḍalin as the door-keepers of the upper court, which had eight pillars; and in the shrines of the north and south wings, he installed images of the Great

Mother [Prajñāpāramitā] and Dīpaṃkara, each surrounded by four offering goddesses. In the protectors' shrine, he made relief images[742] of Bhagavat, Śrīdevī, Brahmā, and Śakra. Frescoes of the gurus of the lineage were painted in the eight-pillared upper court, and those of twenty-three maṇḍalas, such as the "Hundred-petalled Lotus", on its surrounding wall. In the lower court, which had twenty pillars, there were frescoes of the Thousand Buddhas; the Buddhas of the Ten Directions; Amitāyus surrounded by the [Eight] "Closest Sons"; the Seven Generations of Buddhas; the twelve deeds; the bodhisattva Dharmodgata; Tārā, who protects from the eight fears; the Lords of the Three Families; the Malaya Buddha-field; the wheel of life; et cetera.

When the building had been completed in this way Zurpoche thought, "Now, I shall cover my temple with gold right up to the roof; and I shall extract the gold from Mount Drong-ri Chukpo."

At midnight the local divinity, a Tsen spirit, came in the form of a black horseman. He bowed before Zurpoche and circumambulated him, saying, "If I were to cover the temple with gold right up to the roof, my gold would be exhausted. I shall offer gold enough to cover completely the images of the deities." And so he did.

During the consecration both the conqueror Zurpoche and Zurcungpa displayed an endless array of miraculous powers: They entered the heart of the image of Sarvavid-Vairocana[743] via the crown, and the crown via the heart. As a result all the artisans developed sincere faith and said, "The guru's temple is like Mount Sumeru. Let us build a stūpa to accompany it." In faith they offered a stūpa modelled on the Blue Stūpa at Samye, which they built to the north of the Trashi Gomang Temple.

The guru's seat became universally renowned as glorious Ukpalung, after his own name. It is said that it was founded in the time of Lharje Zurpoche; that its traditions were established by Zurcungpa; and that Zur Śākya Senge made them widespread. This describes the great service to the teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality of the Ancient Translation School that was effected by this abbatial succession.

By his teaching and other activities Zurpoche greatly benefitted the world. Once, when the master and all his disciples were performing, at Yang-en Sermo, a year-long retreat devoted to Yangdak Heruka, no lamps could be offered owing to the shortage of butter. By his blessing Zurpoche transformed the spring into a fountain of clarified butter for a week. Thus, they were able to obtain an unending supply of ghee.

At first, the teacher and his students there mainly devoted themselves to study; so there were few who were adept at the rites of enlightened activity. When discussions were held in the teaching court, those who did know the rites were seated among the ignorant, who did not participate in the discussions. [In retaliation] the ritualists would not allow the others to chant when they assembled for the daily *torma* offerings. At this Lama

Zurpoche said, "One may be liberated by arriving at the culmination of any subject. It is not right to scorn one another. Each philosophical and spiritual system among the nine vehicles has its own scope. There is no prejudice towards any one vehicle." An extraordinary understanding of his meaning dawned in them all and they became humble.

At that time the guru said to his four disciples who were like summits, "Each of you four must articulate what you understand to be most important in experientially cultivating the path."

Zurcungpa said, "If one does not meditate, the multitudinous propensities of former desires will never end. Therefore, it is essential to be decisive with respect to experiential cultivation.

"Because we must purify the ephemeral obscurations, which are like pollution, here and now, it is essential to perform acts of virtue, day and night.

"Because we must gather the provision of merit until the abiding nature of reality is disclosed, it is essential to practise virtues energetically, however small."

So it was that, when the other three had also articulated their own understandings, the guru, in delight, sang a song about the incorporation of view, meditation and conduct on the path. It began:

> In practising the true divine doctrine,
> The path is threefold: view, meditation and conduct.
> That which is labelled the "view"
> Is no view when there is something to look for.
> Look to the meaning of freedom from things to view!
> And bring ineffable reality on to your path!

This caused the devotion of all his disciples to increase vastly. Afterwards, Lama Zurpoche maintained the congregation in Ukpalung and built a great tantric college and meditation centre.

While Zurcungpa was propitiating Yangdak Heruka at Yang-en Ngönmo he beheld the causal Heruka[744] with one face and two hands standing erect in front of his hermitage at Shang. He left his retreat and told Lama Zurpoche what had taken place. The guru said "Zurcungpa, you have achieved the accomplishment of the Great Glorious Heruka. The awareness-holder Namkei Nyingpo prophesied that I would construct an image of Heruka and, having subdued the powerful demons which afflict the Tibetan people, would benefit the world. Now, I am going to achieve this."

Then, he said to his attendants, "Gather materials for building a temple. We will exorcise the site!" He sat on Trak Sengei Yatö (Lion-Skull Rock), arranged the *torma* offerings, entered the contemplation of the Great Glorious Heruka, and assumed the appropriate posture. Those who had the good fortune to behold a buddha really saw the guru in that form.

While the foundation-stones were being laid, Zurcungpa was scorned by some because his body was lean and his appearance lustreless. They insulted him saying, "All the others have a large foundation-stone in place. Now, it is time for Zurcungpa to set a strongman's boulder in position!"

To which Zurcungpa replied, "The master and disciples should go for lunch. I will be coming presently." But he did not leave.

When the others had eaten and returned they saw that eight enormous boulders, which no one could budge, even by heroic efforts, had been set up at the four sides and four corners of the foundation. Upon them were chalked the following words:

THESE ARE ZURCUNGPA'S STRONGMAN STONES[745]

When they saw this, the monks were humbled; and those who were fair-minded became devoted to him. It is well known, too, that after Zurcungpa had set his "strongman stones" in position, the evil designs of the wild demons and spirits of darkness, who wished to obstruct the building of the temple, were pacified.

When the time came to join the wood, four pillars were crooked. The guru said, "You straighten them, Zurcungpa!" And in a single breath Zurcungpa twisted and bent them until they were as straight as arrows.

As the roof was approaching completion the guru said, "I have [spiritually] summoned the sculptors. They are on their way." The very next day certain persons familiar with image-making arrived to ask for doctrinal instruction. Zurpoche feigned ignorance and said, "Are you skilled in any trades?"

To which they replied, "We are image-makers who have come to request doctrinal instruction from you."

"That is an auspicious coincidence. You shall indeed receive the doctrine you desire. I am erecting an image of the Great Glorious One, for it will be of great benefit to the world in this degenerate age. I request that you make it."

The sculptors displayed great devotion, so first of all the master gave them the vase empowerment of the glorious Yangdak Heruka. They prepared a mixture which combined relics from the Tathāgata's remains; the flesh of one who had been born as a brahman seven times;[746] earth, stone, water, and wood from the eight charnel grounds; a variety of precious gems; and sacramental medicine refined by the awareness-holders of India and Tibet.

The sculptors asked Zurpoche how large the image should be and he replied, "Make it as high as the roof." They made an appropriate image of the fruitional Heruka, who has three faces, awesome, wrathful, and laughing, and six arms, but the guru said, "It does not resemble my vision. Make it again."



Yangdak Heruka

He had them repeat the work many times and eventually said, "Can you make an image of me?"

"Yes, we can do that."

"Perform supplications tonight, and come to see me tomorrow."

The next day, accompanied by Zurcungpa, the sculptors went to meet the master. He told his attendant Tönyö Dorje to arrange *torma* offerings and feast offerings. Then he propitiated Yangdak Heruka and performed the feast offerings. "Now look!" he said, and as he adopted the gaze [of the deity] he actually became Heruka, a fearsome and wrathful apparition, with one face, two arms, gnashing teeth, and twisted tongue, his head resplendent among the clouds and mist, his right foot resting upon the face of Heruka Rock in Ukpalung, his left foot upon the summit of Mount Tsepo Purkang. His indestructible wings filled the sky. The sculptors could not endure his radiance and lapsed into unconsciousness. When they awoke, the guru eased his intention and, with a brilliant smile, said, "Now, do you understand?"

"Now", they asked, "please show us a Heruka with three faces and six arms, so that we may recreate it."

Zurpoche said, "That is too profound. Owing to the needs of those

requiring training, it was the Heruka with one face and two arms that appeared."

While they were making the image according to his orders, they were able to fashion it from the navel downwards just as they had seen it before. But Zurpoche said, "You will have to do the upper section once again." He had them repeat it many times, but then said, "Your obscurations have not been purified. Knead the clay well and leave it here. Bathe in yonder fountain; for it is the water of accomplishment that arose when I scattered a skull-cup full of nectar. Circumambulate the temple seven times and come in. Until then no one should enter. I shall pray to the Great Glorious One."

As they were doing this, a continual buzzing was heard coming from within. When they had finished bathing and circumambulating they went inside; no one at all was near the master. He was absorbed in contemplation. But the clay had been used up and an image of the Great Glorious One, from the navel upwards, had spontaneously appeared. All the disciples and sculptors were absolutely astonished. They bowed before Zurpoche and said, "If the guru himself knew how to make it, then surely he was only testing us by not doing this earlier!"

At that Zurpoche make this declaration, which foretold the future:

> An image resembling me
> Has come to a man like me.
> It will guide the world in the degenerate age;
> It will be a remedy for sickness and demons.
> At first, by depending on Heruka, [this image of] Heruka
> Himself arose. But now that same Heruka
> Will be absorbed into this [image of] Heruka.

In the past, the great accomplished masters were completely mindful of preserving secrecy. Therefore, Zurpoche said that it was improper to make images according to the secret means for attainment in places where many people would congregate. "You must make the images of the Eight Wrathful Goddesses according to the tradition of the tantras," he said.[747] And so they did. The frescoes painted to the right were of the peaceful deities of the *Magical Net*, and those on the left were of the blazing wrathful deities. In front were frescoes of the deities of the entire *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*. Painted above were three maṇḍalas; and in the vestibule the glorious Mahākāla according to the tradition of wrathful Yamāntaka, together with the eightfold group of the Mönpa, mounted on tigers.

Then the time came for the consecration. They made preparations for the consecratory feast, saying, "Whom shall we commission to make the ale? Whence shall we get the meat?" An attendant said, "There were great expenses in connection with the craftsmen, labourers, and guests, so our wealth is all but exhausted. Now we must await donations

and even take loans from our benefactors. Let us postpone the consecration."

But Zurcungpa said, "We will perform the consecration on time. However there is no way we will find sufficient barley for the ale; there are not even enough clay jars. So let us commission the nāgas to make ale. It is also difficult to find meat; and even if we do find it we cannot pay the price. So let us use Trampa Pöndrongpa's oxen for meat. By petitioning the spirits we will get enough *tsampa* [i.e. parched barley flour]. If we do this nothing at all will be lacking."

Then Lama Zurpoche said, "We will require at least one thousand loads of barley for the ale![748] You are to ferment six measures of barley. Act as if there is more ale for the consecration when you are in public. Zurcungpa, summon a nāginī!"

At that, Zurcungpa intentionally summoned the sister of the nāga demon who dwelt on the rock at Yaze Trakdong. A thin snake appeared, which Zurcungpa turned into a fair lady by means of his gaze. At that Zurpoche said, "I want you to make the ale for the consecration of my temple."

But she replied, "I am of the pure nāga race, which fears defilement. We abstain from alcohol. At the same time, I cannot endure the guru's radiance. So, while there is no way for me to produce ale, I beg that you commission my elder brother. I will offer all necessary help."

Then the guru said, "Now then, Zurcungpa, will you summon and transform her elder brother?"

"I will try to summon him."

He adopted a gaze and a scorpion appeared, the size of a young goat. When overpowered by Zurcungpa's contemplation he revealed his true form. Zurcungpa ordered him to make ale, but he said, "I belong to the race of gods and demons. I require many gifts and favours. I have no time to make ale, yet I am unable to transgress the guru's command."

Zurpoche took both their vital heart-mantras and bound them under oaths of allegiance. The nāgas said, "We will arrive the day after tomorrow. Make preparations! Our nāga race is above defilement. Please arrange a pure and safe environment for our dwelling."

At this Lama Zurpoche said, "I shall bless the environment."

He had three clay jars with stoppers[749] washed with fragrant water and also collected things agreeable to demons and nāgas. The six measures of barley mash were poured into the jars and topped with pure white barley. Then the two nāga demons, brother and sister, were placed inside. The mouths of the jars were fastened with the guru's ceremonial blouse, and the flow of the fluid could be controlled through its sleeves. Zurpoche sealed the jars with an indestructible knot and the nāgas proceeded to gather the essence of ale from all directions, so that the ale was never-ending.

Then an attendant said, "There is now enough ale. But what will we do for *tsampa*?"

The guru replied, "Borrow many sacks." He made a *torma* offering and said, "Pour a handful of *tsampa* into each sack." The attendant did as he was told. The next day all the sacks were full of *tsampa*.

Again, the guru said, "Send a monk to Trampa Pöndrongpa. Tell him that we have disposed of this refuse mash from the ale for the consecration in the forest, and that he should send his oxen to eat it."

When that was done many oxen were sent. The guru said, "Zurcungpa, will you kill and resurrect them?"

Zurcungpa replied, "I shall obey my guru's command."

Zurpoche adopted an enlightened intention and hurled enchanted objects[750] at each of the oxen, whereby they all fell into a coma and died. "Flay the oxen," he said. "Do not break the bones. Keep the joints intact. Leave the internal organs in their proper positions and carve out the muscle meat."

His attendants were terrified and thought, "This master and his disciple are in the sway of evil. They have ordered the oxen to be fed on the mash, and then they have killed them all. Now what will happen when the oxherds arrive?"

With their minds utterly confounded they prepared the meat-feast for the consecration. After the feast the oxherds did arrive. The guru commanded that they be served, too, which perplexed the attendants. Then he said, "Let Zurcungpa convey the oxen to their owner."

At that, Zurcungpa folded the bones in their wrappings of hide. He inserted the internal organs as well, covered them with his robe, and, at the snap of a finger, the oxen trembled and stood up. It is said that [earlier], when an old woman had been carving the meat, she scraped a rib of one of the oxen. After [being revived] that ox had a deformed rib. The display of this miraculous ability to kill and to resurrect caused all those assembled to develop great faith.

Lama Zurpoche, too, looked delightedly upon [the image of] the Great Glorious One, and said, "I pray that you serve the world greatly."

"Hey, hey, need you even ask?" replied the image, rejoicing in the nine dramatic airs.[751] At first the image had a wrathful countenance, but thereafter its appearance became one of laughter.

The guru said, "Now, we should propitiate Yangdak Heruka for one year."

The attendants replied, "The provisions are not sufficient."

Zurcungpa countered, "If the ale is not enough, it will be all right to return to the nāga demon. There is also a little meat and *tsampa* in reserve. If the commitments of yoga are not left to decline, the mundane gods and demons will provide our sustenance. The local divinity will also make offerings. So it will be fine to practice for one year."

About one hundred yogins and yoginīs assembled there. The master ordered each of the practitioners to be provided with a skull-cup full of ale, a duck's egg-sized ball of gruel, and a little meat to observe the commitments. Then the one-year retreat commenced.

During the retreat the guru said, "You, the four summits, are to hold a contest of [contemplative] intention." It is said that when they all had entered a meditative equipoise, three of them attained an immovable intention, one that was mountain-like, not to be destroyed by mere circumstances. But because Zurcungpa had arrived at the abode of supreme, unbiased equanimity, he ascended in the air to the height of a wagon to illustrate the superiority of his view. Then the guru said, "Now, go outside and listen while Zurcungpa recites the *rulu mantra*." One yoginī went outside and listened, but the volume did not decrease. Having crossed over a ridge, she continued to listen, but still the volume did not decrease. At that, the guru praised Zurcungpa highly, saying, "You are all equally spiritual brethren, but you others should not even cross Zurcungpa's shadow."

When they were released from the retreat, the master and his disciples went to Trokpöi Sumdo. The guru became exhilarated and stamped out a dance to the *rulu mantra* on the rock called the "Vajra Bolt" (*brag rdo-rje gtan-pa*). His foot penetrated the rock up to the ankle, as if he were treading on mud. Zurcungpa said, "My guru is a manifest buddha. I shall prostrate my head at his feet." He touched the footprints with his head and left behind a clear impression of his topknot and dangling ear-rings.

At that, Zangom Sherap Gyelpo said, "Wonderfully sublime are the signs of accomplishment which my two gurus, uncle and nephew, possess. It will be a sin for man or beast to tread upon this stone." He transformed his five fingers into five powerful athletes, who raised the Vajra Bolt Rock and set it upright. Then Zhang Göcungwa and Menyak Khyungdra also said, "It is up to us to support it." [They emanated] many powerful athletes who each raised an unshakable boulder to support the rock on each side, and so made its foundation secure. Even today these stones can really be seen.

Then Lama Zurpoche decided to make an image of the fruitional Great Glorious One in Ukpalung.[752] He told all of his disciples to go there. Zurcungpa flew into the sky, saying, "I shall go to serve my guru," and landed on Trak Gyawo. The other disciples travelled there in coracles. The two nāga demons, brother and sister, said, "It is improper for us to be associated with the defiled persons in the coracle. Please take us over the river where it can be forded."[753]

The guru assented to this and delivered the clay pot to his attendant, to whom it seemed to weigh less than a feather. When they reached the riverbank, the guru said to the attendant, "Hold onto me and come without hesitation."

But the attendant's mind was unworthy and he thought, "I'll probably be thrown into the river."

Knowing his anxiety, the guru said, "Now you cannot cross with me. Come via coracle. I am going on ahead." And he went off without his feet touching the water.

The attendant went by coracle and reached the slope on the opposite bank. While waiting there for a long time he grew thirsty, so he drank all the ale he could strain from the pot. Then the thought occurred, "One year and four months have passed since making this ale. What did the guru put in the jar for so much to be produced?"

He broke the seal of the jar and two serpents, white and black, as large as yaks, uncoiled themselves and vanished into the sky. Scorpions, frogs, tadpoles and other creatures followed in their wake and also went snapping and croaking into the sky. At once the sediment became green and rotten and the liquid became pale and sour. The attendant disposed of the mash and carried the jar to the riverbank, where he poured out the liquid. Then he smashed the jar.

When this took place, the guru said, "The auspicious coincidence is lost. If you had not released the two nāga demons of Wokdong, brother and sister, the monastery of Ukpalung would have become the greatest in Tibet; and the hermitage at Trampa, too, would have expanded without decline. None the less, since you poured the liquid towards the south, some centres and monasteries will arise [in that direction]." He appointed the nāga demons, brother and sister, to be the protectors of the transmitted precepts at the hermitage of Trampa. But, due to these circumstances, the image of the fruitional Great Glorious Heruka was never made.

Afterwards, the college and the hermitage became extensive. At that time, in Nyari, there lived a man named Mama Yungdrung Trashi and his wife. They were endowed with riches, but had no children or heirs. Wishing to build a religious centre, they assembled all the local people together and asked, "Who are the best teachers?"

Some claimed that the adepts of mantra were the best, others favoured the venerable monks [of the Buddhist *saṃgha*], while yet others supported the followers of the Pön religion. Because they all disagreed, they advised the couple to follow their own inclinations. The wife said, "Since our resources are adequate, let us invite all three."

The mantra adept of Ukpalung [Zurpoche], Laketsewa the Pönpo, and a venerable monk from Chumik Ringmo were invited. When the three recipients of worship had assembled, they considered building a temple together, but disagreed over which should be the central image. The mantrin insisted upon Vajrasattva, the monk upon Śākyamuni, and the Pönpo upon Shenrap Miwoche;[754] so they decided to build separate temples. Lharje Ukpalungpa joined with the Pönpo to build a temple below Dropuk. The Pönpo said, "Even now, when we make the temple, our deity will have to be subservient if yours occupies the central position. And your deity will have to be subservient if ours occupies the central position."

Zurpoche realised that no good would come of either arrangement; so he gave the temple to the Pönpo. Then, one Drotönpa offered him

the place called Dropuk and Zurpoche built a temple there. At that time three related families who were patrons said, "We will take a collection for whoever covers his temple with an ornamental roof." The mantrin and the Pönpo both accomplished the task, but the monk was unsuccessful. The patrons took up a collection for the mantrin and the Pönpo on alternative years, at which the monk said, "Please gather one for us too!" The monk was given one year's collection and thereafter the collection was made on behalf of the three orders during alternate years.

At the temple of Dropuk eight shrines, large and small, were built. Of these the foremost was that of the buddhas of the three times. The upper hall was supported by twenty pillars and the lower hall by sixty pillars. In this place a great seminary was established.

Moreover, one time, when it was well known that the conqueror Zurpoche was propitiating Yangdak Heruka at Gyawo, in Thak, and that his merits were most extensive, the translator Drokmi, who required gold to offer as a parting gift to his paṇḍita [Gayadhara], said to him, "Bring a lot of gold. I shall give you profound instructions."[755]

In order to exemplify [the conduct of] a great person, whose vows to benefit others are firm, and whose conduct with respect to the four attractive qualities of a bodhisattva is flawless, the conqueror Zurpoche – like Karma Pakshi, who to test [his disciples ordered them to build] an ornamental roof for the temple at Tshurpu high enough to be seen from the Damcoktse Pass[756] – said with a concealed intention, "I shall build two golden monuments to dominate the defiles of Lharidong in Dropuk and Thangi Yangdong; and I shall connect them in the middle with an iron chain."

His students make a pledge. "Very well", they said, "we shall each contribute a copper dish, a bell, and a length of iron chain."[757]

The great commotion which ensued alarmed two local divinities. They offered an ingot of gold, the size of a goat's liver, and asked the master not to build the golden monuments. Then they offered a gold mine and said, "You may enjoy it so long as no gold in the shape of a living creature is discovered." After mining an abundance of gold from one pit, an ingot of gold shaped like a frog was discovered. Zurpoche halted the excavation and offered one hundred ounces of gold to the translator in Mugulung.[758] That autumn he even performed humble tasks for Drokmi like carrying briarwood on his back. When he had become consummately learned in the *Three Continua* and their ancillary texts, as well as in the *Indestructible Tent*, he said:

> By the kindness of the great guru,
> I have learned that our Mental Class is our wealth!

Thus, after savouring the doctrine of the new translation schools Zurpoche again maintained that our [Nyingmapa] Mental Class is

wealth, like unto the wish-fulfilling gem. His statement is one giving rise to the highest certainty.

In his sixty-first year, when he had almost finished building the temple at Dropuk, that great man, an undeniable emanation who lived on the level of a holder of the awareness of spontaneous presence,[759] having fully realised the attributes of the five paths, resolved to transform his coarse body into its pure essential substance.[760] He said, "Summon Zurcungpa from Trak Gyawo."

When Zurcungpa arrived the master said, "I entrust this centre of mine to you, Zurcungpa. You must benefit the host of disciples by means of the doctrine. Grant it to them according to their intellectual capacities. Protect them as I have done.

"You disciples, too, must attend carefully to whatever Zurcungpa does. Do not disobey his word. Do not even step on his shadow, footprints or robe; for this one has attained the accomplishment of the body, speech, and mind of the Great Glorious One. Therefore, he is even higher than I. Because he will protect you as I have done, practise respectful devotion perfectly."

Then Zurpoche went off to his hermitage at Trampa. One day he said to his attendant, "Prepare a meal this morning before the heat." At sunrise, when the attendant came into his presence, the great guru was sitting on his bed, getting all dressed up. The attendant asked, "Now, where are you off to, that you are getting dressed up?"

> I am going to Sukhāvatī Buddha-field.
> Address your prayers to the meditational deity,
> For the Great Glorious One and I are no different.

So saying, the master took up his vajra and rang his bell. As he did so his body was transformed into light; and he vanished into the heart of the image of the Great Glorious Heruka.

At exactly the same time, a Khampa, who was coming to make offerings to Zurpoche, met the guru on the road. The guru blessed the Khampa's perception, and, accepting the offerings in an emanational palace, distributed the merit. Then, just as if he had awakened from a dream, the Khampa saw nothing at all. Proceeding onwards hesitantly, he heard along the way that the guru had vanished into the heart of the image of the Great Glorious One.

Because the blessing of this image of the Great Glorious One was exceedingly great, sometime later the image itself told the officiating priest to welcome one Gyatön Śāk-ye. At the time of his reception Gyatön appeared riding on a white cow and wearing a wolf-skin hat.[761] In the presence of the image of the Great Glorious Heruka he was transformed into white light. The priest, Majo Tönden, actually saw

him perform three counter-clockwise circumambulations and vanish, in fact, into the image. Similarly, one Tshenden Zurmo Öbum is reputed to have vanished into that same image.

ZURCUNG SHERAP-TRA

[339.4-359.6] Among the four "summits", Deshek Gyawopa, or Zurcung Sherap-tra, like the bell-ringer among the bulls, was the prime successor of the mantra-holder Ukpalungpa. He was born in Yeru, Tsang in 1014 (wood male tiger year) to the accompaniment of wonderful omens. His father was Thakpa Gomcen, who sometimes lived as a mendicant; and his mother was Majo Sherap-kyi. In his seventh year he learnt to read and write, and in his ninth he learnt to chant the rite of the peaceful and wrathful deities.

Once, in his thirteenth year, while he was sitting in bed reading a book, his betrothed ran to him and said, "The field is flooded! How can you lie there?"

Wearing his new trousers, Zurcungpa crossed the flooding waters[762] and he began to divert the water from the house. But she scolded him, saying, "You did not even change out of the clothes which were made by my labour. They're ruined!"

Zurcungpa replied, "If you care more about the cloth than about me, have it!" And he threw the trousers away.

She became angry and said, "This is an insult!" And she ran away to her native place.

Zurcungpa was utterly disillusioned with the world. He took her spindle down from a rafter and shouted after her. He remained suspended between hope and doubt, [not knowing] whether to call her back, but [in the end] he handed her the spindle saying, "It is said that a man must have the male wealth, and a woman the female wealth.[763] Take your spindle." She returned to her own land in despair.

Then, without consulting his father, without taking provisions from his mother, and without seeking the approval of friends,[764] Zurcungpa set out, carrying only his wolf-skin coat, to meet Zurpoche. On the way he joined company with two nomads from Tanak, who were bringing turquoise and copper, and a native of Shang, who bore armour. When they arrived there, Zurcungpa had only the wolf-skin coat to offer. While the other three offered their grand presents, the guru said, "Let us see whether or not they are disgusted with the world. Bring each of them some ale-stew and vegetable soup." The two nomads had no desire to eat, the Shangpa ate a little, but Zurcungpa ate the lot. At this the guru said, "Put aside the wolf-skin coat and the armour. But return the turquoise and copper to their owners!" The nomads went away displeased, saying, "The return of our presents is a sign that he



Zurcung Sherap-tra

will not teach us the doctrine." Consequently, they abused Zurpoche's teaching.

The master asked Zurcungpa, "What is your clan?"

Zurcungpa feared that it would be contentious to say that he was of the same clan as the guru, so he said, "I am just a very small Zur (Zurcung)." The nickname stuck. Knowing him to be worthy, Zurpoche made him study. He developed supreme intellectual brilliance.

At first, because of extreme poverty, he subsisted by gathering up the *tormas* scattered by the guru, and making ale-stew of them. But the other students complained to the master. "The sour smell of ale", they said, "lingers on his breath. Neither does he offer ale to the guru, nor does he give any to his spiritual brothers."

Therefore, the guru said, "Zurcungpa, today you are to go and collect wood."

In Zurcungpa's absence he had them search the cottage, but it is said that all they found was a skull-cup full of ale-stew underneath a tattered blanket. At this the guru said, "Zurcungpa, if you have nothing to eat, come to my own hearth."

"I would defile the guru's property," he answered. So it was that he bore the burden of constant austerity.

One day the guru brought a rosewood bowl, which could hold nine handfuls, and said, "Do you have anything to drink?" When offered ale-stew, Zurpoche drank two bowls full.

"Bring more," he said, and continued to drink. Then he said, "Is there anymore?"

"There is about one quart," answered Zurcungpa.

"Now that is not enough. If it were enough, your merit would be the greatest in Tibet. None the less, because of your veneration of me, your merits will still be great." He gave Zurcungpa three loads of barley and said, "When this barley is finished you will not be without necessities."

Zurcungpa persevered day and night in all of his studies and in meditation. Because he was an emanation the expanse of his discriminative awareness unfolded. But although he had inconceivable spiritual experiences and realisations, Zurcungpa could not even afford the supplies for copying books. At that point, Lharje Zurpoche said, "In the place called Phen-gi Khangön lives a wealthy lady meditator named Como Yumo and her daughter. You should stay with them."

"I will not be a householder," replied Zurcungpa.

"Do not be narrow-minded," said the master. "I know the divisions between what the Teacher permitted and what he forbade. If you use the resources of those two, you can ask for empowerments, copy books, and receive the entire doctrine, without remainder. They will both acquire merit for it, and you will accomplish your own purpose. That would be best."

Zurcungpa obeyed and all his wishes were fulfilled. Then, the guru said, "Now, don't stay there anymore. Bring your books and other necessities of worship here gradually and then come to me."

"But is it right to do so?" asked Zurcungpa. "Those two have been very kind."

"Do not be small-minded! You will have the power to benefit the world. In this degenerate age you must propagate the teaching of the Buddha and benefit many beings. How could you be more grateful to them? But if you just hide out there, you will succeed in helping neither yourself, nor others."

Zurcungpa obeyed the command exactly, and the guru's intention was precisely fulfilled.

On one occasion Lharje Zurpoche saw Zurcungpa circumambulate a stūpa near his residence. His feet were moving one cubit above the ground. The guru realised that he was an emanation and thought, "It is a great wonder." He was highly delighted.

So it was that when Zurcungpa wandered afar and was tormented by intense heat in a desolate valley, he was offered a refreshing drink

[by the local deities]. When he went to meditate on a lonely mountain peak and grew hungry, he was offered food. So he easily achieved whatever his heart desired, and thought, "Now, if I act on behalf of the world, I will succeed." Lama Zurpoche, too, said, "Now, you must teach." Zurcungpa taught the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and could gather at once three hundred disciples displaying the text.[765]

At the time the guru praised Zurcungpa greatly, but certain people were somewhat disrespectful and said, "The guru praises his own nephew too highly!"[766] Zurpoche knew that they would incur great demerit by slandering a guru.

It so happened that on one occasion the master and all his disciples went to attend a religious festival[767] in a place called Emar Dorjepo. In a gully, there was a vermin-infested bitch and her puppies. Lama Zurpoche only petted the bitch, but Zurcungpa killed her and the puppies, and then swallowed the vermin. The others said, "Such a lunatic as this Zurcungpa has been appointed to explain the doctrine! Even our benefactors will lose their devotion."

But the guru replied, "Even I knew the dogs were bound for the evil destinies,[768] but I could not 'liberate' them. Zurcungpa has done so, and it is a great wonder."

At that, Zurcungpa adopted a gaze and the dead dogs were turned into offering goddesses. He vomited up the vermin and they flew off into the sky. Zurpoche said, "Now, are you not astonished?"

But they replied, "It is merely an optical illusion."

Afterwards, they came to the Shang River, which was flooding. By his miraculous powers, Zurpoche threw a skull-cup to the slope of the opposite bank and said, "I shall entrust my college to whoever retrieves it." The other three "summits" could not reach it, but Zurcungpa walked across, his feet not touching the water, and retrieved the skull-cup.

Zurpoche urged them to compete in the power of levitation. Among the other teachers and meditators, including the four "summits", there were those who could travel without their feet touching the ground. But Zurcungpa ascended into the air as high as a palmyra tree and was the first to reach the hermitage at Trampa. At that, the other three "summits" began to believe in him and then served the guru completely by obeying each of his commands.

Once Zurcungpa received a prophecy in three stages concerning a sacred location; but because that yogin who had realised emptiness was free from deliberate grasping, he dismissed it all as delusion. Finally, five sixteen-year-old girls, adorned with bone ornaments, appeared. They were playing *ḍāmaru* and dancing. They said to him, "Brother, if you meditate at Riwo Gudü you will accomplish the goals of yourself and of others." Then, they pointed to Trak Gyawo with their fingers.

[Seeing that] there were nine peaks, nine rivers, and nine meadows Zurcungpa knew it to be a sign of the completeness of the nine successive

vehicles. "That Trak Gyawo", he said, "resembles the transcendent lord, the Great Glorious Heruka, surrounded by the Eight Gaurī.[769] Therefore, if I practise there, accomplishment will come swiftly, and the blessing will be great. Moreover, since the nature of saṃsāra is suffering, I must cut off worldly entanglements. To achieve the goal of future lives, social diversions and fame are useless. In the short-run it is difficult to save face, and ultimately it is worthless to do so. Therefore, I will meditate in solitude." Entrusting his disciples to the care of the three "useless men"[770] and commanding them to preserve the exegetical teaching of the doctrine, he went off to Trak Gyawo.

Arriving there, Zurcungpa entered exclusively into practice. So, the danger of the local divinity's magical power became very great. However, to such great bulls among accomplished masters both dream and the waking state have the same savour, in that they are fictitious. One night Zurcungpa dreamt that a black man appeared on the peak of Trak Gyawo, grabbed his two feet together, whirled him overhead and threw him. He landed in a wide plain in the river valley of Thak. When Zurcungpa awoke he really found himself in the midst of the plain and had to climb back up. Despite this great magical display he remained undeterred.

Again, when a scorpion the size of a young goat filled his hermitage, Zurcungpa's decisive realisation of cause and effect became manifest. He seized the scorpion by the claws and tore it in half, saying:

> Repenting of each non-virtuous sin,
> I tear the evil scorpion asunder![771]

In this way he mocked those who rely on the words, rather than the meaning.[772] He threw the scorpion away, whereupon all the pieces were transformed into Vairocana Buddha and dissolved into space.

On another occasion, when Zurcungpa was invaded by an army of ants, he told his attendant to bring a mallet;[773] and with it he crushed the ants. The attendant felt disgusted and said, "Think of the sin!"

Zurcungpa replied, "If you had no faith in that, I'll do it this way." And he popped the ants into his mouth and blew out, whereupon all of them arose in the form of Vajrasattva and departed into the sky. At that, the attendant developed great faith.

By his inconceivable miraculous abilities to kill and resurrect, Zurcungpa bound three local divinities, who were siblings, under an oath of allegiance. They actually revealed their forms and prostrated at his feet. Even today there exists a spring which arose where Zurcungpa pierced a rock with his kīla. And when he performed the practice of the meditative absorption of the "seals",[774] according to the *Secret Magical Net*, he had a vision of Vajrasattva, who filled the valley of Thak.

Because Zurcungpa had attained the activity field in which appearances are exhausted,[775] he could transform his body into a storm

of fire, water, wind, or earth. All appearances radiantly and resplendently partook of the nature of Vajrasattva; and the power of his positive realisations increasingly developed. But he realised that, in fact, they were not reliable. Appearances, mind and reality merged into a single savour and he reached the level on which his intentions were exhausted. He could move unobstructed through earth, stone, mountain, and rock; fly like a bird in the sky; and so forth. So it was that Zurcungpa obtained independence with respect to the five elements.

On one occasion he said, "One month from today a worthy disciple will arrive." Then, later on, a spiritual benefactor,[776] named Ba Getong, who was an adherent of the dialectical school, came to a religious festival in Thak. He sent an intelligent student to debate with Zurcungpa. The student pointed at a pillar and said, "Let the pillar be the topic."

Zurcungpa said, "The pillar is the topic. To the deluded perceptions of worldlings who are discrete entities, such as yourself, the pillar appears as a discrete entity. But I [am an adept of] the Great Perfection, which concerns what is manifest in and of itself and impartial. [According to this] there can be no ontological verification of the pillar." So saying, he waved his hand and it passed through the pillar without obstruction.

The student was unable to speak for astonishment. He acquired exceptional faith and became Zurcungpa's disciple, Matok Jangbar.

Concerning Zurcungpa's disciples, there were: four "pillars"; eight "rafters"; sixteen "beams"; thirty-two "planks"; two "great meditators"; one "great boaster"; two "simple ones"; two "venerable ones";[777] three "useless men"; and many others.

The four "pillars" were originally students of the spiritual benefactor Khyungpo Trase,[778] who were great dialecticians and intellectually very sharp. When Deshek Gyawopa [i.e. Zurcungpa] and the spiritual benefactor Khyungpo met in Nyangru at the invitation of a patron, Khyungpo sent the four, commanding them to go and refute Zurcungpa, who, he said, was a proponent of erroneous doctrines. When the four entered the presence of the master, he happened to be wearing a fur coat turned inside out. At this one of them said, "Which doctrinal tradition has the custom of wearing an inverted hide?"

"The hide is just as it has always been, so it is not inverted. It is your dogma which confounds inside and outside."

One of the other students said, "Very well, but let us discuss the doctrine."

To which Zurcungpa replied, "The essence of the doctrine is inexpressible and limitless. How can one discuss doctrine?"

At that Kyotön asked, "Well then, according to your tradition of the Great Perfection, is not meditation most important?"

"To what object do I adhere?" Zurcungpa asked in response.

"All right then, but is it non-meditation ?"

"Is there anything that distracts me?" was Zurcungpa's reply. And Kyotön, despite his brilliance, could make no further response.

Again, Lentön Śākya Zangpo asked, "According to the tradition of the *Secret Magical Net*, do you maintain that all appearances are male and female deities?"

"Who would refute", answered Zurcungpa, "the validity of direct perception, to which discrete, inanimate objects appear?"

"Very well, then you do not maintain [that they are deities]?"

"Who can contradict the intention of the sūtras and tantras concerning the purification of discrete, impure, delusory appearances [which are perceived by] sentient beings?"

Thus, Zurcungpa eclipsed the sharp, verbal arguments of the four students with his truly powerful answers, just as Rāhu eclipses [the sun and moon] with his hands; and he grasped them with the claws of his great compassion, which was wholly other-oriented. In this way, the propensities of [the four students'] past deeds were aroused, just as when master Śūra became the disciple of Āryadeva.[779] They said, "Alas! It is hard to find such a spiritual benefactor as this, who possesses an unerring realisation of the meaning of the greater vehicle, and is endowed with the brilliance that comes of awareness and liberation. And yet, if we go openly to him at this time our master will be displeased. So, let us take a solemn vow to abandon that master of false sophistry by some means next year, and to associate with this mighty lord of yoga, who is like the point of a sharp sword cutting through the net of saṃsāra."

After swearing this oath they went away. Then, as bees fly to lotus gardens, just so, when the next year came, they spread the wings of their past propensities and positive aspirations and flew, as if to a vast sandalwood forest, to the college of Deshek Gyawo. There, they became renowned as the four "pillars".

But in the meantime, the four had to return to Khyungpo, who said, "Did you refute Zurcungpa?"

"We could not refute him," they replied.

At that, the fierce windstorm of jealousy agitated Khyungpo's mind, and he announced, "Anyone who kills one like Zurcungpa, who harbours perverse opinions and leads everyone astray, will certainly attain buddhahood!"

The disciples of Zurcungpa heard about this and went to inform the master. But since a naturally liberated bodhisattva has no thought of anger, Zurcungpa answered them with silence. In the morning, he sat upon his teaching throne, smiling.

"What amuses the guru?" asked the disciples.

"As for doctrines", he answered, "this, my secret mantra tradition of the greater vehicle, is it! For it is the tradition of secret mantra that

maintains that buddhahood may be attained by 'liberation';[780] the dialecticians do not think so. Now, even such a great dialectician as Khyungpo Trase has said that anyone who kills one like Zurcungpa will attain buddhahood. So, in his innermost heart, he has turned to my doctrine. Therefore, I am delighted!"

[Among the four "pillars":] Kyotön Śāk-ye of Kungbu was the pillar of the Mental Class; Yangkeng Lama of Kyonglung was the pillar of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*; Len Śākya Zangpo of Chuwar was the pillar of the *Magical Net*; and Datik Co-śāk of Nakmore was the pillar of ritual and means for attainment. With the addition of Matok Cangbar they are also known as the five lineage-holders.

The eight "rafters" were: Matokpa, Kyotön Chöseng, Lenśāk Cangcup, Tsak Śākring, Nuptön Pakma, Üpa Sator, Shütön Dadra, and Tsetrom Cangpel. Sometimes Lala Zicen, Nelba Nyingpo, and Ngamtön Gyelwa are also counted with them. The two "great meditators" were Bagom Tikma and Pöngom Topa. The one "great boaster" was Zitön Sogyel of Latö. The two "venerable ones" were Zhangtön Ngase and Khyungpo Trase. I shall not enumerate the names of the "beams", "planks", and other ordinary disciples. The three "useless men" were Gocatsha, Mikcung Wangseng, and Gocung Wange.

Lama Zurcungpa resolved to remain absorbed in practice for twenty-four continuous years on Mount Trak Gyawo, and so to pass away in the rainbow body. But because he had to break his retreat for two reasons, he remained there for thirteen whole years and one part-year, fourteen in all. At one point he spent a long period without even his attendant coming to serve him. Eventually, when no trace of smoke or noise emerged from his hermitage, the attendant, fearing that some illness had befallen the master, went to investigate. He found the guru with his mouth and nose covered with cobwebs. Thinking that he had passed away, he cried out loud. The master's concentration was disturbed and he said, "If I had remained in that state I would have become free from this burdensome skull! Now I shall have to take birth once more." It is said that [this was fulfilled when] he was reborn as the Great Translator of Sakya.[781]

It appears that this [account refers to] the indication of success on the path, whereby the body becomes many particles of the pure essence [i.e. light] alone, [which takes place] when [clinging to] reality is exhausted all at once.[782]

Again, one morning Zurcungpa said, "Prepare lunch. Let's cook green vegetables this time."

The attendant had not yet boiled the water when the guru arrived, carrying fresh vegetables, and said, "I have circumambulated Ukpalung. Why have you not boiled the water?"

The attendant exclaimed, "Surely you are joking!"

Zurcungpa gave him a present which Zurpoche had given him that morning. Then, with great conviction, the attendant thought, "My guru has undoubtedly attained independence with respect to vital energy and mind!" And thus he developed devotion.

The other reason that Zurcungpa had to leave his hermitage was that the three "useless men" could not uphold the teaching: Gocatsha went to Gö Khukpa [Lhetse][783] saying that he needed the Mother tantras as the background for the path of skilful means. Mikcung Wangseng went to Sumpa Yebar saying that he needed the Yoga [tantras] as the background for the projection of the maṇḍala.[784] Gocung Wange went to Pangka Tarcungwa saying that he needed logic as the background for the philosophy of the ground and path.

Among them, [the first did not realise that] because the paths of skilful means and of liberation[785] are both contained in the *Secret Nucleus*, this fulfils the definition of a Mother Tantra; [the second] had "twisted his eyes backwards in their sockets"[786] because [he did not realise that] the maṇḍala is [already] projected in the natural disposition [of reality]; and the third did not understand that logic, as a verbal philosophy, does not get to the point of the ground and path. Therefore, these three useless men could not preserve the college; and consequently Zurcungpa had to break his retreat.

Still another reason was that the conqueror Zurpoche desired to arrive at the conclusion of coalescence[787] without abandoning his body, even before he had completed the final construction and consecration of the Dropuk Temple. Zurcungpa arrived to comply with the order of the guru, who said, "You must preserve my legacy."

It also happened that when the enlightened activity of Deshek Zurcungpa had become extensive, and there were no mantrins in Tibet who did not make obeisance to him, or who dared sit in a superior position, the translator Gö [Khukpa Lhetse] decreed that the followers of the new translation schools should neither make obeisance to him, nor accept an inferior seat. One day, when all had assembled for a great festival in Shang, the translator Gö arrived after Zurcungpa, who was seated at the head of the row. Then, because the minds of great, spiritual benefactors who are clever with words, but engaged in defilements, cannot endure the splendour of mighty yogins, who equal the Buddha, [Gö and his disciples] – in the manner of [the Buddha's] five noble companions, who could not keep their agreement – were startled, and all evidence of the promise not to prostrate was erased. They all became like five-branched vines, clinging to the ground, and began to make obeisance. Then, when the festival was over, the others asked Gö, "We all promised not to prostrate before Zurcungpa, but were you not the first to do so?"

He replied, "When I came before him I could not tell whether he was the transcendent lord, Great Glorious Heruka, or just Zurcungpa. But, otherwise, I could not conceive of him as a man."



Lekden Degü

Again, because Zurcungpa's magical powers were most vast, he is famed for having travelled to and fro on the rays of the sun. He could teach the doctrine three times in a single day in very remote places: a morning session in Ukpalung, a midday session at Dropuk, and an evening session at Trak Gyawo. Similarly, because he saw the ḍākinīs dancing at Lhazermo, they entered his service and built a shrine with nine supports: seven pillars and two especially lofty columns. It became well known as the Khandro Lhakang, the "Ḍākinīs' Shrine". Images of the Forty-two [Peaceful] Buddhas and of Lekden Degü, the protector of the transmitted precepts, were constructed; and frescoes of both the expanded and condensed maṇḍalas [of the *Magical Net*] were painted on the walls. During the consecration Zurcungpa whipped the image of Lekden with his sleeve and said, "Will you protect the teaching of the Buddha?" At that, the image bowed its head. Then, Zurcungpa asked, "Will you exalt the Precious Jewels?" And the lips of the image trembled.

In the same way, when Zurcungpa had a vision of the Great Glorious One he built a shrine to Yangdak Heruka on the very spot where the Heruka's left foot had rested. Matok Jangbar had a diseased tree, from

which the sap was oozing, which he cut down and sanctified for the construction of the shrine. When he offered the first fruits of the tree to the guru, the local divinity Trhengwa sent a tamarisk pillar, which had been left behind, down the Tsangpo River. But the pillar sank for five days at Ngamongtrhang, and so it did not arrive. Zurcungpa sent two disciples there with this command: "Put this white *torma* on the rock; throw this red *torma* into the water; and tell them to bring Lama Zurcungpa's wood immediately!"

When threatened in this way the lord of the waters took fright and sent the wood on at once. Other spirits also obeyed Zurcungpa's command.

As the time approached for Lharje Zurcungpa, the possessor of such magnificent attributes, to enter nirvāṇa, the disciples implored him to beget a son and heir. Zurcungpa invited the Lord of Secrets, Vajrapāṇi, into the womb of his consort by means of the contemplation of the five awakenings. [His heir,] Zur Śākya Senge, was thus clearly endowed with the wonderful marks and signs [of a buddha].

Zurcungpa then delivered [his testament] which is well known as the *Eighty Oral Instructions* (*zhal-gyi gdams-pa brgyad-cu-pa*), and which begins:

> Be a child of the mountains.
> Wear ragged clothes.
> Eat plain food.
> Ignore your enemies.
> Leave your fields untilled.
> Be decisive about the doctrine...

In his sixty-first year, 1074 (wood male tiger), while dwelling at Trak Gyawo, Zurcungpa, accompanied by light and earthquakes, departed for Akaniṣṭha, the Citadel of the Indestructible Array.

ZUR DROPUKPA ŚĀKYA SENGE

[360.1-367.3] Zurcungpa's son, the great Lord of Secrets of Dropuk, Zur Śākya Senge, was like the fountain-head of the exegesis of the *Secret Nucleus* in Tibet.

Zurcungpa had a female disciple named Cosemo Damo Tsuktorcam, in whose womb, he realised, an emanation could be conceived. He asked her brother, Datik Cośāk, who was one of the four "pillars", if he could have his sister; and Datik replied, "Just as you command." Datik placed a vajra and bell in her hands and told her to present them to the guru personally, rather than through an intermediary, and so created a most auspicious coincidence. But because the guru did not marry her, the host of his students became very hostile and proposed

to banish her. Kyotön Śāk-ye then said, "I dreamt that a master of the doctrine sat upon her ring-finger. If [her child] is seen as the master's heir, it may possibly benefit the teaching. Let her remain."

Similarly, the other "pillars" dreamt that images of the Buddha and golden vajras dissolved into the lady's body. Hence, she was allowed to stay.



Zur Dropukpa Śākya Senge

In 1074 (wood male tiger year), when the great translator Ngok [Loden Sherap] was in his sixteenth year, Dropukpa was born. The guru said, "When this son of mine entered her womb I had an intimation that Vajrapāṇi had dissolved into her. Therefore, he will come to benefit the world." He named the boy Śākya Senge.

The father renounced absolutely everything and became utterly possessionless. His consort said to him, "Just the other day you were considerate of our son's birth. Now, you have not even provided butter paste to moisten his palate."

Zurcungpa replied, "If he has merits the necessities will arrive, even without my providing them. If not, there will be no advantage in my providing for him anyway." Then, he sat down on the roof of the house.[788]

Just then, a wealthy nun came to offer many loads of barley and a great quantity of butter. A benefactor also arrived from Dokam to make offerings. Zurcungpa exclaimed, "The butter paste to moisten his palate has arrived. This one has merits! He will even serve the world!" Thus he rejoiced.

When the child was eight months old his father passed away. He was brought up by his mother and maternal uncle, and lived for fifteen years in the upper valley of Da. Then he approached Len Śākya Zangpo in Chuwar, where he received the tantra of the *Secret Magical Net*. He also went to Yangkeng in Kyonglung to study the doctrine. In his nineteenth year, he had his investiture[789] and his enlightened activity became quite extensive; so he was distracted from his studies. Subsequently, he found the opportunity to spend one year with Kyotön in Kongbu, but afterwards his enlightened activity once more increased and he had no chance to travel anywhere. He invited a host of learned and accomplished gurus to his home and completed his studies.

From the four "pillars" he received, completely and perfectly, the doctrines of his father, including: the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net* and the *Mental Class*; and the tantras, esoterics instructions, rites, means for attainment, practical techniques, and empowerments [belonging to that cycle of doctrines]. In particular, he obtained the cycle of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* in detail from his uncle Datik; the Great Perfection according to the tradition of the cycles *(rdzogs-chen skor-lugs)*[790] from Len Śākya Cangcup; the final lineage of the Great Perfection *(rdzogs-chen brgyud-pa tha-ma)* from Lharje Shangnak; et cetera. In short, he resolved his doubts by studying and reflecting under [the guidance of] many gurus. He presented [manuscripts of] the long, medium and short versions of the *Mother* [i.e. the *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness*], and other bountiful offerings to all those gurus under whom he studied his own spiritual tradition, so that he gained their favour.

After practising for a long time at Dropuk in Nyari, he "hammered home the four nails",[791] as described in the esoteric instructional tantras with reference to the stages of creation and perfection. After blending inseparably with the body, speech and mind of his meditational deity he acquired, even during his youth, great radiance, and could overcome everyone with his charisma.

On one occasion Dropukpa went with four disciples to meet Phadampa Sangye, who was then living in Tingri. The day he was to arrive Phadampa said, "Today an emanation of Vajrapāṇi will arrive. We must welcome him."

After they had arranged the silks, parasols[792] and other paraphernalia, and the day was growing old, five mantrins, a master and his disciples, arrived. Phadampa's disciples said to him, "There is no one else it could be."

And he said, "Welcome them."

At the same time, Lharje Dropukpa said [to his own disciples], "I must test whether Phadampa possesses supernormal cognitive powers." He sent one disciple ahead disguised as himself, while he followed behind like a common servant. Phadampa saw there was a goitre on Dropukpa's throat, and said, "Let the one who has the goitre lead the way. It would be best if master and disciple were not out of order!" Dropukpa became most devoted to him and received Phadampa's nectar-like doctrine. And Phadampa inspired Dropukpa saying, "He will become the great glory of [the Buddha's] teaching in general."

On another occasion, when he was having a painting of Vajrapāṇi designed, Dropukpa told the artist, "Draw it thus!" And he clearly appeared in the form of Vajrapāṇi. For these and many other reasons it was well known that he was the glorious Lord of Secrets, who had come to extend the teaching of secret mantra in this northern land [of Tibet].

Generally speaking, the host of Dropukpa's disciples was countless; but, in particular, he produced a thousand disciples who merited parasols. They were great spiritual benefactors, who upheld the seminaries and protected the teaching. As a result, his enlightened activity over a long period was inconceivable.

Once, when he was teaching the doctrine in Dropuk, he sat on a backless teaching throne, and students surrounded him on all sides. He appeared to be facing his audience in all directions. Therefore, they were convinced that he was actually the representative of the lord of the maṇḍala of the *Magical Net of Vajrasattva* and he became renowned as an undisputed emanation.

When Dropukpa taught the doctrine there were about five hundred who displayed the texts during the summer and winter sessions, and about three hundred during the autumn and spring. Generally speaking, he had over ten thousand students; so people would often resort to paying a gold coin for a suitable little spot within earshot of his teaching court.

Dropukpa was perfectly endowed with the attributes of knowledge, love and power. He acquired the eye of the doctrine, having thoroughly mastered the meaning of the *Glorious Tantra of the Secret Nucleus, which is Definitive with Respect to the Real* (*Śrīguhyagarbhatattvaviniś-cayamahātantra*, T 832). In consequence, the so-called teaching tradition of the Lord of Secrets, Dropukpa, has continued to be discussed even up to the present day, and is renowned like the sun and moon.

Dropukpa had twelve disciples who gained his favour: four "black ones"; four "teachers"; and four "grandfathers". The four "black ones" [*nag-po*, so called because their names all contained the element *nag*, "black"] were Cetön Gyanak, Zurnak Khorlo, Nyangnak Dowo, and Danak Tsuktor Wangcuk. The four "teachers" [*ston-pa*, whose names

all contained *ston*, "to teach"] were Nyetön Chöseng, Gyaptön Dorje Gönpo, Zhangtön, and Gyatön. The four "grandfathers" [*mes-po*, unexplained] were Tsangpa Citön, Yutön Horpo, Bangtön Cakyu, and Üpa Chöseng. This enumeration is renowned as the "Upper [Tibetan] Tradition of Zur"; but in the "Lower [or Khampa] Tradition" there is a different lineage.[793]

When the time came for the great Lord of Secrets, Dropukpa, to perform his final deed, he said to the four "teachers", "Bring the supplies for a feast offering. I shall also make a collection." The four "teachers" fulfilled his command and they went to the summit of Takla Ridong in Dropuk, where they held a bountiful feast offering. Dropukpa instructed them in many secret teachings and said, "Do not mourn my absence. Now, without relinquishing my body, I shall go to the level of the awareness-holders. Therefore, you will prosper hereafter. Your lineage and the teaching will flourish."

Dropukpa sang a song of indestructible reality in his glorious voice, and singing different hymns, he rose higher and higher into the sky. Finally, he vanished altogether. The four "teachers" were tormented by heart-breaking grief and wailed with lament. They wallowed on the ground and called out his name, until he descended again like a bird and said, "You ought not to behave like this. I gave you good advice before, but you have disregarded it. Now, my lineage will not have even a little prosperity."

Then, in the next year, 1135 (wood male tiger), which was his sixty-first, Dropukpa passed into the citadel of Akaniṣṭha, the Gathering Place of the Great Assembly. During the cremation, a handsome young mantrin offered a light bay horse harnessed with a wonderful, self-fitting saddle of conch. Since no one knew whence he came, or where he went, it was said that a deity had brought the offering. Similarly, the Tsen spirits, Mātaraḥ, and nāgas also brought offerings.[794] So, there were four kinds of wealth not existing among men.

Dropukpa was eighteen years older than Sakyapa Künga Nyingpo.[795] Thus, Takpo Lharje, Lama Zhang, and Co-se Dzeng were roughly his contemporaries. Moreover, there were only three gurus between Vimalamitra and Dropukpa; for the nun Tremo of Rong Hot Springs (*rong chu-tshan*) was a disciple of Vimalamitra. Her disciple was Marpa Sherap-ö of Caze in Lhodrak. His disciple was Langtön Tarma Sonam of Shang Lhabu, and his disciple was Lharje Horpo Dropukpa.

4 *Biographies of the Rong Tradition*

CETON GYANAK

[367.3-369.4] Now, the disciple of Dropukpa was Cetön Gyanak. He was born in the region of Upper Nyang in 1094 (wood male dog year). He used to bring provisions for his two elder brothers who studied in a school of dialectics. He listened incidentally and surpassed them both in what they had been studying deliberately. At that, he said, "Though you have both listened for three years you have understood nothing. If I were to listen I would understand."

The two elder brothers replied, "Nothing more occurred to us two. Whoever knows the doctrine, it is much the same. So, if you understand, you yourself should listen! We will bring the provisions."

Lharje Gyanak remained there and studied Transcendental Perfection under Khyungpo Trase; Abhidharma under Ben; and Madhyamaka and logic under Takpa Khace. He also studied under Sonam Yeshe of Gar. After nine years of study he had reached the furthest limits of learning.

When Gyanak was in his thirtieth year he came to study the way of mantras under the Lord of Secrets, Dropukpa. He stayed with him for eleven years. For three years the guru did not converse with him in any detail, except to call him "Co-se of upper Nyang".[796] Once, when the master Gya Tsönseng and his servants were attending a religious festival at which Lharje was present, they instigated a debate, but were refuted by Lharje Gyanak. Dropukpa was delighted that their pride had been shattered, and he took note of Gyanak. Then, in addition, Dropukpa became overjoyed at the intellectual progress of his son, Cotsün Dorjetra [who was being tutored by Gyanak]. He bestowed upon Gyanak the fundamental texts and instructions of the three aspects of creation and perfection, and also the special esoteric instructions, along with concise notes. For this reason, Je Lhakangpa [i.e. Gyanak] came to possess more complete doctrines and more profound esoteric instructions than the other followers of Zur. At the age of forty he

became a monk to avert death.[797] Then the following year Dropukpa passed away.

Gyanak also studied the *Amṛta Tantra* (T 841) under Gyatsang Korwa of upper Nyang; and the *Vajravidāraṇa* and the *Basic Root Tantra of Vajrakīla* (*Vajrakīlayamūlatantrakhāṇḍa*, T 439) under Dro Tarseng of lower Nyang. He also studied various traditions of Vajrakīla, including that of Kyi (*phur-pa skyi-lugs*) and also the Por tradition of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-chen spor-lugs*) under Tampa Pormang; and the Kham tradition of the Great Perfection, that is, the *Essential Spirituality of Aro* (*aro'i thugs-bcud*) under Como Nyangmo. Similarly, he studied other doctrines, such as the *Brahman's Cycle of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen bram-ze'i skor*, NGB Vol.7) and the *Ketsangma* (*ke-tshang-ma*). Thus, because of his very great learning, Gyanak became the master of all [the teachings of] the way of mantras and dialectics, as well as of all the tantras and their means for attainment.

When Gyanak manufactured elixir everyone saw the goddess actually emerge from her palace of medicine, circumambulate the maṇḍala three times, and vanish. He worked extensively for the welfare of others and passed away in 1149 (earth female snake), which was his fifty-sixth year.

YONTENZUNG

[369.4-6] Lharje Gyanak's nephew was the great guru Yöntenzung. He was born in 1126 (fire male horse year). In his eleventh year he began his studies. For thirteen years he was befriended by his uncle, under whom he completed studies of all the tantras, transmissions, and esoteric instructions concerning the three aspects of creation and perfection. When he reached his twenty-fourth year, his uncle Gyanak passed away and he became the successor to his seat. He resolved all his doubts under Tön-śāk and Zhikpo, both of Central Tibet and others. Then, he continued to work for the welfare of himself and others.

TAMPA SEDRAKPA

[369.6-370.5] Now, Tön-śāk of Central Tibet, who was also known as Tampa Sedrakpa, was a descendant of Cerpa Wangtung of Ze. Having gone to learn to write at the college of Dropukpa, he acquired faith and pursued his studies. Then, he became a follower of Lharje Gyanak after the latter had become a monk to avert death and he received from him all the tantras and instructions in their entirety.

Then Tön-śāk thought that he should practise meditation exclusively. He went in search of a solitary place in the northern mountains, and

at Yöla Rock he met one Tampa Yölcungwa, who was carving away at the rock. "Are you building a hermitage here?" he asked.

"Yes, I am."

"Is there no place else to do so?"

To this he received the response, "There is a place over there where there is a forked rosebush. But I shall build here, because this site is more secure."

Then, when Tampa Tön-śāk approached the rock where the forked rosebush was growing, he found some morsels of food beside a spring, and he took this to be a good omen. He stayed there and practised meditation until he had developed extraordinary realisation. Gods and demons obeyed his command. He acquired the ability to benefit many who required instruction and became known as Tampa Sedrakpa, the "Holy Man of the Forked Rose".

ZHIKPO OF CENTRAL TIBET

[370.5-373.1] Zhikpo of Central Tibet was a native of Ce in Yarlung. He was a secretary who was converted to the doctrine at the residence of Dropukpa, and became a follower of Lharje Gyanak. He became proficient in the three aspects of creation and perfection. Then, he decided to return home to celebrate his investiture.

Thinking that he would require a parasol, conch shell, offering utensils and other suitable requisites, he set out to bring them from Nepal. On the way he chanced to think, "Although I know so much doctrine, I have nothing to cultivate experientially. If I die now, nothing will help. I must secure my mind in the instructions alone." With this in mind, he returned, went into the guru's presence and made a request. He was given the instructions of the precious aural lineage, and, applying them experientially, he went on his way.

On reaching Kungtang in Mangyül the ineffable, pristine cognition of the Great Perfection arose within him for seven days. Then, he went to obtain his offering utensils from a Newar. Returning to Kungtang in Mangyül he contracted fever and was laid up. He thought, "Now, what is the use of being unhappy about it?" and composed his mind. Leaving the utensils in the village, Zhikpo went into the mountains, where he experientially cultivated [the teachings] until he could unimpededly traverse earth, stones, mountains and rocks. He then knew that his former ideas were totally unnecessary and decided to abandon the utensils for his investiture. But when he saw the altar-stand and the set of seven offering bowls he remembered his guru's kindness and thought, "This understanding came to me only through the compassion of my guru. I should offer these to him." So he carried the stand and the bowls along, but on the way, because he had put an end to desire, the

desire to abandon these things, too, came to him. Once more he thought of his guru's kindness and, still carrying the utensils, he continued his journey. As soon as he reached the temple and placed them before the guru he exclaimed, "Oh, bowls! How long you have fettered me!"

Afterwards, Zhikpo dwelt only in mountain solitudes and undertook to achieve experiential cultivation until he comprehended all things. Because, for him, appearances had dissolved into fictions, he went unharmed by an avalanche of rocks. When he stayed in the upper valley of Pagor in Yeru a thunderbolt crashed down on his bed, but he was unharmed. Others asked, "Was there some lightning here?"

"Must have been lightning or something," he replied.

"But were you not injured?" they asked.

"All sound is inseparable from emptiness," answered Zhikpo. "Where is there the independent existence of a thunderbolt?"

So it was that Zhikpo of Central Tibet lived as a great and mighty lord of yoga. Below the hermitage where he continued to meditate he managed a college for eighteen years. Then, in his seventieth year, he passed away.

This holy person had many disciples who were learned in the textual traditions: Zhikpo Dütsi, Tönpa Lakyap, Cosö of Central Tibet, and Nyetön Nyima Dorje, to name just a few. Moreover, Metön Gönpo of Latö, Cel Künga Dorje and others also received teaching at his feet.

ZHIKPO DUTSI

[373.1-380.2] Zhikpo Dütsi was the spiritual son of Zhikpo of Central Tibet. His father, Sangye Takcung, was descended from a family which had continually produced learned and accomplished "warriors" ever since the time of their paternal ancestors. Sangye Takcung was renowned as Takcungwa because he was a follower of Takpo Gyare. He went to Lhodrak and worked for the welfare of beings in the monastery of Phurmongang in upper Lho. During his stay there he was invited to Ze by benefactors from that region. They offered him Lhadong Monastery, Uke Monastery and others in Ze, so he took up residence there. The number of his disciples multiplied.

Sangye Takcung had a consort named Como Wangmo, and in 1143 (wood male mouse year) a son was born to them at the monastery of Dong in Ze. A rainbow hung over the infant when he was sleeping inside his cradle. During approximately his second year his father had a wonderful dream and said, "Now I am to die. After my death I am going to the land of awareness-holders. But this son of ours will also benefit others!" With these words he passed away.

When his son, Zhikpo Dütsi, grew up he had much compassion. Once, he gave away all his clothes and so forth to a wretched beggar,

without heeding his mother, who had tried to dissuade him. At that, a keen oracle said, "What will become of your son? All the gods and demons of the world circumambulate him *en masse* and worship him!"

One autumn, when harvest time arrived, his mother said, "Everyone is offering *tormas* for the harvest festival.[798] Idiot! even you should offer a water *torma* or something! Each one of us should observe the harvest festival."

The boy went to where the harvest was to take place and called out, "Gods and demons of Ze! Gods and demons of Nyangnak Ölpo! Black Gyelpo of Trangpo Ulu! Don't go anywhere else this morning. This is the festival of old lady Wangmo's harvest! So assist her with the harvest work!" So saying, he scattered the offerings.

His mother was furious and scolded him. She had a field called "Sixty-four". During a very good year it yielded no more than forty bushels, but that year it yielded over fifty, though there was not much corn. So, it was said that the boy might be an emanation. He was sent, therefore, to study under his uncle, Tampa Sedrakpa. For three years he listened carefully to the Great Perfection of the Rong tradition (*rdzogs-chen rong-lugs*), the *Full Summation* (*sgang-dril*), the *Disclosure of the Hidden* (*gab-phyung*) and other teachings. He [later] said, "When the guru passed away my eyes were flooded with tears and I became unconscious."

In his sixteenth year Zhikpo studied at the feet of Yöntenzung of Kyilkar Lhakang. He remained with that master for many years and trained his mind in the three aspects of creation and perfection. But his main practice, and all of his studies, focused on the Mental Class. As Zhikpo himself said, "I have practised only the Mental Class." He studied the *Twenty-four Great Tantras of the Mental Class*, including the *All-Accomplishing King* and the *Ten Sūtras* (*mdo-bcu*, NGB Vol.1), He also studied fourteen different exegetical traditions of the basic cycle of the Mental Class, including the tradition of its cycles (*skor-lugs*), and those of Rong (*rong-lugs*), and of Kham (*khams-lugs*).[799] Among the great treatises on meditation associated with our tradition, he received the *Sun of Yogic Awareness*, and the *Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation*, the *Sun of the Heart of Contemplation* (*bsam-gtan snying-gi nyi-ma*), the *Doubts* (*gdar-sha*) and the *Nails* (*gzer-bu*), the *Answers to Questions which Refer to the Sources* (*zhu-len khung-gdab*), the *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva* (*Vajrasattvapraśnottara*, P 5082) and most of the others as well. In the cycles of the aural lineages he studied an inconceivable [number of teachings]. They included instruction in the traditions of the cycles, and of Rong and Kham (*skor-rong-khams-gsum*); the aural lineage of the *Brahman's Cycle*; the aural lineages of *Ketsang* and of the *Narrow Path to the Fortress* (*ke-tshang dang rdzong-'phrang snyan-brgyud*); and the Spatial Class. He thoroughly removed his doubts by listening to and pondering over these cycles of the Great Perfection.

Zhikpo Dütsi had begun to teach while in his sixteenth year. He certainly must have reached the summit of learning, for he expounded the *Lecture Notes on the Tradition of the Cycles* (*skor-lugs-kyi stong-thun*). At that time one Lharje Nupme said to him, "O Co-se of Central Tibet! you are like my horse Khyung-truk Khace."[800] And it is said he gave him a remuneration of eleven measures of barley.

Zhikpo remained in the presence of Lama Lhakangpa [i.e. Yöntenzung] for fourteen years. He passed all his vacations at his uncle's seat in Sedrak, where he practised meditation and gave a few explanations. Then, when he had completed his studies, he proceeded to Ze on the invitation of Ladö, one of his father's disciples; and there he took over the monastery of Uke. He also took over Sedrak in Tsang and Chöding, which had been built when four disciples of Tampa Sedrakpa, including Goma Neljorma and Śāknyen, said, "Since we are unable to reach Sedrak, let us make a resting-place in this mountain hollow."

When a disciple of Zhang Tshelpa called Tsangom Hrülpo related the life story of his master to Zhikpo, he developed faith and invited Lama Zhang to come.[801] Zhikpo held a religious assembly and served Lama Zhang with great devotion; for he said, "Though I did not form a doctrinal connection with him [by formally seeking instruction] he is the guru who blessed my mind." Lama Zhang told him that, although water and wood were scarce at the monastery, he should name it Chöding (Vale of Doctrine), for then the assembly would grow there and beings would be benefitted.

Concerning all this people would say, "He studied the doctrine with Lhakangpa [Yöntenzung], but serves Zhang Tshelpa." Lama Lhakangpa was totally free from jealousy, so he sent them about twenty measures of *tsampa*, along with meat and butter, saying, "You should invite a good guru and hold a religious assembly. I will take responsibility for the arrangements, but I have no more than this." At that the foolish people ceased to insult [Zhikpo] and said, "Now we have found a new veneration for our old guru!"

When the time came for Zhikpo to extend his enlightened activity, he gathered an immeasurable number of disciples and worked extensively for the welfare of living creatures. With utmost devotion he used to attend on his guru in accord with the three means to delight him. Of this, he himself said, "Whenever I left his presence, I never departed without placing my head at his feet." He performed inconceivable acts of spiritual and material service for him: for instance, seventeen times he offered extensive sūtras, such as the *Long, Medium and Short Versions of the [Sūtras of] Transcendental Perfection*, written in gold. Because the guru's blessing had penetrated him, he properly apprehended his intention. Having simultaneously attained realisation and liberation, he acquired the power to traverse earth, stones, mountains and rocks without impediment, and he was surrounded by spiritual beings.

There are many stories concerning Zhikpo's possession of the supernormal cognitive powers. While staying at the monastery of Talung in the upper valley of Ze, his body vanished into a boulder and passed without impediment through a clay wall on Sinpo Mountain. He possessed many other miraculous abilities, too.

Zhikpo Dütsi travelled in all parts of the Land of Snows, and secured many beings on the path to liberation. To serve the teaching he built shrines symbolising the buddha-body, speech and mind; he repaired shrines that had deteriorated; and he donated materials for the building projects of others. In these and other ways he applied in practice the meaning of all six transcendental perfections. He attended all the learned translators and scholars who came from India, and followed in the footsteps of the great spiritual benefactors who were holders of the piṭaka. Without ever occupying his mind in worldly affairs, Zhikpo only practised meditation. He was one in whom the enlightened family of the greater vehicle was especially awakened, for he was charitable to all poor and destitute creatures. Therefore, people even gathered from India, China, Nepal and other countries, all speaking different languages.

Three times he sent offerings to the Indestructible Seat in Magadha. Four times he did homage to the two images of Lord Śākyamuni in Lhasa, which are unique ornaments of the world. Four times, too, he rebuilt the stone dikes [of Lhasa].[802] Subsequently, innumerable spiritual benefactors also continued his enlightened activity; so he was a great man, famous beyond dispute in this land of snow mountains.

Through such perfect deeds as these Zhikpo Dütsi only acted to heal others, both directly and indirectly. None the less, during the farewell party after he had rebuilt the stone dikes at Lhasa for the last time, some ill-starred attendants started a drunken brawl. At this, Zhikpo spoke of being disillusioned. He passed away in 1199 (earth female sheep), which was his fifty-sixth year, at the monastery of Gyar Kelok in Sangpu.

Zhikpo's remains were transported by river and preserved for four months at the monastery of Uke in Ze. Then, the king, the officials, and Zhikpo's disciples brought the remains to the temple of Thangkya in Ze, which they had built intending it to be the guru's seat. On that day the earth shook. A lotus grew out of an offering bowl filled with water and other amazing omens occurred. On the morning that his remains were cremated sound, light, rainbows, relics in the forms of stūpas and letters, and countless other signs appeared. Today, only the ruins of that temple remain to be seen.

TATÖN CO-YE

[380.2-385.5] Six disciples became Zhikpo Dütsi's spiritual sons, namely, Tatön Co-ye, Mahā Lhünpo, Khepa Conam, Co-sö of

Central Tibet, Zangtön Hordra, and Nyertön Lama. Tatön Co-ye was foremost among them. His father, Tatön Cobum, was the lord of upper Yoru. He was rich in serfs and estates, but he became disillusioned with the world. Taking four servants with him, he made his escape. He went before Nyö Chuworipa, a spiritual son of Lharje Len Nyatselpa, and all five of them, master and servants, entered the doctrine together. Tatön Cobum thoroughly mastered the Nyingma mantra tradition in general, and, in particular, the texts and instructions of the tradition of the cycles according to the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-chen skor-lugs*). Under Phakmotrupa he studied the Path and Fruit[803] and the Great Seal; under Urtön Lama Tshartön the *Dohā according to the Gang Tradition of the Great Seal* (*phyag-chen sgang-lugs-kyi dohā*); under Zang-ri Drore the *Doctrinal Cycle of Recungpa* (*ras-chung-pa'i chos-skor*);[804] under Nangtön Gönpo the *Vajravidāraṇā* and the *Vajrakīla* cycles; et cetera. In short, he studied the doctrine impartially under many gurus. He took Nyö Chuworipa and Phakmotrupa as his root gurus. After practising at Chuwori he collected many disciples.

His son, Tatön Co-ye, was born in 1163 (water female sheep year). During his fourth year his younger brother, Co-sö, was born. In his childhood Co-sö visited Zhikpo Dütsi and won the master's attention. When Tatön Co-ye was in his twelfth year, he received the cycles of *Cakrasaṃvara* and *Vajrapāṇi the Nectar Drop* (*phyag-rdor bdud-rtsi thigs-pa*) from Lama Martön. He performed the ritual service, reciting the long dhāraṇī for a period of two years. Along with his father, he received one hundred and eight empowerments of *Cakrasaṃvara*. For two years he studied the *Magical Net* at the residence of Kharak Tönying. From both Lama Tsak and Sedur Lungpa he received the texts and instructions of the tradition of the cycles according to the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-chen skor-lugs*). During his sixteenth year he taught *Vajrasattva the Great Space*. Then, in the latter part of his sixteenth year he travelled to lower Ngamshö. Under his father's disciple, Jetsün Hak, he studied the *Gang Tradition of the Great Seal* (*phyag-chen sgang-lugs*). From Zang-ri Gyare he received the *Doctrinal Cycle of [Loro] Recungpa*, the *Me Tradition of Hevajra* (*dgyes-rdor mes-lugs*), *Esoteric Mañjuśrī* (*Mañjuśrī-guhyaka*, T 2584), the *Lūipā Tradition of Cakrasaṃvara* (T 1427), Saroruhavajra's *Means for the Attainment of Hevajra* (*sgrub-thabs mtsho-skyes*, T 1218), the *Zhama Tradition of the Path and Fruit* (*lam-'bras zha-ma lugs*), and all *Three Traditions of Pacification* (*zhi-byed lugs gsum-ka*). In short, he became very learned in [the mantra teachings of] both the ancient and new traditions, without partiality. At some point, too, he studied *Vajrakīla* under Nangtön Cokyam; and he practised it at Chuwori.

In his twenty-fifth year Co-ye came before Zhikpo Dütsi. At first he did not intend to request doctrinal instruction and thought, "In the

doctrine I myself am learned. Even in the instructions I am great. But he has a great reputation and fame; and he is my younger brother's guru. Therefore, I should arrange some sort of interview with him." He proceeded on his way and met Zhikpo Dütsi, who was staying at Uke Monastery. By merely beholding the guru's visage he was overcome with devotion. When he was about to leave the next morning he went before the master and asked to be accepted as a disciple.

"Do you have devotion?" the guru asked.

"I have found great devotion."

"Well then, stay from now on, for it is the propensity of past deeds. If saṃsāra is characterised as impermanent one can have no certain knowledge of the future."

"But I did not bring provisions this time."

"No one who comes here brings provisions. What provisions do you alone require?"

At that, Tatön Co-ye attended on Zhikpo for seven years without missing a single day; and he served him with the three means to delight the guru.

He studied the *Triple Cycle of the Mother and Sons, [which comprises] the All-Accomplishing King* (*kun-byed rgyal-po ma-bu skor-sum*), the *Ten Sūtras* which are its exegetical tantras, and the four groups of exegetical tantras pertaining to the *Tantra which Uproots Saṃsāra* (*'khor-ba rtsad-gcod-kyi rgyud-la bshad-rgyud-sde-bzhi*, NGB Vol.1); along with the root texts, commentaries, background doctrines, and esoteric instructions. He also studied the profound fundamental texts concerning the exegetical tradition of the *Eighteen Roots* (*rtsa-ba bco-brgyad-kyi bshad-srol*) and the *Disclosure of the Hidden*, with explanations of the esoteric instructions in relation to meditation, and the commentaries on the meditation of those [just mentioned]: the *Six Suns of the Heart* (*snying-gi nyi-ma drug*), the *Further Heart entitled Six Suns of Awareness* (*yang-snying rig-pa'i nyi-ma drug*), the *Aural Lineage according to the Cycle of the Black Chest* (*snyan-brgyud sgro-ba nag-po'i skor*), the *Great Document on Meditation* (*sgom-yig chen-mo*), the *Sun of Yogic Awareness*, the *Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation*, the *Doubts* and the *Nails*. Among the cycles of the aural lineage, he greatly persevered [in the study of] the traditions of the cycles and of Rong and Kham, along with their instructions and guidebooks.

By drinking profusely from this stream of discourse, he was penetrated spontaneously by its blessing. Having developed an all-surpassing realisation, Co-ye was unconcerned with worldly exaggeration and depreciation. He kept his conduct free from hypocrisy. He had great respect for his guru, and by undertaking to carry out his commands, his intention merged with the master's. Three times he was heard to say, "May I do whatever pleases the guru, and whatever accomplishes his wishes!"

Generally speaking, there was no guru Tatön Co-ye did not serve, but in particular, he sold all his estates and held four religious assemblies at which he renounced everything on behalf of Zhikpo Dütsi. At one time or another, all told, he is said to have offered seventy-four excellent horses to him.

Co-ye committed to writing all of Zhikpo's verbal instructions; and thus he was most kind to the succeeding generations. With inconceivable courage he thought that when he had finished seeking doctrinal instruction he would depart to a forest hermitage, or a wild mountain retreat, where neither the voices of men, nor the songs of birds might be heard; where no one would know he had gone, or know he stayed. For this reason, he copied the books only in the form of terse notes. But he could not bring himself to violate his guru's command that he take on the responsibilities of the teaching master, at the guru's seat. None the less, just by labouring in the service of the guru, the great multitude of his obscurations were removed, and his contemplation also continued to improve, whereupon he said, "[Staying on] proved to be more decisive than retreat."

In consequence of this, when Tatön Co-ye was erecting an image of the Great Compassionate One at Thangkya and so spent eighteen months at Zungkar smelting copper, he developed extraordinary realisation. When King Phodrak[805] took away the emanated master's riding horse, he propitiated the protector of the doctrine [for the purpose of retrieving his guru's mount] at Nangsel Rock in the upper valley of Dorte and had a vision of Mahākāla. When he went to Tölung begging for alms, he met the guru in a dream, and his sufferings vanished by themselves. Thereafter, he said that he never experienced personal sorrow.

In order to manage the affairs of [Zhikpo Dütsi's] seat and carry out his enlightened activities, Co-ye worked extensively for the benefit of beings throughout the kingdom. For six years he attended on the two images of Lord Śākyamuni in Lhasa. Then he passed away in 1230 (iron male tiger), which was his sixty-eighth year, the same year in which Orgyenpa was born. Many remains and relics were left behind.

TATÖN CO-SÖ

[385.5-386.1] Co-ye's younger brother Co-sö was born in 1167 (fire dog year). In his youth he visited Zhikpo Dütsi, who took note of him and granted him the entire Mental Class. Then the master said, "Because you are one who perseveres in the doctrine, you should go to study under my own guru." Co-sö was entrusted to the great Lhakangpa [Yöntenzung] and obtained the complete trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*. He became

exceptionally learned, but, because he passed into nirvāṇa in his thirty-first year, 1197 (fire dragon), his enlightened activity did not ripen greatly.

TATON ZIJI

[386.1-3] Tatön Ziji was the disciple of one Sangye Öntön.[806] He became quite learned and composed an extensive commentary on the *Secret Nucleus*. It appears that he also composed most of the life stories [of the gurus] of this lineage. But in the *Disclosure of the Contents of Yungtönpa's Commentary* (*gYung-ston-pa'i khog-dbub*) there is a slightly different account. Up to Tatön Ziji [the lineage] was famous for its learning in the entire *Magical Net* and the Mental Class.

PAKSHI ŚĀKYA-Ö

[386.3-392.6] Again, in *Yungtönpa's Commentary* (*gYung-'grel*), where, among many significant digressions, the origins of the continuous exegetical lineage of the *Parkap Commentary* are given, it says that both Cingtön of Tsang and Nyetön Chöki Senge of Gongdring were disciples of the Lord of Secrets, Dropukpa. They both taught Tsangnak Öbar. He taught Metön Gönpo; he, Lama Song; and he, Pakshi Śākya-ö.

Pakshi Śākya-ö was a descendant of the Zur clan. His father, Zur Wangcen Öpoche, was a lord among accomplished masters, who clearly remembered his successive lives. As he had only five daughters and the family was without a son, he became despondent. He invited the great paṇḍita Śākyaśrī to Ukpalung, immediately after the latter's visit to Trhopu in 1204 (wood male mouse year).[807] There, the great paṇḍita said, "This Ukpalung is a domain of secret mantra, adorned with many attributes. The mountain to the north appears as the Conquerors of the Five Families. The birds, wildlife, and so forth are also sublime emanations. In each generation one of your clan comes forth to expound the doctrine of secret mantra. Now, two sons will soon be born to you. Name them after me. They will benefit the doctrine and living creatures."

It happened just as he had said. The elder son was given the name Śākyagön, and the younger Śākya-ö. While the elder brother proved to be a wonderful person, too, it was the younger brother, Śākya-ö, who spoke from childhood like one who spontaneously possessed supernormal cognitive powers. He knew how to teach all the doctrines by means of symbols, such was his discipline. Relying on Lama Gyakap Kongpa, he studied his entire ancestral doctrine. He actually saw [beings in] the intermediate state, so when others came to perform the rite of

the "Tie to the Higher Realms",[808] he would say, "You have not freed the deceased from Yama! There is no point to a ritual that is divorced from an enlightened attitude." And they would have to repeat the rite.

One day he said, "I feel regret."

"Whatever for?" he was asked.

"I was to enter the assembly of the awareness-holders forever, but I abused my elder brother, Śākyagön. Henceforth, I am a violator of commitments and cannot enter the assembly of awareness-holders." And he performed a repentance.

There was one Ghare of Minyak who became engulfed in a blood feud with his own relatives. He inquired as to who was the most powerful sorcerer in Tibet and heard that there was one named Śākya-ö, the great. Ghare sent many presents to him, though he lived at a distance of eight months' journey, with a request that he exercise sorcery [to eliminate Ghare's enemies]. But Śākya-ö said, "I have no sorcery. If you want this staff of mine, take it!" And he did not even answer the letter.

When the messenger related what had taken place, Ghare was furious and said, "He has taken my possessions and not given me the instructions!" He grasped the staff with his hand and from within it Dorje Lekpa emerged with four deities in attendance. Ghare joyfully propitiated them and annihilated many of his paternal relatives. Then, to purify himself of this sin, and to accumulate merit, he built a temple and a stūpa.

Ghare of Minyak even came in person to express his gratitude to Zur Śākya-ö; and he brought many offerings. He met the master and undertook to cultivate experientially many doctrines, such as the *Secret Nucleus*. The two then joined company and proceeded to Kharcu in Lhodrak. They meditated and dwelt at Khoting Temple, Paro and elsewhere; and at that time they met Lord Nyang, father and son.[809] From them they received most of the Nyang tradition, including the *Gathering of the Sugatas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts*. Then, they returned to their respective homes. Ghare said, "The guru has been most gracious. I beg that you send one person with me, since I am going to Mongolia. I will make offerings through that person to express my gratitude." Then he set out.

At that time in Mongolia the throne had been seized by the king's younger brother Ariboga.[810] Because the king, Qubilai Qan, had not obtained sovereignty, he prepared for war. He asked Ghare of Minyak, "They say that there is powerful sorcery in Tibet. Do you know anything about it?"

"Yes," replied Ghare, "I know. Which of these three do you require: slaughter, expulsion, or capture?"

To that Qubilai Qan responded, "If [my brother's] death were to occur in association with his karma, I would doubt he would have been

slaughtered [by sorcery]. If it so happened that he desired to travel, I would be sceptical of his being expelled. So capture him; for he certainly has no desire to come to this camp of mine, except if he be captured."

At that Ghare made the precious Lama Phakpa his witness.[811] He applied himself to the production of a whirlwind, and the younger brother Ariboga arrived, powerless to do otherwise. But still [the emperor] was not convinced. "Bring down thunderbolts in the middle of this lake and this plain," he commanded. When Ghare brought down thunderbolts in both places the emperor was convinced. He became terrified of the mantrins and gave them great rewards.

It is also said that Ghare was a disciple of one Patsel, who achieved the power of sorcery on the basis of Yamāntaka. He may well have been his disciple, but he obtained the ultimate applications of the wrathful mantras from Zurpa [Śākya-ö].

Pakshi Śākya-ö had dispatched one Tönpa Rāhu, who met with Ghare and was given fine presents. Tönpa Rāhu was presented with [a document] which explained that according to the inventory of Lord Nyang's treasure texts, a treasure containing the water of life was to be found at Dorje Tsheten in Tsang. He was sent to offer [the document] to Lama Śākya-ö. Together with that was the emperor Qubilai Qan's decree:

> A summons to Śākya Öpo and Śākya Gönpo: Perform whatever ceremonies are necessary; but extract the water of life and send it to me! It may well be beneficial. I know what is pleasing and what is sorrowful to you. This is accompanied by a measure of silver mixed with flour for *tormas*.[812]

When this imperial order arrived they performed a great ceremony. Because the emperor was most insistent and the envoy short-tempered, they experienced some difficulty. But the very evening when they recited the prayer to the lineage of the *Magical Net*, which begins "Trio of sound, light, and rays..." (*sgyu-'phrul-gyi brgyud-pa-la sgra-'od-zer gsum-ma'i gsol-'debs*)[813] they obtained a clear prediction concerning the entrance to the treasure.

After that, Zur Śākya-ö, Guru Khyungdra, the governor Śākzang, and the envoy Agayana joined together to make a "public [discovery of] treasure". At first they were powerless to pass beyond the revolving wheel of sharp-edged razors at the gate to the treasures. Zur Śākya-ö then worshipped the lord of the treasure, imploring him to be a fair witness. At that, all were amazed to see the razor blades grind to a halt, just where they were. The master stirred the charcoal that filled the treasure hollow, from the centre of which the mouth and eyes of a frog then emerged. As soon as they saw its limb rise a whirlwind blew up, surprising everyone. When the guru subdued it, performing recitations on his *rudrākṣa* rosary[814] and making a declaration of truth, the

whirlwind then subsided. He removed a veil of Chinese silk (*chu-dar*) and [found] two skulls, one male and one female, which were sealed together within three successive copper amulet-boxes, one within the other. He began to reach inside and these objects disintegrated into dust just as he touched them. Wrapped in many embroidered silks were images of Hayagrīva and Varāhī in union, Vajrasattva with his consort, and thirteen paper scrolls containing the means for attainment. In the midst of these, there was a lapis (*mu-men*) flask,[815] about the size of a large inkpot, which contained the water of life. Everyone was astonished.

If the guru had consumed the first fruits he could have lived for a hundred years. But the spoon did not reach the tip of his tongue, so the auspicious opportunity was lost. [The envoy] wrapped the vase up in cloth and carried it to China, striving never to fall asleep. By drinking the water of life Emperor Qubilai Qan is said to have lived for a hundred years. As a reward he issued an edict exempting all the mantrins of Central Tibet and Tsang from taxation and military service.[816] In order to make Śākya-ö equal in rank to the imperial preceptors, the title *Pakshi* was conferred on him.[817] In return for having offered the water of life he was granted lands supporting forty-five households in Mongolia.

Śākya-ö wished to build a great monastery on Mount Medril, but, because there was already a great nāga city in that place, the nāgas asked him [not to do so]. In return they offered him substitute land which they had in the swamp of Gyagen. The nāgas miraculously drained the area and there Śākya-ö built a great centre for the way of mantras. He himself practised one-pointedly in the heart of Khar Dorje Trak, and he passed away in his sixty-third year. By touching his corpse people were cured of leprosy.[818]

ZUR CAMPA SENGE

[392.6-396.3] Pakshi Śākya-ö's disciple was Tanak Düdül, who transmitted the teaching to Da Śākyaphel, under whom Zur Campa Senge studied. Campa Senge's father was the son of Mepo Pakshi[819] and was called Zur Nyima Senge. He was ordained at Trhopu and named [Nyima Senge] by Campapel, the translator of Trhopu.[820] Nyima Senge possessed many enlightened attributes. In particular, he was firmly rooted in the enlightened attitude. Therefore, during the Mongol wars,[821] when he was offered much gold by Sambhata, an aristocrat, who said, "I do not need gold. But please grant me the gift of fearlessness!" Nyima Senge was able [to use the gold] to protect the lives of many beings. And once, while the Great Stūpa (*'bum-chen*) of Trhopu was being constructed and there was a severe drought, he caused a great downpour by exercising his powers of sorcery.



Zur Campa Senge

When the Upper Mongols [*stod-hor*, i.e. Hülegü and the Ilkhans] began to grow exceedingly hostile to the Sakyapa teaching, Nyima Senge, at the order of his imperial benefactors [the Yüan rulers] and with the support (*bca'-rgyu*) of the governor Künzhön, used his wrathful powers of sorcery to massacre three armies, each with ten thousand men, in a glacial crevasse. Therefore, his legacy to the Sakyapa teaching was especially great.[822]

From time to time Zur Nyima Senge constructed temples, complete with their [symbols of] buddha-body, speech, and mind [i.e. images, books, and stūpas]. This illustrates his vast enlightened activity on behalf of the teaching and of living beings.

His son, Zur Campa Senge, was one who had awakened to the enlightened family of the greater vehicle, so he possessed great compassion even from his childhood. If he saw another injuring animals, his heart would be heavily burdened. He was ordained at Trhopu and named [Campa Senge]. He became a learned scholar of Trhopu. Then, in his fourteenth year, he began to teach and he acquired a reputation as a scholar. Yungtön Dorjepel, too, said of him, "My guru was the all-knowing Zur." This was certainly the case, for Campa Senge actually gave discourses to the students from the teaching throne of Trhopu.

In his fifteenth year, at Ukjalung [i.e. Ukpalung], he studied and trained himself in the *Secret Nucleus* under Da Śākyaphel. Thus, he became a lord among scholars. In his seventeenth year he composed the *Definitive Presentation of the Tantras* (*rgyud-kyi rnam-bzhag*) and took over [the administration of] a religious endowment. He studied the *Sequence of the Path of the Magical Net* and the Great Perfection under Cetön Drupabum during his nineteenth year; and he developed an all-surpassing realisation. In his twentieth year he invited Tatön Ziji from Latö and requested the empowerments of beneficence, ability, and profundity[823] according to the Zur tradition of the *Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul zur-lugs-kyi phan-nus-zab-gsum-gyi dbang*), and the cycle of transmitted root texts of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*. From Zurlungpa Druptop Shenyen he received the empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, and the *Long, Medium, and Short [teachings on the] Peaceful and Wrathful Deities according to the Se Tradition* (*se-lugs-kyi zhi-khro rgyas-'bring-bsdus-gsum*). He studied grammar and logic under Tharpa Lotsāwa Nyima Gyeltsen.[824] His study of the *Vajra Garland* under master Pelcok of Trhopu indicates the great extent of [his studies of] the new translations. Campa Senge also learned the *Path and Fruit* from Samding Trupapel; *Vajrapāṇi* and *Vajravidāraṇa* from Lama Yöntengön; the rituals of the protectors of the teaching, medicine, astrology and rites to ensure martial victory from Pön Pelcengön; and the *Red* and *Black Yamāri*, and the cycle of the Spatial Class (*klong-sde'i skor*) from Kangpa Śākbum. In short, he studied the inner and outer sciences, the piṭaka, and numberless tantras under many gurus.

After training himself decisively [in all of these teachings], Zur Campa Senge remained totally absorbed in meditation. He had visions of many meditational deities. It is said that anyone who came into his presence found appearances to be naturally transformed, and was spontaneously overcome with renunciation, faith, and compassion. None the less, this holy person did not remain in the world after his twenty-seventh year, because his food was poisoned by a Pönpo.

Campa Senge's enlightened attributes of knowledge, love, and power were hard to measure, so he was believed to have been an emanation. The number of his disciples was inconceivable: He trained about sixteen spiritual benefactors who had fully mastered the *Sequence of the Path of the Magical Net*, the *Secret Nucleus*, and the *Parkap Commentary*, together with the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*. They acted extensively for the benefit of others and obtained fame in their own right. Foremost among them were Yungtön Dorjepel, the senior disciple of his early years, and Tanak Drölmawa Samdrup Dorje, the foremost disciple of his later years.

YUNGTON DORJEPEL

[396.3-398.6] Yungtönpa belonged to the Len clan. He was born in Tshongdü in 1284 (wood male monkey year). From his youth he was endowed with perfect discernment. In general, he knew all the dialectical teachings, and was particularly learned in the *Compendium of the Abhidharma.* He had a most powerful command of all the mantra traditions, ancient and new. Above all, he became the genuine spiritual son of Karmapa Rangjung Dorje. From Zur Campa Senge he obtained the esoteric instructions of the *Trio of the Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions, the Magical Net and the Mental Class* in their entirety; and he became a great master among their proponents. He composed the *Illuminating Mirror (gsal-byed me-long)*, a commentary on the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* which came to surpass those of the other exegetical traditions in popularity. Then, when Zur Campa Senge went to study the *Yamāntaka Cycle (gshed-skor)* under Kangpa Śākbum, Yungtönpa accompanied him and studied it as well. He became a very learned and powerful [adept of] the yogic exercises, their functional applications, et cetera. So, when Lhakü Pönpo poisoned Zur Campa Senge, cutting off his life, Yungtönpa turned the wheel of Yamāntaka against him, which caused him, along with his property, fields and household to be swept away by a river and thereby utterly destroyed. At that time, Yungtönpa composed a verse which began:

> I am merely the subduer of my guru's mortal foe...

During his youth Yungtönpa went to China by imperial command. He performed thread-cross and *torma* rites *(mdos-gtor)* which previously had been quite unknown in the world at large.[825] In some regions there had been severe drought, but at the order of the emperor, Yungtönpa caused rain to fall. The emperor was delighted by this revelation of his power. Returning to Tibet, laden with great rewards and riches, Yungtönpa gave nothing to his acquaintances and friends, but offered everything to his guru and to the monastic community, so that the merit might benefit his mother.

Yungtönpa also became a disciple of Putön Rinpoche and acquired great learning in the *Kālacakra.*[826] Moreover, he knew many quirks of causality:[827] When he pierced a skin water-bag with a vulture's quill, the water did not leak. When he touched red-hot iron with his bare flesh, he was unburnt. And when he plastered a wall with a cement made from six kinds of stone, the wall was transformed into a great rock.

Above all, Yungtönpa experientially cultivated the esoteric instructions, in general, and the Great Perfection, in particular, owing to the great inspiration of Karmapa Rangjung Dorje. He obtained the eight great treasures that are described in the *Sūtra of Extensive Play* and thereby unlocked the vast treasure of brilliance, so that he satisfied



Yungtön Dorjepel

living beings with his eloquence. When Yakde Paṇcen saw his *Treatise on the Difference between [the Descriptions of] Buddhahood according to the Sūtra and Mantra Traditions* (*mdo-sngags-kyi sangs-rgyas-la khyad-par-phye-ba'i bstan-bcos*) he developed great faith and, with fourteen disciples, went to meet him and become a supplicant at his feet.

In later life Yungtönpa received complete monastic ordination from Tshokpa Chölungpa. His name, Dorjebum, was changed to Dorjepel. He resided in places like Paro in Bhutan, Phungpo Riwoche, and Ratum Trak; and by his teaching he extensively benefitted others. He passed away in his eighty-second year, 1365 (wood female snake).

TANAK DROLMAWA SAMDRUP DORJE

[398.6-400.1] Tanak Drölmawa Samdrup Dorje was born at Tanak Nesar in 1295 (wood female sheep year) as the son of a family which, in each generation, had obtained accomplishment through the Nyingma mantra tradition. He studied extensively under Zur Campa Senge and

became particularly learned in the *Magical Net*. He received the empowerment of the *Magical Net* from Len Nyatselpa Sonam Gönpo.

Samdrup Dorje's knowledge and enlightened activity are difficult to estimate: He meditated in total solitude, and in Cema Senge he meditated one-pointedly on the Innermost Spirituality of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-chen snying-thig*). He reached the limits of awareness, and savoured the entire ocean of buddha-fields equally.

Zur Śākya Jungne of Yang-en and Lama Sengepa of Ukpalung were left in Samdrup Dorje's care from childhood; and they came to respect, above all, their commitments to this guru, who raised them so well. Thus, he was most kind to the lineage of Zur. Len Selwa, too, who became famed as the "All-Knowing Master from Shang", received many empowerments and was blessed by this guru during childhood, and so became greatly learned. In these and other ways Samdrup Dorje's blessings were inconceivable.

At the time of his death, in his eighty-second year, 1376 (fire male dragon), he said to his son, "I am going to Sukhāvatī. You will also live to my age. Then, come to Sukhāvatī!" With these words he passed away.



Tanak Drölmawa Samdrup Dorje

ZUR ZANGPOPEL AND ZUR HAM ŚĀKYA JUNGNE

[400.1-405.6] Two lineages issued from Tanak Drölmawa Samdrup Dorje: the "Zur lineage" (*zur-brgyud*) and the "son's lineage" (*sras-brgyud*). The "Zur lineage" was that of Zur Ham Śākya Jungne.

This Śākya Jungne was the son of Zur Zangpopel, who, during his lifetime, received commissions and gifts from the emperor Buyantu.[828] Once, he had to travel to China by imperial command. Because he had very great occult skills and powers he acted, at first, in the service of the royal emperor by providing protection from crop-failure and surpressing rebellion by means of thread-crosses, malign *torma* (*zor*),[829] lightning, and hail. On one occasion, in particular, an ominous, black cloud in the form of a scorpion appeared in the sky above the royal palace of Tā'i-tu;[830] and no one was able to banish it. At that time, Zur Zangpopel was commissioned by the emperor. He trapped the cloud in eighteen houses made of silk, following the thread-cross rites of the "Mātaraḥs' Vengeance" (*ma-mo 'khang-phab-kyi mdos*). He then performed a *torma* offering dance (*gtor-'chams*) and the black cloud was dispersed. Many such revelations of the greatness of the true doctrine in the land beyond the pale [Tibet] caused the emperor to acquire faith. He requested the empowerment of the nine deities of [the maṇḍala of] Yangdak Heruka and an empowerment of longevity; and he presented Zangpopel with offerings of a silver seal, thirteen measures of silver, and sufficient dress-silk for two hundred shirts. He established a congregation of mantrins in the Tā'i-tu palace: It is well known that kīlas for the four rites were kept in the palace at that time.

From the material resources which Zangpopel thus collected he had printing-blocks made for twenty-eight doctrinal collections of the Ancient Translation School, including the *Root Tantra of the Secret Nucleus*, the *Parkap Commentary*, the *Sequence of the Path of Secret Mantra* (*gsang-sngags lam-rim*), and many esoteric instructions (*man-ngag dgu*). He printed a thousand copies of each and distributed them to students. He contributed many of the materials needed to produce [a copy of] the *Collected Tantras* (*rgyud-'bum*). So, through these and other activities he benefitted the teaching most extensively.

Sometime thereafter the emperor Buyantu passed away, after a medication for fever had been applied to an ailment that was affecting the vital energies.

During this period the Sakyapa and the Zurs enjoyed a most profound intimacy, for, at heart, their philosophies were identical. Therefore, when the news of Zur Campa Senge's death reached Sakya, they said, "This is not good. Now, let us summon Zur Zangpopel from China." Others also conferred, and, finally, they sent the attendant Jamyang to invite him [back to Tibet]. But when Jamyang reached China, Zur Zangpopel was laid up with a fever and was approaching death. Then,

owing to the blessings of the ḍākinīs and protectors of the doctrine, he began to show a slight recovery. At that very time, the emperor Buyantu appeared to him in a vision and said, "When you were [preparing] to leave for Tibet, what gifts were you given?"

Zangpopel answered in detail.

"Then you have been given nothing at all," said the emperor and vanished.

When the royal lady Thabula heard the story, she exclaimed, "Seeing you reminds me of the emperor!" and wept. She again offered the master ten measures of silver.

Zangpopel then commissioned an image of Vajrasattva in Chinese bronze[831] and dance masks of a doctrine protector and his lady (*chos-skyong lcam-dral*) and proceeded to Tibet with these. When the protector gazed on Tibet, it ascended seven steps, and so became renowned as the Sebak Komdünma, the "Leather Mask of the Seven Steps".[832]

Having reached Tibet, Zur Zangpopel produced [the aforementioned copy of] the *Collected Tantras* as a service to the teaching. He engaged the protectors of the doctrine as his servants and clearly predicted the future. Later, when he again had to depart for China at the imperial



Zur Ham Śākya Jungne

command, he was not inclined to set out. He made offerings, such as a measure of silver, to the emperor's messenger Themurdar and to Ghare, but they would not go, saying that if they were to return [without Zangpopel] they would be punished. At that he set out for China, having first composed some instructions, which began:

> All independence is bliss,
> And all dependence is sorrow...

Zur Zangpopel lived for no more than about thirty-eight years.

Zur Ham Śākya Jungne was his son. As a child he studied the doctrines of his paternal ancestors; and the propensities of his past deeds were awakened. In his fifth year he stood up in the midst of the noblemen who were escorting his father on the journey to China and delivered a short exegesis of the *Root Tantra* [i.e. the *Secret Nucleus*], which astonished everyone. From his seventh year on he was raised at the college. He was ordained as a novice by Lama Künpangpa, received full ordination from the doctrine master Sonam Trakpa, and became well known under his ordination name, Śākya Jungne. In a decree of the emperor Guluk[833] he was referred to as "Zur Śākya Jungne, son of Zur Pakshi", and he was presented with four large, sixty-ounce measures of gold, twenty large measures of pure silver, and two hundred silk outer robes and linings. The royal lady Tha'u and others also offered vast wealth to him; and so they bountifully benefitted the spiritual and temporal domains of the Zurs.

In particular, Zur Ham Śākya Jungne built a most wonderful, golden image of Mañjughoṣa, which contained fragments of the conqueror Zurpoche's robes. He installed it as the foremost receptacle of worship at glorious Ukjalung. And he completed great rectifications (*tshugs-kha*) [of the customs] at the college and retreat centre. Without sparing his wealth he undertook to serve the doctrine. His radiance, pleasing to behold, even inspired faith in the Mongolian nobleman Themurdar, who then requested an empowerment of longevity. Thus, Śākya Jungne lived as a great spiritual warrior, who could inspire confidence in others.

He met all the learned, noble, and excellent teachers of Central Tibet and Tsang, including the great translator Sazang [Mati Paṇcen],[834] the conqueror Yungtönpa, Jamyang Samdrup Dorje, the heir to the Sakyapa lineage (*sa-skya-pa'i gdung-brgyud*),[835] and all the most famous leaders of the Zur tradition. He became well trained in the Three Classes of Dialectics (*mtshan-nyid sde-gsum*), and in the fundamental texts and esoteric instructions of all schools, ancient and new, of the way of secret mantra. In particular, he diligently trained himself in the *Ornament of Emergent Realisation*, the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva*, the *Kālacakra*, the *Tantra of the All-Accomplishing King*,

the *Sequence of the Path of the Magical Net*, the *Secret Nucleus*, and the *Parkap Commentary*; and so he became renowned as a great scholar and accomplished master.

During this later period Zur Ham Śākya Jungne was the sole master of the teaching on the empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* according to the tradition of Zur. When he himself received that empowerment from the great Drölmawa Samdrup Dorje, he made offerings headed by Chinese and Tibetan robes, cooking utensils, and fifty loads of barley. He mastered all the transmissions, practical applications and techniques [of that sūtra]. For the sake of the seal of entrustment (*gtad-rgya*)[836] alone, he delighted the guru with offerings of large silks and gold. He had extremely clear visions of Śākyamuni and of the Herukas of the Five Enlightened Families. Also, he composed many works, such as the *Commentary of the Seal of Entrustment, a Memorial of the Deities of the Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* (*'dus-pa mdo'i lha-thems gtad-rgya'i 'grel-pa*). His actions on behalf of the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*, were most extensive. Śākya Jungne produced many disciples who clarified the teachings: Drölmawa Samdrup Dorje's son Sangye Rincen, and Nyelpa Delekpa, among others. He passed away in his thirty-eighth year. There is also a "ritual guide" (*chog-khrid*) composed by [his disciple] Nyelpa Delek.

SANGYE RINCEN

[405.6-409.1] Again, there was the lineage of the great Drölmawa Samdrup Dorje's son, known as Sangye Rincen Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, who was born at Nesar in 1350 (iron male tiger) when his father was in his fifty-sixth year. People would say, "This son of yours is no use! Why should you cherish him so?"

To which he replied, "My son will be of benefit to living creatures."

In his sixth year Sangye Rincen mastered the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus*. Then, he went before Zur Śākya Jungne, who, calling him "my guru's son", raised him as a favourite, but he was too distracted to retain this tantra. Then, in his eighth year he repeated [the course] and retained it. His father taught him the ceremonies and rites of enlightened activity, whereby in his fourteenth year he became a capable master who conferred empowerment on others. Under his father he also mastered the doctrinal cycles of the *Magical Net*.

On one occasion, Sangye Rincen said, "Now, I will become ordained as a monk and train myself in dialectics. I will also study the tantras of the new translation schools."

But his father responded, "For the time being, that would be inappropriate. But you may be ordained later on."

At that, he took a consort and she gave birth to some sons. As a layman he completed his studies and training. Afterwards he received, all at once, the complete ordination at Chökorgang. He remained extremely dignified in his conduct. Having become learned in the *Magical Net*, Sangye Rincen composed a *Great Commentary on the Secret Nucleus* (*gsang-snying 'grel-chen*), and a *Detailed Exposition of the Array of the Path of the Magical Net* (*lam rnam-bkod-la rnam-bzhag*) when he was about forty. Similarly, he composed an *Extensive Descriptive Basis [for the Rites] of the Wrathful Deities* (*khro-bo-la mngon-par-rtogs-pa rgyas-pa*) and also a *Detailed Ceremony for the Rite of the Tie to the Higher Realms* (*gnas-lung-la'ang cho-ga rgyas-pa*), both of these being derived from the eight arisings of enlightened activity (*phrin-las shar-ba brgyad*). Sangye Rincen received many esoteric instructions from his father and his father's spiritual son, Thupa Dorje; and he applied these in practical experience.

In his seventieth year[837] he accepted Gölo Yezang Tsepa [i.e. Gölo Zhönupel] as a disciple and granted him the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities according to the *Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul zhi-khro'i dbang*); the longevity empowerment of the *Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul-gyi tshe-dbang*); the empowerment of the *Churner of the Depths of Hell* (*dong-sprugs-kyi dbang*), the empowerments of *[Yamāntaka,] Lord of Life*, and of *Yangdak Mecik* (*tshe-bdag-dang yang-dag me-gcig-gi dbang*); the permissory initiations[838] for the *Hayagrīva Traditions of Nawopa and Dagyelma* (*sna-bo-pa'i lugs-kyi rta-mgrin-dang zla-rgyal-ma'i lugs-kyi rjes-gnang*); the empowerment of the *Khön Tradition of Vajrakīla*, along with the permissory initiation for the wrathful rites (*phur-pa-'khon-lugs-kyi dbang drag-po rjes-gnang-dang bcas-pa*); the empowerments of the expressive play of awareness for the *Eighteen Teachings of the Mental Class* (*sems-sde bco-brgyad-kyi rig-pa'i rtsal dbang*); the exegesis of the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* and its commentary; and an extensive exegesis of the *Array of the Path of the Magical Net* according to his own commentary. In addition, he bestowed on him the transmissions of about forty opuscules, including the *Illuminating Lamp of the Fundamental Text*; the *Forty-Chapter Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul bzhi-bcu-pa*, NGB Vol.14); those of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, its root tantra, the *All-Gathering Awareness*, and its commentary by Nupcen Sangye Yeshe, the *Armour Against Darkness*; and those of both the *Eighty-Chapter Magical Net* and the *Superior Magical Net*, and the *Root Text of Yangdak* (*yang-dag rtsa-ba*).[839]

Sangye Rincen also gave him the four empowerments of the Innermost Spirituality, beginning with the elaborate one, and guidance [on meditation] according to a guidebook (*khrid-yig*) based on the writings of Melong Dorje, and following, too, the *Esoteric Instructions of the Great Perfection according to Aro* (*rdzogs-chen a-ro'i man-ngag*). Similarly, he gave him the *Guidance which Lays Bare the Teaching of the Great Compassionate One* (*thugs-rje-chen-po'i smar-khrid*) following the lineage

of the bodhisattva Yegyelwa. Because of all this, it appears, Gölo Yezang Tsepa himself made this decisive affirmation, "I crossed to the furthest shores of the ocean of learning, and so achieved what is meaningful."

Then, in 1421 (iron female ox), his seventy-second year, the doctrine master Sangye Rincen travelled to Central Tibet. At the monastery of Samtenling in Kangpori he was attended by Wangdrakpa Gyeltsen. The guru gave many empowerments, including those of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, and many exegeses and transmissions, including those of the *Secret Nucleus*. Then, in 1431 (iron female pig), his eighty-second year, he passed away in Tsang. From the birth of Zurcungpa until this date four hundred and seventeen years appear to have passed.

GOLO ZHONUPEL (YEZANG TSEPA)

[409.1-411.4] Now, the great man Gö Zhönupel was born in 1392 (water monkey year). His father was called Götön Jungne Dorje, and his mother Sitarkyi. He was ordained by the great preceptor Cenye. From Karmapa V, Tezhinshekpa, he received the bodhisattva vow and the *Six Doctrines*. From Ngok Cangcupel he heard the doctrines of Ngok. But, in particular, it was from the great paṇḍita Vanaratna[840] that he received most of the empowerments of the Unsurpassed tantras. He corrected and translated the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī*, the *Point of Spring* (*Vasantatilaka*, T 1448), the *Brief Teaching of Empowerment* (*Sekoddeśa*, T 361), and Anupamarakṣita's *Commentary on the Six-limbed Yoga* (*Kālacakraṣaḍaṅgayoga*, T 1367).

When Drölcen Sangye Rincen was in his seventieth year, 1419 (earth female pig), this master received from him all the transmitted empowerments of the tantrapiṭaka of the Ancient Translation School in their entirety: the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities according to the *Magical Net* and its longevity empowerment; the *Churner of the Depths of Hell*; the *Lord of Life*; *Yangdak Mecik*; the *Hayagrīva Traditions of Nawopa and Dagyelma*; the *Khön Tradition of Vajrakīla*; and the empowerments of the expressive play of awareness for the *Eighteen Teachings of the Mental Class*. Among exegetical transmissions he received the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* with its commentary, and the commentary on the *Array of the Path of the Magical Net* which Sangye Rincen had himself composed. Moreover, he received the explanatory transmissions of about forty opuscules, Indian and Tibetan, including the *Illuminating Lamp of the Fundamental Text* and the *Forty-Chapter Magical Net*; the transmissions of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, its root tantra, the *All-Gathering Awareness*, and its commentary by Nup Sangye Yeshe, the *Armour Against Darkness*; and those of both the *Eighty-Chapter Magical Net* and the *Superior Magical Net*, and the *Root Text of Yangdak*. He received, too, the four root empower-

ments, elaborate and unelaborate, of the Innermost Spirituality, its guidance according to the guidebook of the accomplished master Melong Dorje, and guidance on the *Esoteric Instructions of the Great Perfection according to the Tradition of Aro*. In short, Gö Zhönupel became as a lord of secret mantra teaching according to the Ancient Translation School.

This master himself said, "I acquired exceptional devotion towards the tradition renowned as the Nyingmapa school of secret mantra. So, I was never polluted by the defilement of rejecting [true] doctrine."[841] Such words were intended for those pseudo-scholars of Tibet who were sectarian bigots. In fact, this master was more sublime than other philosophically unbiased spiritual benefactors; this is clearly demonstrated by his own treatises, which are reliable and also vastly eloquent.[842]

This master offered many doctrinal transmissions, empowerments, and much guidance to Karmapa Chödrak Gyamtso, including the *Trilogy of Commentaries by Bodhisattvas* (*sems-'grel skor-gsum*). He acted as the preceptor who gave complete ordination to Zhamarpa IV, Chöki Trakpa; and he gave him an inconceivable number of transmitted empowerments and exegetical transmissions, as well as the guidance of esoteric instruction, for an ocean of tantrapiṭaka, both ancient and new, of which the foremost was the *Magical Net*. The venerable Zhamarpa, too, considered Gö to be his sole, most gracious guru.

Thus, having by many means expanded the teaching of the transmitted precepts and treasures, Gö Zhönupel passed away in his ninetieth year, 1481 (iron ox).

CE-NGA RINPOCHE, ZHAMARPA IV

[411.4-413.2] Now, Zhamarpa IV, Ce-nga Rinpoche, was born in Treshö Khangmar in 1453 (water female bird year). His father was Dong Gönpakyap, and his mother Hraza Sonam Drölma. At Zurmang Monastery[843] he met Karmapa VII, Chödrak Gyamtso, and on receiving ordination from him was given the name Chöki Trakpa Yeshe Pelzangpo. He received the doctrine also from the preceptor Gushri Trakpelpa and from Pengarpa.[844] In his twenty-fourth year he was completely ordained as a monk, under the great translator of Gö, Yezang Tsepa, who acted as preceptor. At one time or another he studied numberless teachings: tantrapiṭaka of the new translation schools, such as *Kālacakra*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra*, *Guhyasamāja*, and *Bhairava*; and the transmitted empowerment and exegetical transmission of the *Secret Nucleus of the Magical Net*, among others [of the Ancient Translation School]. He also received many doctrines of the ancient and new traditions from the great translator Sonam Gyamtso, who was descended from the family of Gyelwa Choyang of Ngenlam.

When Ce-nga Rinpoche received the empowerment of *Vajrakīla* from the master Gö [Zhönupel], he had a vision of master Padmasambhava in a dream, and was even given instructions. He yielded up his physical body during his seventy-third year, 1525 (wood bird), while still occupied with teaching all the various doctrines, ancient and new, to his disciples.

In short, by extensive study this master purified himself. Although he composed a great many means for attainment, exegetical commentaries, maṇḍala rites, dialogues, and other treatises, Zhamarpa's works are all superior to others, because they are refined in word and meaning, of suitable length, conclusive, and fair. His *Guidance on the View of the Great Middle Way, which Definitively Reveals the Absolute* (*don-dam nges-'byed dbu-ma-chen-po'i lta-khrid*) is based on the *Five Doctrines* of the great regent [Maitreya]. Therefore, in adhering above all to the infallible diction of the ultimate doctrinal language this master accords with the great, all-knowing Longcenpa, Karmapa VII, and the all-knowing, great Tölbupa.[845]

DRIGUNG ZURPA RINCEN PHUNTSOK

[413.2-414.5] The Zhamarpa conferred the teachings on Zurpa Rincen Phüntsok of Drigung. He was born into the Kyura family in Drigung Kunyergang in upper Uru. After his eighth year he was ordained as a novice by Ce-nga Rinpoche, Chöki Trakpa. At thirteen, when he was invited to the consecration of the Trhadruk Temple at Tsitang Samtenling, which had been restored by Karpopa,[846] all sorts of wonderful miracles took place. He set his heart on attainment in such great places of pilgrimage as Yangpacen, Lungshö, and Zhotö Tidro. Once, while he was staying at Tidro, Vajranātha, an accomplished master from India, arrived and gave him the esoteric instructions on vital energy by Javāripā (*dza-bi-ra'i bhū rlung*), and other, further advice. Following a prophetic declaration of the ḍākinīs he changed his dress to white [i.e. became a mantrin free from monastic vows]. In Yangpacen a treasure inventory came into his possession, following which he extracted the yellow scrolls of the five families [which contained] the *True Doctrine of the Most Profound Intention, the Essence of the Body, Speech and Mind of Guru Rinpoche* (*gu-ru rin-po-che'i sku-gsung-thugs-bcud dam-chos dgongs-pa yang-zab shog-ser rigs-lnga*) from the great assembly hall of the ḍākinīs at Tidro.

On another occasion he journeyed to the glorious Copper-coloured Mountain, where he met Guru Rinpoche in the form of a heruka and participated in a feast offering. He was given an empowerment based on the maṇḍala of the three roots, and also all the instructions and further advice. Then, the body of the heruka turned into that of master

Padmasambhava, who orally bestowed on Rincen Phüntsok many esoteric instructions. After that, he returned to his own abode.

Rincen Phüntsok became a master of both the transmitted precepts and the treasures. Having thoroughly mastered the extraordinary exegetical tradition of the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*, many traditions of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-brgyad lugs-dgu*), the *Four-Part Innermost Spirituality* (*snying-thig ya-bzhi*), the *Earlier and Later Treasure Troves* (*gter-kha gong-'og*),[847] and so forth, his teaching activity became most extensive. In accord with the tradition of the precious Ngari Paṇcen,[848] his custom was to disclose the central points by means of the transmitted precepts, and to adorn them with the esoteric instructions of the treasures.

KHONTON PELJOR LHUNDRUP

[414.5-418.4] Rincen Phüntsok taught the cycles of the *Magical Net* to Rangdröl Nyinda Sangye, who expounded it to Tshewang Norgye, a master of the Khön family. He, in turn, expounded it to his own son, Khöntön Peljor Lhündrup. This master was born in 1561 (iron bird year). The name of his mother was Gyelmodzom.

From childhood the propensities of a holy person were aroused within him, and he truly developed the attitude of a renunciate. During his tenth year he was ordained as a novice by the all-knowing Sonam Gyamtso.[849] He also received [the vows of] refuge and of the creation of the enlightened attitude, as well as the transmission for the meditation of the Great Compassionate One. In addition, he received all kinds of doctrines from several gurus of both the ancient and new traditions. He completed studies of [Sanskrit] grammatical tables,[850] poetics, [Tibetan] grammar,[851] medicine, and the other sciences. But above all, under the tutelage of his father, who was a holder of indestructible reality, he became trained in the *Secret Nucleus of the Magical Net*, in its commentary composed by Yungtönpa, and in the other commentaries of the *Magical Net* cycle, such as the all-knowing Longcenpa's *Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions*. It was then that the propensities of [his past life as] the great Dropukpa were aroused, and he became an incomparably learned and accomplished adherent of this path.

In his eighteenth year Peljor Lhündrup received the empowerment, guidance and esoteric instructions of the Great Perfection according to the *Innermost Spirituality of Radiant Space* (*rdzogs-chen klong-gsal snying-thig*) from the great awareness-holder Nyinda Sangye, an emanation of Nup Namkei Nyingpo. Peljor Lhündrup was introduced to the abiding nature of all things, the Great Perfection, the buddha-body of reality that is intrinsically aware; and thus he arrived at what is most profound.

Moreover, he received a great many doctrines belonging to both the transmitted precepts and the treasures, and, in particular, the *Innermost Meaning, the Liberation of All Beings* (*don-tig 'gro-ba kun-grol*), together with the exegetical transmission of the *Precious Treasury of the Supreme Vehicle* (*theg-mchog rin-po-che'i mdzod*). He also reached the limits of study and reflection on all the great textual traditions of the sūtras, and became an itinerant scholar at the great seminary of Tsetang, propounding widespread textual traditions.[852]

Under Tragön Ce-nga Zhönu Chöpel he studied extensively the doctrines of the ancient and new traditions, such as the *Vajra Garland*. In his thirty-fourth year Peljor Lhündrup received complete ordination from Gyelkangtsewa Peljor Gyamtso and the doctrine master Gendün Gyeltsen, who acted as preceptor and master of ceremonies, respectively. It was then that he received the name Peljor Lhündrup. He also studied the mantra cycles of the Gelukpa tradition, and he acted, too, as a teaching master at [the colleges of] Sangpu and Sera Ce.[853]

Although the exegetical tradition of the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* had been widely propagated in the past, subsequently it had declined. Therefore, because this master was renowned for his great learning [in it], Orgyen Tendzin, the doctrine master of Trakna, deliberately went before him. He received [the *Secret Nucleus*] in detail following *Yungtönpa's Commentary* (*gYung-'grel*), and even composed a memorandum on it through to the fifth chapter.

Peljor Lhündrup favoured Zur Chöying Rangdröl, in particular, and granted him two daily sessions of instruction on *Yungtönpa's Commentary on the Secret Nucleus*, as well as on the cycle of the Innermost Spirituality (*snying-thig-gi skor*) and numberless other teachings. In accord with the teaching of this master, Zurcen Chöying Rangdröl definitively established the teaching as an itinerant scholar at the great seminary of Tsetang; and thus he silenced those who jealously thought that the Ancient Translation School had no exegesis of the tantras. At about that time, Peljor Lhündrup abandoned the diversions of society and lived in the solitude of Devīkoṭi, the forest of Phawangkha. Padmapāṇi, the Great Fifth [Dalai Lama] supplicated his feet and received from him limitless systems of empowerment, transmission, guidance, and esoteric instruction derived from the ancient and new traditions.

Like some great gurus, Peljor Lhündrup remained aloof to the company of dry dialecticians who concerned themselves with the purity of their philosophical systems. It could be said of him that he bore the stamp of one who had been a disciple of exemplary spiritual benefactors.

When he was in his seventy-sixth year the Great Fifth offered prayers for Peljor Lhündrup's continued longevity (*zhabs-brtan-gyi gsol-'debs*); but saying, "Now, I do not know if I will live much longer," the master declined, and then added, "I must go to the Palace of Lotus Light in Cāmaradvīpa!"

On Sunday 30 August 1637 (eleventh day, eighth month, fire ox year)[854] his physical body vanished into the expanse of reality, accompanied by wondrous omens.

Among the treatises composed by this master, there are: the *Guidebook which Introduces the View Common to the Great Seal, Great Perfection, and Great Madhyamaka* (*phyag-rdzogs-dbu-gsum-gyi lta-ba spyi-khyab-tu ngo-sprod-pa'i khrid-yig*); the *Guidance on the View of Madhyamaka* (*dbu-ma'i lta khrid*); and many works on the conventional sciences [*tha-snyad rig-pa*; e.g. logic, grammar, etc.].

ZURCEN CHOYING RANGDROL

[418.4-424.6] The spiritual son of that master was Zurcen Chöying Rangdröl. He was born in 1604 (wood dragon year). His father was Zurcen Zhönu Töndrup, an emanation of the great awareness-holder Kumārādza, and a direct descendant of the Zur lineage of awareness-holders. His mother was Tshenden Yidzin, who hailed from a family of ḍākinīs. Chöying Rangdröl was recognised as the reincarnation of Trungpa Köncok Rincenpa. Gradually, he learned to read and to write, and he also learned the scripts of India without regard for the difficulty. Under his father he studied the essential cycles of means for attainment (*nyer-mkho'i sgrub-skor*).[855] In his ninth year he met Cangpa Rikdzin Ngagiwangpo,[856] who prophetically declared him to be an incarnation who would greatly benefit the teaching of the Ancient Translation School.

Chöying Rangdröl also studied iconographic drawing, astrological systems, and some cycles of wrathful mantras. At about the age of twelve he sat at the feet of Nangsel Rinpoche Ngawang Yeshe Trupa, and fully received the empowerments, transmissions, and experiential guidance for the cycle of the *Gathering of the Sugatas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts*; the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī* according to both the transmitted precepts and the treasures (*mkha'-'gro snying-thig bka'-gter gnyis*); the *Guru, an Ocean of Gems* (*bla-ma nor-bu rgya-mtsho*); and Karma Lingpa's *Natural Liberation of Intention: [A Cycle devoted to] the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities* (*kar-gling zhi-khro dgongs-pa rang-grol*). He received the secret name "Chöying Rangdröl" in connection with the conferral of the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities. And he heard many other treasure doctrines, too.

Chöying Rangdröl experientially cultivated [such teachings as] the *Fivefold Great Seal* (*phyag-chen lnga-ldan*) and the *Guidance on Cutting* (*gcod-khrid*). In Zingpa Tago he performed the three-year, three-fortnight retreat (*lo-gsum phyogs-gsum*)[857] and, by emphasising primarily the [teachings of] primordial purity and spontaneous presence[858] according to the *Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī*, [a doctrine of] the Great Perfec-



Zurcen Chöying Rangdröl

tion (*rdzogs-chen mkha'-'gro snying-thig*), he exploded the ultimate fictitious nature of all things. Obtaining the realisation in which intrinsic awareness, the natural face of [Samantabhadra] the original lord, is disclosed, he became adept at roaming, in the inner radiance, through the fields of the buddha-body of perfect rapture.

In his seventeenth year Chöying Rangdröl went into the presence of the notable Peljor [Lhündrup], the vajra-holder of Phawangkha. He attended upon that guru until his passing, serving him with the three means to delight the guru. The guru, too, rejoiced at heart and took care of him. He poured into him the ocean of doctrines belonging to the transmitted precepts and treasures, as if filling a vase to the brim. In particular, Peljor Lhündrup granted him exegetical teaching during two sessions each day, combining the glorious *Root Tantra of the Secret Nucleus*, the *Parkap Commentary*, and *Yungtönpa's Commentary* in Tibetan. Chöying Rangdröl requested permission to set down a memorandum touching on the points that were hard to remember, but the master said, "If you take notes before a sufficient segment [of the text] has been covered, nothing much will be settled [in your mind]. Therefore, after some time, I shall make an estimate [of how much need be covered first]."

On the roof of his apartment Chöying Rangdröl then practised repeating the text. When about thirty folios had been covered [in the lectures] he received his master's permission to set down a memorandum. He completed it through to the fifth chapter, but the remainder was left to be continued.

In his twentieth year, 1622 (water dog), Chöying Rangdröl repeated the ordinations from that of a novice to that of a fully-ordained monk. He investigated the commentary on the *Secret Nucleus* [by Longcenpa] called *Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions* and others; and he requested the exegeses of the four subcommentaries on the *Commentary on the Guhyasamāja Tantra called the Clarifying Lamp*, the *Clarifying Lamp of the Five Stages* (*rim-lnga gsal-sgron*), the *Complete Elucidation of the Hidden Meaning of the Cakrasaṃvara* (*bde-mchog sbas-don kun-gsal*), Norzang's *General Exposition of the Kālacakra* (*nor-bzang-gi dus-'khor spyi-don*), the stages of creation and perfection of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (*gsang-'dus bskyed-rdzogs*), and other exegetical traditions. He established a decisive understanding of them all.

In 1624 (wood mouse year) he expounded the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* at the beginning of the extensive winter seminar at the great seminary of glorious Tsetang. At that time, he overcame the brilliance of those great teachers who relied on words [rather than on meaning] and thus he vastly served the innermost teaching. Those who remained unbiased praised him; and the great Cangpa Rikdziṇ [Ngagiwangpo], too, draped a silk scarf around his neck.

From master Phawangkhapa [Peljor Lhündrup] he also received in detail the empowerments, transmissions and esoteric instructions of the *Innermost Spirituality of Radiant Space*. Meditating upon it, Chöying Rangdröl profited through experiences and realisations that were greater than those he had had before. He also received many wrathful mantras of the new translation schools, such as the *Yogic Exercises of Bhairava* (*bhairava'i 'phrul-'khor*).

During the great dispute between the Gelukpa and Drigungpa[859] the venerable Drigung Zurpa Ratna [Rincen Phüntsok] and others had performed the applied sorcery of Rāhula, with the result that many throne-holders of Ganden died of stroke or epilepsy.[860] But now, this master [Chöying Rangdröl] made a protective circle to liberate Köncok Chöpel[861] from the fear of Khyapjuk [i.e. Rāhula].

When Takla Padmamati of Katok journeyed to Lhasa, he received from Chöying Rangdröl the commentary on the *Secret Nucleus* entitled *Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions*, among other teachings. Padmamati, in turn, offered this exegetical transmission to Lhodrak Sungtrül,[862] thereby ensuring that this doctrinal succession continued uninterruptedly.

In return [for the teachings he had given], Chöying Rangdröl received from Katokpa [Padmamati] the transmissions and empowerments of

the volumes of the *Gathering of Intentions*, along with the means for holding all the tantras (*dgongs-'dus po-ti'i lung-dbang rgyud-dgu bcangs-thabs-dang-bcas-pa*), as well as other teachings, including the ritual manual entitled *Beauteous Flower Garland* (*las-byang me-tog phreng-mdzes*). Above all, they performed the means for the attainment of alchemy on the basis of the maṇḍala of the *Gathering of the Sugatas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts*.



Rāhula

From about this time the Great Fifth [Dalai Lama], the supreme conqueror, began to honour Chöying Rangdröl as his guru and received from him the *Vanquisher* (*zil-gnon*) and other doctrinal transmissions. The Great Fifth experientially cultivated all the transmissions and practical guidance for widespread rites of pacification, enrichment, subjugation, and wrath, including the cycle of wrathful mantras, which Chöying Randgröl offered to him.

During that era, the lords of Tsang and their priests, the Karmapa, harboured great hatred towards the Gelukpa in general, and the Ganden Palace in particular; and they performed numberless rites of sorcery when they were hard pressed during the civil war.[863] But because of the timely activity of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the exceedingly

efficacious blessings of Chöying Rangdröl, it so happened that this verse, composed by the Great Fifth, could be spread throughout Tibet and Kham, at the order of the Ganden Palace:

In the dense wood around the oil-spent town,
The moisture of risk quenched urgency's blaze;
Then the conflagration of karma descended and dried
The river of Karmapa and Tsangpa dominion – that,
  indeed, did amaze!

In this way he affirmed that there was no reason for the partisans of the Gelukpa not to utilise sorcery, and that this master, Chöying Rangdröl, had had a most remedial effect on the teaching in general.

Moreover, the Great Fifth received from Chöying Rangdröl experiential guidance on three traditions of *Vajrakīla* (*phur-ba lugs-gsum*), three traditions of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-brgyad lugs-gsum*), [the doctrine of] the Great Perfection called the *Innermost Spirituality of Radiant Space*, and so forth; and he undertook to master them. Thus, he maintained, the infallible experience of the Great Perfection arose in his mind, and a confidence that was free from the hopes and fears of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa was born within him.

Chöying Rangdröl also enjoyed a mutual exchange of doctrinal feasts with Gönpo Sonam Chokden of Nesar. He recognised Rikdzin Pema Trhinle, the sun of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School, to be the emanation of Cangpa Rikdzin Ngagiwangpo; and he installed him at the seat of Thupten Dorje Trak.[864] Chöying Rangdröl bestowed all the doctrines of the transmitted precepts and treasures upon him, and enthroned him as a lord of the teaching.

Towards the end of his life Chöying Rangdröl lived in Kungtang, which had been the seat of the lord of beings, the "Unborn" Zhang [Tshelpa].[865] There, he granted the exegesis of the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* to Trhinle Lhündrup, the great awareness-holder of Tarding,[866] and received, in return, many empowerments and transmissions, such as those of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts*. He protected all who persevered in the doctrine, including gurus, incarnations and emanations from China, Tibet and Mongolia, by whatever pertains to the path of liberation, whether transmitted precepts or treasures, of the ancient or new traditions. Then, during his sixty-sixth year, 1669 (earth bird), he journeyed to the realm of Lotus Light, accompanied by wondrous omens.

THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA

[424.6-425.5] Although it is impossible to count the host of students who were the spiritual sons of this master [Chöying Rangdröl], the

foremost among them was the supreme conqueror, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama. Even when Chöying Rangdröl had journeyed to another realm, it is said, the Great Fifth was taken into his following by the body of his pristine cognition. This is illustrated by the following passage from the supreme conqueror's *Biography of Chöying Rangdröl* (*rnam-thar rgyal-ba-mchog-gi zhal-gsung-ma*):

> Until I have encountered directly
> The expressive play of awareness that is Samantabhadra,
> By the power of these good deeds may I be favoured in all lives
> By you, O lord! my inseparable spiritual benefactor.

The Great Fifth bestowed the exegetical tradition of the *Secret Nucleus*, according to both the *Parkap Commentary* and *Yungtönpa's Commentary*, on the great Nyötön Trhinle Lhündrup, an emanation of Nupcen Sangye Yeshe. From his time until the present day the lineage has continued without interruption owing to the kindness of the great treasure-finder, Rikdzin Gyurme Dorje, and his brother [Locen Dharmaśrī], the two of whom appeared as the timely fruition of the enlightened aspirations of Vairocana and of Yudra Nyingpo.[867]

5 *Dotokpa's Lineage of the Zur Tradition*

DOTOKPA SANGYE-TRA AND KYI CHOKI SENGE

[425.5-427.3] Moreover, in the lineage of the disciples of the great Dropukpa, there was one called Sangye-tra of Gyamen in Chongye. He was born into the Nya family in the district of Gyamen Taktsepa. In his youth he propitiated Jambhala and a small field which he owned was swept away by a flood. He then went off [as an ascetic], free from worldly cares. In Puguto there was a rich man who had died of leprosy, so no one would come to carry away the corpse. Sangye-tra, moved by fervent compassion, did the funerary work without thinking about it. By the side of the bier a large quantity of gold appeared. *That* was the accomplishment conferred on him by Jambhala.

On his return Sangye-tra met Khyungpo Trhowo at Traci Khangmar. Acting as the attendant while Khyungpo propitiated Yangdak, Sangye-tra also practised the means for attainment and had a vision of the "Nine-lamp Yangdak" (*yang-dag mar-me dgu*). Then, he went to Tsang. He studied the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and other texts under a nephew of Ca Chenpo, who had been a student of the lord of secrets, Dropukpa. At that time a rich man offered him one hundred loads of barley. Consequently, free from impediments, he studied the *Magical Net* under Dropukpa's student Nyangnak Dopo and his student, Lharje Da Senge. Having become a great scholar, Sangye-tra founded Dotokthel in his homeland. Gyacing Rupa, a disciple of Nyelwa Zhikpo, also became a supplicant at the feet of Dotokpa [Sangye-tra] and studied much under him.

In particular, this Dotokpa had a student called Kyi Chöki Senge, a learned and accomplished "warrior". He went into the presence of the emperor Qubilai Qan. In order to examine Chöki Senge's powers the emperor rashly had him placed inside a stūpa, and then sealed up the entrance for a year. When the year ended the stūpa was opened. Seeing that Chöki Senge had turned into an image of Vajrakīla, the emperor was most astonished. He sent a great variety of things, includ-

ing a long roll of silk,[868] as gifts to Dotokpa. Dotokpa also had many monastic estates allotted to him by imperial edict, so [his domains] were exceedingly developed. But this is remembered only in name. Such fluctuations in the teaching naturally inspire world-weariness!

MENLUNGPA ŚĀKYA-Ö

[427.3-429.1] The disciple of Chöki Senge was Menlungpa Śākya-ö. He was the eldest of five sons born to Nyangtön Chenpo of Chongpo Kharu, who became famed as the "five emanational brothers of Yarlung". The eldest was referred to as "Menlungpa" after Menlung, a monastery in Yarlung. The seat of the second brother, Chödenpa, was the monastery that is now the ruin called "Chöden".[869] Chödenpa's real name was Gönpo Dorje. Because he became quite accomplished he left the imprint of his back on a wall, which he had struck and passed through. This imprint exists even now. In the past it seems that there was a great seminary at this place; for a great many fragments of the *Collected Tantras* (*rgyud-'bum*) are still to be seen there. It is said that because Chödenpa performed the means for the attainment of elixir, scorpions and ants became quite rare in this region. The ruins of the monastery appear to be protected even today, for its protectors are most powerful. It is a place where the gods and demons abide in accord with their commitments.

The three younger brothers were known as Keldenpa, Turtröpa, and Wangyelwa. Among the five, it is the eldest, Menlungpa Śākya-ö, who is considered here. He studied the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Magical Net* thoroughly under Kyi Chöki Senge. Later, he also studied under Sonamgyel, the scholar of Len, who was the son of Len Śākya Öpo. He composed many works, including the *Disclosure of the Contents of the Secret Nucleus* (*gsang-ba snying-po'i khog-dbub*), and a commentary entitled the *Ascertainment of the Meaning of the Tantra* (*ṭī-kā rgyud-don rnam-nges*). His disciple was Sangye Konglawa of Takpo, who produced many disciples in Takpo proper, such as Lama Nyen. Above all, because he was the guru of Konjo Dakpo, [the doctrine] was much propagated in Kham.[870]

In addition, Ön Śākya Bumpa became learned in the exegesis of the *Secret Nucleus* under Menlungpa. Under him Khedrup Chöpel and his son thoroughly received the exegesis of the *Secret Nucleus*. Those in the lineage of Menlungpa were also, in their own place and time, the masters of the doctrines of the *Earlier and Later Treasure Troves*.

DORJE GYELTSEN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

[429.1-6] Gya Yeshe Gönpo, who held the seat of Kyi Chöki Senge,

also became thoroughly learned in the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Magical Net*, under the tutelage of both Kyi Chöki Senge and Len Chögyel. His nephew, Dorje Gyeltsen, went to Sangpu in his youth and became learned in the *Ascertainment of Valid Cognition.* Then, having thoroughly learned the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Magical Net* under Phungpo Gya Yeshe Gönpo, he composed the *Commentary based on the Text of the Parkap Commentary* (*'grel-pa spar-khab gzhung-du byas-pa'i ṭī-kā*), a *Ritual for Empowerment* (*dbang-gi cho-ga*), and other works. He taught them to his own nephew Lama Tshül Gyelwa. Ridongpa Sherap Gyeltsen studied under him, in turn, and he is said to have propagated the teaching in the vicinity of Takpo for a while, having expounded it in Takpo to Lord Kurap and his servants, as well as to the mantra adepts. The disciple of Sherap Gyeltsen was Sonam Zangpo of Zhangkar. His disciple was master Trashi Gyamtso, from whom Gö Zhönupel received the exegetical transmission of Dorje Gyeltsen's *Commentary on the Secret Nucleus* (*rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan-pa'i snying-ṭīk*), the *Black Deity Vajrakīla* (*phur-pa lha-nag*), and other teachings.

6 *Biographies of the Kham Tradition*

KATOKPA TAMPA DESHEK

[430.1-434.5] Concerning the renowned Kham tradition:[871] Vairocana translated master Sūryaprabhāsiṃha's *Commentary on the Secret Nucleus* (*Śrīguhyagarbhatattvaviniścayavyākhyānaṭīkā*, P 4719) at the Camgön Temple of Odu in Kham and expounded it, too. But it was Katokpa in particular who originally made the teaching of the Ancient Translation School well known in that region. He is known by the names Tampa Dewarshekpa of Katok, Lama Sharwa Popathaye, and Sherap Senge.

Katokpa was the maternal cousin of the venerable Phakmotrupa. He was born by the banks of the Yangtze River (*'bri-chu*) in Puburgang in Dokam during the year 1122 (water male tiger). His father was Tsangpa Peldra of the Ga clan, and his mother Tsangmo Rincengyen. This water tiger year was master Phakmotrupa's thirteenth.

When Katokpa was in his seventeenth year he went to Central Tibet and was ordained as a novice at Phenyül by Lama Cangcup Senge. The name Sherap Senge was conferred upon him. He received full ordination in the Lower Tibetan Vinaya Lineage under the great preceptor of Nak;[872] and he trained himself until he was learned in the Vinaya. He studied the cycle of the *Secret Nucleus of the Magical Net*, the Mental Class, and so on, under a spiritual son of the great Zur Dropukpa named Dzamtön Drowei Gönpo; and he became consummately learned in these very teachings. Dzamtön was the one guru intervening between the venerable Dropukpa and Katokpa, although the Great Fifth's *Record of Teachings Received* (*lnga-pa chen-po'i gsan-yig*) says that Katokpa met Dropukpa in person.

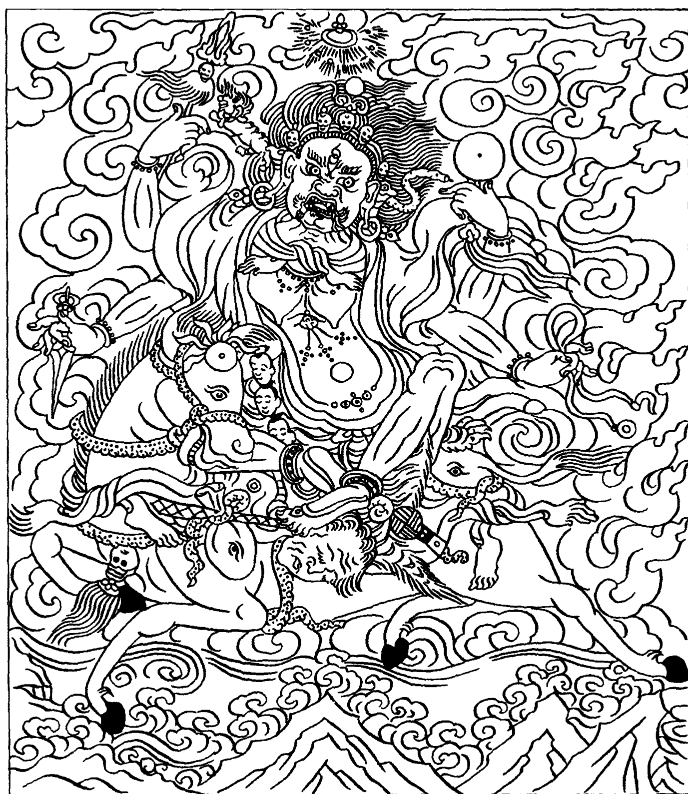
Katokpa also studied ten great tantras of *Cakrasaṃvara* (*bde-mchog rgyud-chen bcu*) under Ra Lotsāwa's disciple, Kam Lotsāwa; the *Subsequent Tantra of Varāhī* (*Akhyātatantrottaravajravarāhyabhidhānād Varāhyabhibodhana*, T 379), and the *Tantra of the Emergence of Cakrasaṃvara* under Cokro Lotsāwa; the cycle of *Hevajra* under Kam Chöki



Katokpa Tampa Deshek

Yeshe; the *Guhyasamāja* under both Dongtön Dorje Nyingpo, a disciple of Gö Lotsāwa [Khukpa Lhetse], and Bodhi Zhangtön; the exegesis of the *[Commentary on the Guhyasamāja Tantra called the] Clarifying Lamp* and the *Yamāri* cycle under Pelgi Wangcuk of Latö, who was the disciple of both [Dongtön and Zhangtön]; the sequence of the empowerment of *Cakrasaṃvara ('khor-lo bde-mchog-gi dbang-bskur-gyi rim-pa)*, the Great Seal, and the esoteric instructions for the *Six Doctrines of Nāropā* under the venerable Tüsum Khyenpa [Karmapa I];[873] et cetera. He became the supreme spiritual son of the venerable Use [Tüsum Khyenpa], and under him he studied and considered, without exception, the sūtra and mantra traditions in general, and, in particular, the ancient and recent Tibetan translations, pertaining to the vehicle of indestructible reality.

Once the precious Dzamtön said to Katokpa, "If you go to the land of Kampo and diligently practise the means for attainment, your body will dissolve into light. But if you go to Katok you will greatly extend the teaching." With his heart set on the teaching alone he went in search of a place called Katok. At first, he arrived at Katil. There, he met some children who were grazing cattle, and asked them, "Where is Katok?"



Śrīdevī

"Up that valley," they replied.

He realised the cattle to be an auspicious sign that there would be persons requiring training, and the cowherds a sign that there would be disciples. Therefore, on that site, which resembled the letter KA, he founded a temple in 1159 (earth female hare year).

At just that time Donyen Menbu [a local divinity], who maintained the vows of Pön, actually revealed his form and created obstacles in various ways. When the venerable master and two students pursued him he dissolved into a boulder.[874] The doctrine master Tsangtön tied it up with his robes and pulled it along, while Tampa [Katokpa] drove it on with a switch. They brought it down to the bank of the river at the bottom of the valley, where it can still be seen today. And once, when eight Pönpo began to practise wrathful mantras [against Katokpa], Śrīdevī[875] brought down the rock-face on which their hermitage was situated. Tampa himself drew a crossed-vajra over it; and the site became known as Phawang Gyelep, "Eight Boulders' Landing". With these and other inconceivable signs of accomplishment Katokpa laid a foundation for the doctrine, and remained there.

To students assembled from as far as Amdo country in the east, to Tshawarong, Lo [Mustang], and Mön in the south, he skilfully revealed

various teachings, among which the foremost were the Great Perfection and the exegetical transmission, transmitted empowerment, means for attainment, and so on, of the *Secret Nucleus of the Magical Net*, including all its major and minor Indian and Tibetan commentaries and texts, all according to the continuous tradition of the glorious Zurs, and the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*. In addition, he expounded a great many works including the *Magical Net of Mañjuśrī* and other tantras, and, with regard to the system of the sūtras, the great texts of the conqueror Maitreya, the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva*, et cetera. In short, he laid the foundation for the teaching of the secret mantra in the province of Dokam. Finally, in his seventy-first year, in September/October 1192 (ninth month, water male mouse year), he demonstrated the conquest of his physical body.

In general, the sublime Mañjughoṣa conversed with this great person at all times, just as with another man, and prophesied his every deed. Katokpa could always gaze on the Buddha-field of Akṣobhya, Sukhāvatī, the Buddha-field of Bhaiṣajyaguru, and others. He could also behold, whenever he wished, the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Magical Net*, the sixty-two deities of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala, and the maṇḍala of Glorious Heruka. He could study the doctrine under the Tathāgatas of the Five Families and discuss it with bodhisattvas. He obtained the prophecy that in his following life he would dwell in Sukhāvatī as the bodhisattva Matisāra (*blo-gros snying-po*) and obtain the actual realisation of the eighth level;[876] and that then, in the future, in the aeon called "Star-like Array", he would become the sugata Amitāyus.

TSANGTONPA

[434.5-437.6] Katokpa's regent was Tsangtönpa. He was born in 1126 (fire male horse year) in Tsangzhel, which is a part of Puburgang. In his seventeenth year he met Lama Dewarshekpa [Katokpa] and studied the doctrine under him. The master and student proceeded together to Minyak, where he was given all the esoteric instructions. In his twenty-first year he went to the monastery of Dri Tiramdo and lived there. In his twenty-third he set out for Katok and practised meditation.

Once, in a vision, Lama Dewarshekpa saw a great light in a wide, flooded valley, at which he could not bear to look. When he asked what it was, a voice said, "Great being! it is the seat of your disciple, who resides on the eleventh level, Universal Light."[877] [Approaching Tsangtönpa] the master said, "You are the one!" and at that moment Tsangtönpa beheld the maṇḍalas of Glorious Heruka and of the Forty-two Peaceful Deities. Also, he always saw Śrīdevī and Mahākāla, and



Tsangtönpa

remembered his previous lives as the translator Yeshe-chok, the Indian Vajrapāṇi[878] and others.

In his fifty-sixth year Tsangtönpa ascended to the seat of Katok, where he maintained the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class* according to the tradition of his guru. Once, about this time, the great spiritual warrior Pomdrakpa[879] was wondering why this Tsangtönpa of Katok had such a high reputation. Immediately, he had a vision in which there appeared a great celestial palace of blue light, like a cloudless sky, which housed a great host of the deities of perfect rapture. In front sat the precious Tsangtönpa, surrounded by an inconceivable mass of multicoloured rainbow light. Pomdrakpa realised him to be a buddha and performed a feast offering that evening at which he had visions of many herukas of the Nyingma tradition of secret mantra. In a dream he saw an immeasurable, great mountain composed of precious gems, on the slopes of which various medicinal plants were growing. Many people were gathering these plants. On the summit of the mountain, in the midst of a great palace of blue light, Lama Katokpa [i.e. Tsangtönpa] was seated, [his body] of the nature of light. From a great white conch

known to sound by itself with no one to blow on it innumerable conches issued forth, all of them sounding by themselves. They filled all quarters, sounding *ti-ri-ri*... Pomdrakpa said that this indicated the limitless spread of Tsangtönpa's reputation. Later Pomdrakpa travelled to Katok, where he requested the empowerment of the *Magical Net* from the precious Tsangtönpa, with the result that [all-]knowing, pristine cognition was limitlessly awakened within him.

When Tsangtönpa of Katok was equipoised in the contemplation of the Great Perfection inconceivable pure visions arose. [He experienced] the sky-like appearance of nothing at all, he beheld an innumerable host of peaceful and wrathful deities for three evenings, and so forth. Moreover, once in a vision of Akṣobhya's buddha-field all the bodhisattvas in the retinue were buzzing with the news that this doctrine master was the bodhisattva Maṇigarbha (*nor-bu'i snying-po*), in which form he would be reborn in Sukhāvatī in his next life. Again, one time, when he had a vision of that same buddha-field, he heard the teacher Akṣobhya prophetically declare, "O Maṇigarbha, son of the enlightened family, in a future age you will become the tathāgata Özer Raptutrhowa."

Tsangtönpa withdrew from the array of his physical body in 1216 (fire male mouse), his ninetieth year.

CAMPABUM

[437.6-439.5] Tsangtönpa's regent was Campabum. In a previous life, he had been Cārīndra [Kṛṣṇacārin], the spiritual son of the great accomplished master of India, Jālandharipā; for the venerable Mitrayogī had said to his disciple Somayogī, "If you go to Tibet, [you can meet] the masters Śāntideva and Vajrapāṇi, who have taken birth in Tibet at a place called Katok, where they have benefitted numberless disciples. At that seat, too, master Kaṇhapā [Kṛṣṇacārin] the great has taken birth. He remains there even now to benefit his disciples." Moreover, this same one had acted in the service of the teaching during lifetimes spent as the son of an Indian king, as a monk of a brahman family, and so on. Afterwards he was born as the venerable Campa the great. The year of his birth was 1179 (earth pig).

Under the guidance of both Katok Tampa Rinpoche and the doctrine master Tsangtönpa, Campabum studied, reflected and meditated upon the whole ocean of doctrinal traditions of the sūtras and mantras, but he completed his studies under the doctrine master. After Tsangtönpa passed away, Campabum, then in his forty-eighth year, ascended to the seat. He spread out a joyous feast of the ocean of doctrinal traditions of the sūtras and mantras, emphasising the *Magical Net* and the Great Perfection.



Campabum

The great Karmapa [Karmapa II, Pakshi] who was born at Drigyel Tampa Chöcuk, went to Katok at the advice of the bodhisattva Pomdrakpa, whom he first met in Shabam. Under Campa Rinpoche, who acted as the preceptor, and Ce-nga Mangpuwa Sonam Bumpa, who was the master of ceremonies, the Karmapa received full ordination. Becoming thus a *bhikṣu*, he was enthroned as the regent of the Sage. The name Chöki Lama was conferred upon him and he received the empowerments and instructions of the *Magical Net* and the Great Perfection.[880]

Campabum continued to act on behalf of the teaching and living creatures through to his seventy-fourth year, 1252 (water mouse), when he withdrew from the array of his physical body.

THE SUCCESSIVE REGENTS OF KATOK

[439.5-443.3] Campabum's regent, the great Ce-ngawa Sonam Bumpa, was born in 1223 (water sheep year). In his thirtieth year he ascended to the seat and, emphasising the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the

Magical Net, and the Great Perfection, he maintained the teaching. He passed away in his sixty-first year.

His regent, Uwö Yeshebum, was born in 1254 (wood male tiger year). He ascended to the seat in his twenty-ninth year, and turned extensively the doctrinal wheel of the sūtras and mantras, with emphasis on the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*.

During this period the doctrine master Sakya Paṇḍita and his nephew Phakpa Rinpoche went to Mongolia at the invitation of the king. On the way they built the Namgyel Temple in Dzing. Katokpa [Campabum] also went there. Now, all the domains of the Sakyapa naturally became hoards of silver property and objects, but others [such as the Katokpa] were without these [resources]. On this particular occasion, so that they could consecrate the temple [according to the rites of] both the ancient and new traditions simultaneously, Katokpa said, "We Nyingmapa will perform the exorcism at the beginning of the consecration. But I will ask you adherents of the new translation schools to perform the actual ground of the consecration, the invocation of the Beings of Pristine Cognition and so forth." Katokpa then entered into the contemplation of exorcism and turned the temple inside out. When the Sakyapa called down the Beings of Pristine Cognition the temple was restored to its natural condition. Such were the wonders displayed there. Katokpa conferred the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Magical Net* on Phakpa Rinpoche, who then proceeded to Mongolia. The doctrine master [Sakya Paṇḍita] withdrew from his physical body while he was visiting the Mongol domains. When Phakpa returned to Tibet, he offered a three-storey stūpa of bronze, seven great altar bowls and other items to Katok as gifts, which exist even today.[881]

Cangcup Pelwa, the regent of master Uwöpa Yeshebum, ascended to the seat in his forty-fourth year. In his time there were many at [the hermitages of] Partrö, Pangtrö and Tampuk whose bodies dissolved in the buddha-body of light. Once, while he was constructing a temple, the workers slaughtered many cattle and sheep. They had just separated the meat and the hides when the master approached. It is said that with a snap of his fingers the beasts rose with a roar and disappeared into the sky. In his sixty-fourth year he passed away to benefit another realm.

Sonam Zangpo, who was his regent, ascended to the seat in his fifty-third year. He grounded [his teaching] in the *Magical Net* and the Great Perfection. But also, from about this time, the older treasures, including those of Nyang-rel [Nyima Özer] and Guru Chöwang, began to spread somewhat. In his sixty-third year he passed away to benefit another realm.

The regent Künga Bumpa protected the doctrine as before. Then Wangcuk Pelwa ascended to the seat during his thirty-eighth year.

Though some exegesis was given at this time, he emphasised meditative attainments above all, and dwelt in one-pointed contemplation. On one occasion the king of Jang mustered a great army [and prepared to sack the monastery].[882] The master's servant asked, "What shall we do in the face of this army?"

"Pour a lot of *tsampa* on me!" he replied.

When this was done, there was a great blizzard and the army withdrew. Later, [the king of Jang] bowed at the master's feet and offered a golden image of Śākyamuni, an ivory model of the temple at Vajrāsana, and the great spire which today is on top of the monastery. Wangcuk Pelwa withdrew from his physical body during his fifty-third year.

His regent, Lodrö Bumpa, ascended to the seat in his forty-third year. He had many disciples who attained accomplishment, such as Chusor Namkabum. In the period between [the greatness of] Ukpalung [the seat of] the Zurs, and [the rise of the later] monastic centres of the secret mantra tradition (*gsang-sngags-gling-rnams*)[883] the teaching became sparse, but this master propagated the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and others. So his legacy to the teaching in Central Tibet, Tsang and Kham was great. In his sixty-fifth year he passed away to benefit another realm.

The regent Lodrö Senge ascended to the seat in his thirty-sixth year. He grounded [his teaching] in the transmitted precepts of the ancient propagation, but from this time the treasure cycles were extensively promulgated as well. He passed away at sixty.

The regent Cangcup Lodrö continued the tradition of his predecessors and, in particular, expounded the *Four Sections of the Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul sde-bzhi*) and the *Array of the Path of the Magical Net*. He also greatly increased the congregations of renunciate meditators at the Ritsip and Partrö [hermitages]. His regent, Cangcup Senge, and his, Cangcup Gyeltsen, both greatly extended teaching, study and meditation on the transmitted precepts and treasures.

KHEDRUP YESHE GYELTSEN

[443.3-445.6] Cangcup Gyeltsen's disciple was Jñānaketu [Yeshe Gyeltsen], the learned and accomplished master of Pubor. There was a prophecy stating him to be the emanation of Jñānakumāra, the translator of Nyak; and he became learned in all the sequences of the path, according to the sūtras and mantras in general. In particular, he studied all the empowerments, exegeses, and means for attainment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and of the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Magical Net* under the great learned and accomplished master Trao Chöbum. Moktön Dorje Pelzang, in turn, received the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* from this guru; and from him it was received by

the great spiritual warrior Dorje Namgyel of Tarlung. From his lineage the renowned Kham tradition of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* (*dgongs-'dus khams-lugs*) descended to Central Tibet, as explained below.[884]

Khedrup Yeshe Gyeltsen reclarified the root text and commentaries of the *Secret Nucleus*, the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, and the root texts of the three traditions of the Great Perfection – those of the Mental, Spatial, and Esoteric Instructional Classes, respectively – until they shone like the sun. And he spread the teachings all-pervasively by means of exegesis and attainment.

He composed a great many treatises: the *Commentary on the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities [of the Magical Net]* and the *Commentary on Vajrakīla according to the Transmitted Precepts* (*zhi-khro-dang phur-ba bka'-ma'i 'grel-pa*); a commentary, outline and synopsis of the *Secret Nucleus* (*gsang-ba snying-po-la 'grel-pa/sa-bcad/bsdus-don*); the *Commentary and Annotations on the Array of the Path of the Magical Net* (*lam rnam-bkod-la ṭī-kā-dang mchan-bu*); *Annotations on the Parkap Commentary and the Innermost Point* (*spar-khab-dang thugs-thig-la mchan-bu*); the *Commentary on the Clarification of Commitments entitled the Clear Mirror* (*dam-tshig gsal-bkra-la 'grel-pa gsal-ba'i me-long*); the *Text on the Means for Assuming the Mudrā of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities* (*zhi-khro'i phyag-rgya bcings-thabs-kyi yi-ge*); the *Commentary on Tampa Rinpoche's General Exposition of the Vehicles* (*dam-pa rin-po-che'i theg-pa spyi-bcing-gi 'grel-pa*); and the *Detailed Exposition of the Feast Offering* (*tshogs-kyi 'khor-lo'i rnam-bshad*); to name but a few.

Yeshe Gyeltsen produced many learned students who attained accomplishment, such as Khawa Karpowa Namka Gyamtso, Künga Dawa, Chokme Cangsem, and Laptön Namka Rincen. Among them, Khawa Karpowa composed a general dissertation, outline, and synopsis on the *Secret Nucleus* (*gsang-snying spyi-don-dang/sa-bcad/bsdus-don*); a *Commentary on the Array of the Path of the Magical Net* (*lam rnam-bkod-la ṭī-kā*); and so forth.

At the end of his life this great learned and accomplished master remained at the hermitage of Phaktso, diligently striving only for attainment. He benefitted innumerable disciples from as far away as Pubor, Khawa Karpo[885] and Jang. He also received a prophecy from the ḍākinī Mahākarmeṇḍrāṇi: "Departing from this life in your sixty-fourth year you will extensively benefit living creatures in the northern direction. Then, in Sukhāvatī Buddha-field, as the bodhisattva Sukhāṅkuśa (*bde-ba'i myu-gu*) you will purify [the universe] into buddha-fields; and then during a pure aeon called 'Array of Attributes' you will attain buddhahood as Sukhasāra (*bde-ba'i snying-po*)."

There are inconceivable stories of Yeshe Gyeltsen's learning and accomplishment. He had visions of hosts of buddhas and bodhisattvas and could hang his robes on the rays of the sun, even in the presence of common folk.

THE LINEAGES OF KATOK

[445.5-449.1] The so-called "thirteen generations of the gurus of Katok", of whom Yeshe Gyeltsen was the last, were successive emanations of the Lords of the Three Families [Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi]. They maintained [the seat] by means of the exegesis and attainment associated with the teaching of the Ancient Translation School.

Again, there were the disciples of Tampa Deshek who were renowned as the "three from Gyelmorong who just had to listen". These were Sherap Gyeltsen, Sherap Pelwa, and Sherap Dorje. The three had acute minds and were certainly fit to be taught in an instant. Just by hearing the sound of Tampa Rinpoche's voice as he taught the doctrine they became lords among accomplished masters, who reached the profoundest depths of all doctrines. So it is that from that time, when those three spread the teaching in the eastern district of Gyelmorong, until the present day, this precious teaching has not declined.

Moreover, there were the four supreme students of Katok Tampa Deshek who were renowned as the "four sons who were prophesied". Among them, Drutsagangpa was famed for having founded one hundred and eight places of retreat throughout the region from the three districts of Pum, Rong and Zhak all the way to Khawa Karpo; and his legacy as one who spread the teaching profusely was great. Tsade Ce-nga Namka Dorje founded the monastery of Konjo Tsade. Through his students Trung Thuje Yeshe, Tönpa Wangjor and others, the cycles of the *Magical Net* and the Great Perfection came to Central Tibet, where they became known as the "Kham tradition". Moktön Jampel Senge built a monastery in the Dri region and vastly benefitted the teaching and living creatures. From him there originated the lineage renowned as the "thirteen generations of accomplished masters in the line of Mok". Finally, the accomplished master Maṇi Rincen was recognised by Guru Chöki Wangcuk to be the fundamental master of the doctrine of the *Quintessential Gathering of the Great Compassionate One* (*thugs-rje chen-po yang-snying 'dus-pa*). At Katok, Chöki Wangcuk made a prophetic declaration that he should become a mantrin and that his own daughter Kündrölbum and Maṇi Rincen should live together; but the auspicious opportunity was lost because Maṇi Rincen would not transgress the discipline of a renunciate. Even so, as soon as he had finished building the reliquaries of the three superiors (*gong-ma gsum*)[886] and other acts of service, he flapped his robes like wings and flew like a bird into the sky, landing on the summit of the mountain opposite. He also left a footprint there. Then he dwelt in Rakcok, where, after not very long, his body vanished in a mass of light.

Following the "thirteen generations of gurus" there were the "thirteen generations of Trung",[887] who successively maintained the teaching of

the transmitted precepts and treasures. In the time of the aforementioned "generations of gurus" the teaching was so widely propagated that there were as many as one hundred and eighty thousand monks [affiliated with Katok]. There was also a dialectical college and a course of study. Academies, retreat centres and so forth were developed separately. In short, both the exegesis and attainment of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School became widespread throughout the area from Gyelmorong in the east, Tshawarong and Mön in the south, and Kongpo in the west, all the way up to Central Tibet and Tsang. Therefore, when, during that intervening period, the teachings of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, the *Mental Class* and so on had become rare in Central Tibet and Tsang, it was this tradition that kept them alive. And up to the present it has maintained, without interruption, the stream of empowerment, the exegetical tradition, the continuity of esoteric instruction, and the lineage of transmission.

Again, there is one tradition according to which this river of empowerments, transmissions, and esoteric instructions of both the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Magical Net* also descended in a lineage from Tampa Deshek, Tsangtönpa, and Campabum, through:

Tsade Ce-ngawa Namka Dorje;
Trung Thuje Yeshe;
Tönpa Wangjor;
the venerable Pelbarwa Namka Dorje;
Tönpa Göngyel;
Yangtrö Tshültrim Gyeltsen;
Trao Chöki Bumpa;
Puborwa Khedrup Yeshe Gyeltsen;
Zhakla Khedrup Yeshe Bumpa;
Mön Katokpa Sonam Gyeltsen;
Katokpa Namdröl Zangpo;
Katokpa Chöki Senge; and
Lhadrowa Chöki Wangpo.

From this last mentioned the lineage gradually descended to the venerable Menlun gpa Locok Dorje, whence it has continued without interruption until today.

7 *Miscellaneous Lineages of the Zur and Kham Traditions*

THE EMPOWERMENT OF THE *SŪTRA WHICH GATHERS ALL INTENTIONS* IN KHAM

[449.1-452.4] Moreover, concerning that which is called the "Kham tradition" of the empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*: During that aforementioned intervening period, Drölcen Samdrup Dorje conferred this empowerment on both Zur Śākya Jungne of Yang-en and his sister, and the lineage passed to the latter. Her name was Zurmo Gendünbum. In reality, she was a natural yoginī, who from her youth onwards was dignified, even in appearance, and free from the defects of saṃsāra. Training herself in the three aspects of creation and perfection, she attained their limits, realised the abiding nature of reality, and mastered many approaches to contemplation. Thus she became a great learned and accomplished woman. Living in the hermitage of Tsegyel in lower Nyang, she acted on behalf of living creatures. It was she who conferred the empowerment on Zurtön Śākya Shenyen of Yang-en Sangakling. He empowered Trao Chöbum, the learned and accomplished master of Katok. The latter empowered Shenyen Köncok Zangpo, who, in turn, empowered Katokpa Moktön Dorje Pelzangpo.

This Dorje Pelzangpo composed the *Empowerment Ceremony entitled the River of Honey* (*dbang-chog sbrang-rtsi'i chu-rgyun*), which he based on the empowerment ritual of the Len tradition, where the various stages [of empowerment] were properly arranged, and then adorned with the practical techniques of Gö Tsilungpa and the ceremonial arrangements of Trotön Pelden-tra. Moreover, he combined in it the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Magical Net* and the special transmitted precepts of the Mental Class known as the *Eighteen Significations of the Syllable* A (*sems-sde* A-*don bco-brgyad-kyi sgos-bka'*). This author, Dorje Pelzangpo, was renowned as an awareness-holder who had attained the level of deathlessness, so he was certainly a supreme, holy individual. Above and beyond that, his work was composed at the behest of many incomparable spiritual benefactors. Therefore, it was

invaluable, and became the source for the empowerments of the "fifteen ordinary sacraments" (*sgrub-rdzas thun-mong bco-lnga'i dbang*),[888] which had been left out of the *Ceremonial Arrangements of Nyelpa* (*gnyal-ba'i chog-khrigs*). He also revived the transmission of the three profound empowerments of the peaceful deities of the *Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul zhi-ba'i zab-dbang-gsum*) which had been lost in Central Tibet and Tsang during this intervening period, but which had been preserved here in the Katok tradition. Because he also maintained the continuous lineage of empowerment for the *Eighteen Significations of the Syllable* A in the Mental Class, he became a most beneficial gateway to the continuity of the teaching.

The empowerment was transmitted from Moktön Dorje Pelzangpo through:

Dorje Namgyel, the bodhisattva of Tarlung;
Khyungtsangpa Trhüzhi Lodrö Pelden;
Pangtön Karma Guru;
Künzang Peljor, the holder of mantras;
Sangdak Trhinle Lhündrup; and
Taktön Chögyel Tendzin.

From this last mentioned the river which had flowed through the Kham tradition descended to the great treasure-finder, the king of the doctrine, [Rikdzin] Gyurme Dorje.

THE LINEAGE OF ROK SHERAP-O

Again, Rok Sherap-ö also greatly propagated the exegetical transmissions of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Magical Net*. This Sherap-ö first studied the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class* according to the So tradition under Roktön Tsenpo. He also studied the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Magical Net* according to the Kyo tradition under Lhapdrema Kongpa. Lhap had received the Zur tradition of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Magical Net* from master Yamcö Ngödrup, who belonged to the Zur lineage. Also, Dropukpa's disciple Nuptön taught them to Kharak Nyingpo, who taught them to Yamshü. Kharak Nyingpo, moreover, taught his own son, Pemabar, who instructed Rok Sherap-ö [as did Yamshü]. Furthermore, under So Tarma Senge, Rok studied an ancient tradition of teaching using an annotated commentary called the *Profusely Annotated Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul mchan-mang*). He also received a lineage derived from Len Śākya Zangpo of Chuwar and another derived from Nyangnak Dopa, who was a student of Lharje Nyariwa. In short, this guru Rok studied many different traditions.

Rok composed the *Lecture Notes on the Ground, Path and Result according to the Magical Net* (*sgyu-'phrul gzhi-lam-'bras-gsum stong-thun*) and a *Commentary on the Array of the Path of the Magical Net* (*lam-rnam-bkod-kyi ṭīkā*). He granted teaching to one known as the "All-Seeing of Nyemdo", who, in turn, composed *Detailed Annotations on the Commentary on the Secret Nucleus and the Array of the Path of the Magical Net* (*snying-ṭīk-dang lam-rnam-bkod-la mchan-bu*). He also greatly propagated the empowerment and exegesis of this tantra among the descendants of Rok.

THE LINEAGE OF YATÖ ZURPA

Similarly, in Tsangtön Mangkar a succession known as the "Yatö Zurpa" emerged, which was well practised in exegesis and attainment. That lineage spread like fire throughout the southern and northern districts of Latö. In the north a few explanations were given by Metön Jungne-ö, Nartön Senge-ö, Yönten Wangcuk of Catarlamo and others; and an exegesis of the *Magical Net* was continued in the succession at Tenpak as well, where the conqueror Longcenpa studied it.

8 *Rongzom Chöki Zangpo*

[452.4-465.1] Chöki Zangpo of Rong,[889] who was renowned as the supreme *mahāpaṇḍita* of [Tibet], the land of snow mountains, took birth in Narlung-rong, a subdistrict of Rulak in lower Tsang. [In order for him to do so,] the rite of the five awakenings of the causal phase[890] was first performed by [his father] Rongben Rincen Tshültrim, the son of Rongben Pelgi Rinpoche. Consequently, [during his lifetime] he was to demonstrate an enlightenment exemplifying five excellences: Dignāga's discriminative awareness, Vasubandhu's learning, Candragomin's expressive style, Dharmakīrti's analytical acumen, and master Āryaśūra's poetic composition.

It is said that Rongzompa was the immediate reincarnation of a paṇḍita called master Smṛtijñānakīrti, who had come [to Tibet] towards the end of the early propagation of the teaching. In the province of Dokam he corrected the translations of some of the tantras, and translated commentaries on the way of secret mantra, including the *Commentary on the Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī* (*Tha-ga-na'i mtshan-brjod-kyi 'grel-pa,* T 2538) by Thagana, and many means for attainment, such as that of *Esoteric Mañjuśrī.* He also composed some treatises on grammar. Later, he passed into nirvāṇa [while still in Tibet]. But in the lineage of the *Anthologised Sūtras* (*mdo-mang*, T 846-1108), [a section] of the *Kangyur*, Rongzompa follows immediately after Smṛtijñānakīrti, a point which requires consideration [for it would be impossible for one to be the immediate reincarnation of the other if they were master and disciple]. Still, others maintain that a paṇḍita called Ācārya Trhalaringmo came to Kham, and that there he translated and taught the *Extensive Commentary on the Guhyasamāja Tantra* (*gsang-ba 'dus-pa rgya-cher 'grel-pa*) and so forth. When he passed away he reportedly reincarnated [as Rongzompa].

From his youth Rongzompa spontaneously possessed great discriminative awareness, and so studied under Gartön Tshültrim Zangpo in lower Nyang. Once, when his father came to bring him provisions, his fellow students said, "This son of yours has a wild disposition. As

we have grown tired of his noisy chattering, it would be best to take him away now." The father asked the master whether he should take the boy away as they had suggested, but the great Gartön replied, "Do not speak of it. He already understands the entire doctrine!"



Rongzom Chöki Zangpo

In his eleventh year Rongzompa studied the dialectical philosophy. Between teaching sessions he used to repeat all his master's words even in the children's playground. Because he mastered all doctrines after hearing them just once, without mistaking even a single word, he became known as an emanation of Mañjuśrī. When he was in his thirteenth year he seemed to have completed his studies and to have become free from ignorance with respect to all that can be known.

He himself was to say, "My learning was not insignificant: There was no doctrine I did not study. But neither were my studies great, for I did not need to review any doctrine more than once."

This great man's discriminative awareness was both quick and profound. It is said that because he possessed vast and taintless brilliance that was supremely wholesome, he obtained infallible retention, keeping in his mind all the words and meanings of all the difficult Indian texts

– sūtras, tantras, and treatises – which he had not previously seen, having perused them only once or twice. From the very outset and without great efforts, he was free from ignorance with respect to Sanskrit and many other languages as well. And because his intellect, unobstructed in all the inner and outer sciences and scriptures, was like a sharp thorn, he was vastly superior to others in indicating subtle distinctions, even in Tibetan, whereby a given word might apply to a given shade of meaning.

Rongzompa knew the significance of many, extensive textual systems teaching such sciences as those of the logical treatises, aphoristic verses, poetics and so forth, without referring merely to [a single authority, for instance,] the treatise of Daṇḍin [the *Mirror of Poetics*].[891] In childhood he delighted in the company of every Indian master, and comprehended their statements. Thus, he found no difficulty in learning [to read] a volume in the Vivarta script,[892] just by glancing over it. It is said that he even learned the languages and sounds of animals. He also composed many commentaries and treatises like [his commentary on] the *Gateway to Language* (*smra-sgo mtshon-cha*). With inconceivable intellectual power he was endowed with a profound intention to serve all men devoted to the doctrine and religious persons in general, and, in particular, those who had entered into the vehicle of indestructible reality and who desired to attain the rites and accomplishments of the secret mantra. So it was that he earnestly advised them with infallible instruction, and thus served them. Since he was endowed with some of the supernormal cognitive powers, he knew the right times and situations for training sentient beings, and so changed the attitudes of most living creatures. In order to turn those who entered the doctrine away from its opponents, well-prepared and methodical treatises would flow forth from his lotus mouth. And he never regretted giving this aid.

Abandoning avarice, Rongzompa renounced possessions for, and tolerated the incompetence of, ordinary persons whose minds were not inclined to the doctrine.[893] Making them the objects of his compassion, he established them in happiness and peace. He cherished sacred matters and meditative resolve like wish-fulfilling gems, or vital forces; and he inspired others to follow suit.

While composing [works concerning] the true doctrine, Rongzompa did not have to hesitate in order to collect and study source-books or make other such investigations, for the eight great treasures of brilliance were liberated [within him], whereby he could penetrate the words and meanings of the doctrine without impediment. Since all his treatises are refined in meaning, verbally refined and of unadulterated expressive style,[894] they are in harmony with the mysteries of the speech of the Teacher, the great Sage. For this reason, others who are known for their learning cannot refute them. It is said that individuals in the lineage of those who have studied his esoteric instructions concerning

the way of secret mantra cannot but receive his blessing by following [the texts] literally, even if they have not obtained the transmissions.

When the master Atiśa met this great being, he declared him to be infallible, saying, "This master is, in fact, the deceased master Kṛṣṇācārin of India. How could I be able to discuss the doctrine with him?"

In general, it was said [of him]:

> In Vinaya, Tshurtön Yige was learned.
> In correct ritual practice, Yedrak was skilled.
> Rongpa was learned in grammar and logic.
> But father Chödrak himself gathered all![895]

While, generally speaking, Rongzompa continued unbroken lineages of the sūtra and mantra traditions derived from many gurus, in particular, [he figures in many lineages of] the doctrinal cycles of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School, for example:

(i) The lineage of the instructions of the great master Padmasambhava [passed from that master through]:

> Nanam Dorje Düjom;
> Kharcen Pelgi Wangcuk;
> Tom Atsara Pel Metok;
> Dra Dorje Zhönu;
> Zhangzhang Yönten-tra;
> Rongben Yönten; and
> Rongben Tshültrim Rinpoche [Rongzompa's father].

Rongzompa received them from this last figure in the lineage.

(ii) The lineage of Vairocana's esoteric instructions [which passed from that master through]:

> Yudra Nyingpo;
> Lacen Gongpa Rapsel;
> Trum Shinglakcen;
> Nup Paten; and
> Yazi Pöntön.

The latter expounded them to the all-knowing Rongzompa. This is one lineage of the Mental Class.

(iii) There was also an accomplished individual in Longtang Drölma named Aro Yeshe Jungne.[896] He possessed both the instructions of seven successive masters of India and those of seven successive masters of China. [From him the lineage was transmitted through:]

> Cokro Zangkar Dzökur;
> Yazi Pöntön;[897] to
> Rongzompa.

This is called the Kham tradition of the Great Perfection.

(iv) Again, there were the esoteric instructions given by Vimalamitra to Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo, and those which he taught to Ma Rincenchok and Nyak Jñānakumāra. Both were transmitted through Khu Cangcup-ö to Khyungpo Yik-ö, and by stages came down to Rongzompa.

Thus, Rongzompa was an unrivalled master of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School of the secret mantra, in whom was found one of the fountain-heads of the teaching.

At the beginning of this master's *Commentary on the Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* (*gsang-snying 'grel-pa*) it says:

> The nature of the Three Precious Jewels
> Is enlightened mind.

For this reason it is called the *Precious Jewel Commentary* (*dkon-mchog 'grel*). The commentary by the great, all-knowing Longcenpa, entitled *Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions*, clearly elucidates [the *Secret Nucleus*], commenting on it according to the tradition of the king of vehicles [Atiyoga]. On the other hand, this commentary by the all-knowing Rongzompa appears like a great chest that is sealed tight, vastly commenting on the expanse [of reality]. Knowing that these two are the main Tibetan commentaries [on the *Secret Nucleus*] provides the intellect with [the potential for] great power.

When Rongzompa was young, while studying the teachings of the Ancient Translation School under one Dotön Senge, he once dreamed that he was eating a porridge he had prepared of the *Secret Nucleus*, with a vegetable broth made of the *Buddhasamāyoga*. He told this to his master, who said, "How wonderful! It is a sign that you have completely internalised those doctrines. You should compose a commentary on each."

Therefore, to fulfil his guru's intention, Rongzompa composed three esoteric instructions based on the three precious trainings. These are the *Extensive Sūtra of the Commitments*, which gives definitive expression to the training of superior moral discipline; the *Four Modes and Fifteen Aspects Commentary* (*'grel-pa tshul-bzhi yan-lag bco-lnga-pa*), which sets forth the training of superior contemplation; and the *Commentary on the Buddhasamāyoga* (*mnyam-sbyor-gyi 'grel-pa*), which consists of esoteric instructions on the view and meditation of the Great Perfection, and which teaches the training of superior discriminative awareness.

Similarly, he composed many commentaries and esoteric instructions, such as those on the *Tantra of the Purification of All Evil Destinies* (*Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, T 483), and on the *Bhairava Tantra*. Among them are texts that are inexpressibly profound, and of vast significance, such as the *Introduction to the Way of the Greater Vehicle* (*theg-pa chen-po'i tshul-la 'jug-pa*), and so forth. In short, Rongzompa made the abode of omniscience his own; for, with respect to the different

sūtras, tantras, and treatises, he mastered all those which are knowable. He even went so far as to write treatises on such worldly occupations as agriculture, animal husbandry, and dairy farming.

Therefore, when at first all the scholars of the four Tibetan provinces assembled with the intention of debating him, it was an occasion for Rongzompa to prune the vines of their brilliance and to flatten the cobra's hood of their pride. So it was that all those scholars, including Yangkye Lama of Shap, Marpa Topa, Uyukpa Datön, Dö Khyungpo Hūṃ-nying, Setrom Gyamtsobar, Tshamtön Koca, Pangka Tarcung, Gö Lhetse, and Gya Gyeltsül had thought to refute Rongzompa by criticising his treatises as being merely the inventions of a native Tibetan. But when they confronted the great man in person they found that he adhered to the scriptural authorities, could bear logical examination, and that he contradicted neither syllogistic proof nor the teachings of their gurus. Thus, he refuted them through the brilliance of his intellect, which was free from all the verbal and substantial faults asserted by his opponents. As they inspected each of his treatises and savoured its meaning, they were all astonished; and every one of them honoured him and made him their guru. So it is said.

So too, the translator of Korup, a monk named Chöki Sherap, who had the guise of one who was much learned, also slandered Rongzompa at first. But on seeing the volume entitled *Introduction to the Way of the Greater Vehicle*, which Rongzompa had composed, he felt great respect. Finally, he honoured Rongzompa with many presents, confessed his fault, and prayed to be accepted as a disciple. Then he studied the *Secret Tantra of [Wrathful] Mañjuśrī*, and many other doctrines.

During his discourses on that *Secret Tantra*, the great paṇḍita declared, "If we had a Sanskrit manuscript, [the tantra] would read like this, but since there is none, we cannot now correct it."

Korup Lotsāwa retained his words and later obtained a Sanskrit manuscript from a paṇḍita called lord Kṛṣṇa, which he studied under him. He found it agreed with the words of Rongzom Paṇḍita and felt great devotion. It is said that he offered to Rongzompa the Sanskrit manuscript which Kṛṣṇapā had provided, and studied it once more under him. In the same way, many translators such as Marpa Chöki Wangcuk[898] and intellectuals who were renowned for their learning bowed before his feet.

Rongzompa adhered to many paṇḍitas including the Indian preceptors Mañjuśrīvarman, Mañjuśrījñāna, Upāyaśrīmitra, Buddhākarabhadra, Devākaracandra, Parameśvara, and Amoghavajra. He acted as their interpreter and translated many texts, including the *Vajrabhairava Tantra*, the tantra of *Black Yamāri*, the *Esoteric Mañjuśrī*,[899] and the *Root Tantra of Cakrasaṃvara*. They are most excellent translations and are thus worthy exemplars of the new translation schools. All of Rongzompa's Indian paṇḍitas used to say to him, "Dharmabhadra!

You should compose many doctrines and protect many living creatures. Not to mention your other attributes, in India men compose without having a third of your knowledge of grammar and logic. So, why don't you write?"

Though endowed with such perfect attributes, Rongzompa persevered in reducing pride and smothering arrogance. If we consider the accounts of his liberated accomplishments, there are many concerning, for example, how he crossed the mirror-like surface of a great cliff through magical abilities, or how he pierced rock with his kīla, flew into the sky, and possessed supernormal cognitive powers, through which he comprehended the domains and conduct of most Tibetan gods and demons. So it was that this great paṇḍita, such an undisputed emanation, was manifestly praised and venerated by all the scholars who lived during his age. He lived for one hundred and nineteen years and is said to have passed away without physical illness. Even the great Gö Lotsāwa [Zhönupel] has praised him saying, "In this snowland of Tibet no scholar has appeared who has been his equal."[900] This is universally known.

Among the students who followed him, there were two lineages: the lineage of his sons, and that of his disciples. First, the lineage which issued from his two sons, Zijibar and Bumbar, lasted for a long time, and everyone who appeared in it attained accomplishment through the practice of Vajrakīla. In the lineage of his disciples, there were seventeen great translators including Korup Lotsāwa, Marpa Topa, and Gö [Khukpa Lhetse]; thirty-five great accomplished masters including Yak Dorje Dzinpa; one hundred and eighty great meditators, masters of yoga, including the venerable Khurbupa, the brother of Macik Zhama;[901] and about five hundred others who upheld the umbrella of his doctrine, including Dorje Wangcuk, the layman of Yölcak, and Yangkye Lama.

9 *The Traditions of Vajrakīla*

THE TRANSMISSIONS OF VAJRAKĪLA

[465.1-475.3] As has already been described, the foremost meditational deities of the ancient masters were Yangdak Heruka and Vajrakīla. Since [the tradition of] the *Yangdak* cycle is already known [pp. 617-45], the propagation of Vajrakīla [will now be discussed].[902] There are, indeed, many different versions [of the means for the attainment of Vajrakīla] to be found among the lineages descended from Padmasambhava, the preceptor of Oḍḍiyāna. They include the *King's Tradition of Vajrakīla (phur-pa rgyal-po lugs)*, the *Venerable Lady's Tradition (jo-mo lugs)*, the *Royal Lady's Tradition (lcam-lugs)*, also, the *Nanam* or *Rong Tradition (sna-nam-mam rong-lugs)*, and the *Black Deity (lha-nag)* and *Variegated Deity (lha-khra)*, these [last two] taking their names from the colour of the deities' bodies. Though all of these traditions have the same essential nature, they are known as this or that by their distinctive esoteric instructions and by the descent of their particular transmitted precepts.

(i) Concerning the *King's Tradition*: After the great master [Padmasambhava] had consecrated Samye he is said to have granted [the Vajrakīla teachings] to three persons, namely, King Trhisong Detsen, the venerable lady Kharcenza [Yeshe Tshogyel], and Cendrenpa.

(ii) Concerning the *Venerable Lady's Tradition*: At the time of his departure from Tibet, the master Padmasambhava taught the venerable lady Kharcenza the concise and complete *Root Fragment of Vajrakīla*, the higher rites of which essentially subsume the means for the attainment of enlightenment, and the lower rites of which essentially subsume the integration of sorcery with the path. Then, in the rock cavern of Naring Sengedzong in Mönka [present-day Bhutan], in the south, she opened up the maṇḍala of material symbols and entered into practice.[903] On the twenty-first day all the kīlas [of which the material maṇḍala was composed] laughed, emitted light, and began to jump and shake. The venerable lady thought to herself, "It is said, *If kīla be accomplished,*

perform the ritual stab... But in fact, I have no object to stab. Oh well, I shall stab the *zandre* demon of my ancestors."[904] So thinking, the venerable lady rotated the kīla of ritual service. It vanished into the sky and crashed down onto a barberry bush behind her ancestral home, this being the abode of the *zandre* demon of her ancestors. The barberry bush was burnt to a crisp and the *zandre* was "liberated" in the spatial expanse of equanimity.

Afterwards, the descendants of that venerable lady's family kept the kīla. Because it sufficed just to brandish it, the lineage became renowned as "Kharcenza's *zandre*-subduing lineage". The venerable lady expounded this doctrine to her own brother, Kharcen Pelgi Wangcuk, and it was gradually propagated.

(iii) Concerning the *Royal Lady's Tradition*: Cokroza met master Padmasambhava in person, but she requested empowerment from the meditational deity and not from the guru. Therefore, the deity vanished into the guru's heart and she lost the good fortune of receiving empowerment.[905] But the venerable lady Yeshe Tshogyel transmitted it to



Yeshe Tshogyel

Cokroza, with the permission of Padmasambhava, and another lineage thence sprang forth.

(iv) Again, there is the *Nanam Tradition*: This is simply the tradition of the lineage of the great Rongzompa, which has just been explained above. Concerning it, some say that the grandfather of the great Rongzompa, Rongben Yönten Rincen, or Pelgi Rincen, met master Padmasambhava in person, and lived for three hundred years. He taught his son, the father of Rongzom Paṇḍita, who was named Rincen Tshültrim and lived for one hundred and fifty years. From him the lineage known as the *Rong Tradition* emerged.

(v) Concerning the *Black Deity Vajrakīla*: Padmasambhava of Oḍḍiyāna and his consort both instructed Dre Atsara Sale. He taught Langlap Cangcup Dorje, from whom the lineage gradually descended to one Kurup Yangdak of Yamdrok, who made all the deities [of the maṇḍala] black on the basis of the *Nirvāṇa Tantra of Vajrakīla* (*phur-pa mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i rgyud*, NGB Vol.28). Hence the name [of this tradition].

If this account indeed refers to Atsara Sale, the lineage could not have been direct because there was a great span of time between him and Langlap. However, there was also a certain Dre Atsara Nuru who is said to have attained the accomplishment of longevity. Despite the difference of their names, there is little contradiction [if these two are identified as one and the same].

When the precious lama Phakpa was unable to find a continuous lineage for the "liberating" empowerment of the lower rite (*smad-las sgrol-dbang*), he searched for it saying that he would request it even from a beggar. He heard that there was one Atsara Nuru who had been a personal disciple of Yeshe Tshogyel, and who, having become an awareness-holder controlling the duration of his own life, wandered about with no certain destination in such places as Śītavana. At that, the precious Phakpa sent much gold with Lowo Lotsāwa and thus obtained the continuous lineage of the "liberating" empowerment. So it is said.

(vi) Concerning the *Sakya Tradition of Vajrakīla* (*phur-pa sa-lugs*):[906] This lineage was transmitted in a succession beginning with Khön Lüiwangpo, a disciple of the great master Padmasambhava. An unbroken lineage was well known in both the doctrinal and familial lines of the Sakyapa, hence the name [of this tradition].

(vii) Moreover, the *Perfect Practice of Vajrakīla* based on the *Secret Tantra of Vajrakīla* (*phur-ba gsang-rgyud*, NGB Vol.27), the *Six Secret Tantras* (*gsang-ba'i rgyud drug*, NGB Vols. 28-9), and the *Blue-skirted One's Cycle*, which was abridged from the *Twelve-Section Kīlaya Tantra* (*ki-la-ya tantra bcu-gnyis*, NGB Vol.19), were transmitted in the lineage of Nyak Jñānakumāra, which has been described above [pp. 601-6].

LANGLAP CANGCUP DORJE AND OTHER MASTERS OF VAJRAKĪLA

There were an inconceivable number of individuals who obtained manifest signs of accomplishment from this meditational deity, so it will not be possible to mention them all. None the less, there was one in particular, called Langlap Cangcup Dorje. During his childhood he was separated from his parents, and, like the venerable Milarepa, suffered greatly at the hands of his paternal relations. This was unbearable to Dre Atsara, who gave him a cycle that was profound and to the point, derived from the esoteric instructions of *Vajrakīla*. Langlap practised it and thereby put an end to his paternal family. Although the great fame he achieved in this way increased, he had to live as a shepherd in Khore, for he lacked the fruit of generosity practised in past lives. At the same time, there was one spiritual benefactor, Ra Lotsāwa, whose dominion and fortune were quite vast.[907] Many of the great gurus and noblemen of Tibet, powerless to do otherwise, had to prostrate before him. It is said that if they did not comply Ra Lotsāwa would "liberate" them with the wrathful mantras of Yamāntaka.

About that [wrathful teaching of his]: A whole clay barrel, containing a *Yamāntaka* cycle, had been discovered as treasure by one Tumpa Gya Zhangtrom.[908] Having copied out about half of the *Lord of Life, Evil and Mean-hearted* (*tshe-bdag sdig-pa snying-'dzings*), he went before Ra Lotsāwa, who appended [that teaching] to his own *Yamāntaka* cycle and invented an Indian origin, with the pretense that he had translated it [from Sanskrit]. Similarly, from among the many treasure troves of Bumthang, he discovered numerous esoteric instructions concerning sorcery, exorcism, and hail, Vaiśravaṇa, Jambhala, Gaṇapati, and so forth. So it was that the *Yamāntaka* cycle of the new translation schools came to have many efficacious rites.

When that mantra preceptor [Ra Lotsāwa], who had "liberated" thirteen bodhisattvas, including Marpa's son Tarma Dode,[909] and thirteen translators who were his own equals, including Nyen Lotsāwa, arrived at a religious festival in Khore, Langlap Cangcup Dorje did not prostrate before him. Ra Lotsāwa thought that he was just a fool, but on hearing a description of him, said, "Very well! He will not live beyond this evening. Just wait!" He began to perform the wrathful rite, but during the first declaration of truth [for the purpose] of capturing and summoning [the consciousness of the victim] a shower of briarwood kīlas rained down on him and his disciples, wounding all the ordinary students outside.[910] During the second declaration a rain of iron kīlas fell from the maṇḍalas of the wrathful deities of the ten directions [with their retinues] including the Devourers and the Slaughterers (*za-gsod*).[911] And during the final declaration, Ra Lotsāwa saw the sky fill with fire and droning sounds, and there appeared the Indestructible Youth (*Vajrakumāra*), like a red-hot iron almost cleaving the mountains

in two, ravenously grimacing above him. At that, Ra Lotsāwa was terrified. He begged forgiveness and venerated Langlap with prostrations and offerings. This is the origin of the saying that, "The preceptor of Yamāntaka was ruined by Kīla."

It is said that while many obtained accomplishment through the higher rites of Vajrakīla, in the lower rites none revealed a more powerful force than did this Langlap Cangcup Dorje. His main disciples were Nanam Sherap Tshültrim, Kyi Kyangyel of Mongu, Trang Phurbugo of Rong,[912] and Nyang Nak of Uyuk Rölpo.

Among them, Kyi Kyangyel, who was also called Kyiben Cangcup Rincen, had his house, fields and wealth stolen by his paternal relations. He became exceedingly disgusted and requested the [empowerment of] Vajrakīla from Langlap, who said, "Perform the ritual service of the deity for nine months. Then practise the rites of the trio of Se, Cak, and Shel[913] for two months. Your aim will be achieved!"

Doing just that he reached the limits of power. Then, noticing many people in front of an earthen wall, warming themselves in the sun, he saw that all were his enemies. He brandished his kīla in the direction of the wall and the wall collapsed. All his enemies were thus set on the path of the hereafter. For this he became known as Kyi Kyangyel, "Kyi who Brought Down the Wall". All [of this lineage] possessed such occult power, so it will not be possible to write it all down here.

Again, this Vajrakīla tradition is famous for its utterly vast occult power. By brandishing the kīla at a brushfire in a sandalwood forest, the great master Padmasambhava restored the forest. By brandishing it at the flooding waters of the Ganges, Vimalamitra fixed the river's course. By brandishing it at Mount Trakar Kongcen, the Newar Śīlamañju made the rock-face crumble to pieces. By thrusting it at the tracks of a wolf, the venerable lady Kharcenza caused the wolf to be swept away in an avalanche. By raising it against the crow which had carried off his rosary, Menu Gyelwei Nyingpo made the bird fall to earth. And by inflicting it upon the yak-hair tents of the Mön army, Lo Pelgi Lodrö overpowered them. In these and other instances, these masters, thrusting the kīla at both enemies and obstacles, were invincible, even in the face of powerful magic. And by thrusting it inwardly at the five poisonous conflicting emotions, numberless masters obtained supreme accomplishment.

DARCARUPA AND THE TERMA TRADITION OF VAJRAKĪLA

Moreover, there is the tradition of the treasure, through which the manifest signs [of accomplishment] were exceedingly clear. The great master [Padmasambhava] conferred the empowerment, tantra and instructions [of Vajrakīla] on the king [Trhisong], and then secured it in

the form of a treasure, along with the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Utterly Secret Hayagrīva (rta-mgrin yang-gsang-gi chos-skor)*, at the rock of Sewalung in Yerpa. When Darcarupa, a lord among accomplished masters, performed the means for attainment in the upper cave of Como Nagyel he met the great master Padmasambhava in person, who said, "Practice in the Moon Cave (Dawa Phuk) at Yerpa!" He did accordingly. There, the great master arrived by horse on the rays of the sun every morning and taught the doctrine to him. Every evening he departed on the sun's rays, saying that he was off to tame the ogres. At that time Darcarupa discovered the kīla, which was a material symbol, at its place of concealment in Sewalung at Yerpa.

When Darcarupa went to Lhasa at market-time he devastated the bazaar with a whirlwind. Then he proceeded to Tsang and met Sakya Paṇḍita, who was on his way to Kyirong, and they stayed in the same house. Since Darca's speech was defective,[914] he counted the mantra, saying "OṂ VAJRAKYILI KYILAYA..." But Sakya Paṇḍita said, "That is wrong. One should say, 'VAJRAKĪLI KĪLAYA...!'"

At this, Darca's heart was swollen with pride. "Even though the mantra is wrong I can still do this!" he said, and forcefully jammed his kīla into a rock as if it were clay. When he pulled out the kīla with a twist, the point was slightly cracked. Sakya Paṇḍita knew him to be an accomplished master and said, "I am on my way to debate with some extremists. You must come as my assistant."

"Okay," he said, and they set out together.

When they reached Kyirong [it was decided that], in accord with the Indian custom, the banner of whichever doctrine prevailed would be raised aloft [i.e. the loser would embrace the victor's doctrine]. Sakya Paṇḍita and Haranandin engaged in the battle of debate for thirteen days, and finally Sakya Paṇḍita was victorious. None the less, Haranandin would not permit [the Indians] to enter the Buddhist teaching, saying, "Let us compete in signs of accomplishment!" At this, the extremist threw back his matted hair and, flapping his hands like wings, flew into the sky. Sakya Paṇḍita saw that he could only be tamed by the power of gnostic mantras and called out to Darca, "Hey! Vajrakyili Kyila! Get over here!"

At once the great lord of yoga stabbed his kīla into the heart of the extremist's shadow, exclaiming, "OṂ VAJRAKYILI KYILAYA HŪṂ PHAT!" and the extremist fell to earth like a bird struck by a stone. Then Sakya Paṇḍita, as a heroic sign of his victory in debate, led Haranandin along, so long as he still refused ordination. But since the great master Padmasambhava had ordered the Twelve Goddesses of the Earth to protect the doctrine in Tibet from extemists, they inflicted their punishment: At the Tibetan border near Kyirong the extremist vomited blood from his mouth and was sent down the fifth path.[915] Subsequently, upholders of the non-Buddhist philosophies were not to

be seen in Tibet. Some may well have arrived, but no one with the intellectual power capable of really disputing the Buddha's teaching.

Darca himself proceeded to Müse, where he enshrined his kīla as the center-piece of the temple's shrine. Thereafter, it changed hands several times and today is reported to be on display at Sera Monastery.[916]



Vajrakīla

10 *The Lineages of the Empowerment of the "Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions"*

[475.3-5] Again, there were some holy individuals who especially served the teachings associated with the three aspects of creation and perfection, and who stood in the successive lineage of the great empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions.*

After Drölcen Samdrup Dorje had empowered Zur Ham [Śākya Jungne] and his sister [pp. 700-1] two distinct lineages developed. Including the lineage of Drölcen's own son, there were thus three lineages altogether.

THE LINEAGE OF ZUR HAM ŚĀKYA JUNGNE

[475.5-477.4] At the seat of Yang-en, Nyibukpa Langdro Tshewang Gyelpo received the empowerment of the *Sūtra* from Zur Ham himself. From Nyibukpa, it was received in Chuwar by Lekpa Pelzang, the holder of the Nyibukpa lineage; and from him, Utsewa Jamyang Rincen Gyeltsen of Ngari received it. During the hare year (1497) in Lowo Matang in Ngari [present-day Mustang in Nepal] the latter empowered his own sons, the great paṇḍita [Ngari Pema Wangyel] and his brother, who both became lords among learned and accomplished masters.[917]

The younger brother, Rikdzin Lekdenje, in particular, was in his eighth year when he received the empowerment of the *Sūtra.* Because he lived for one hundred and thirteen years in all he benefitted the teaching and living creatures with the bountiful enlightened activity of his exegeses and attainments. At the behest of Jamyang Khyentse Wangcuk[918] and his nephew, he granted the empowerments of the four rivers of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* in their entirety, together with the seal of entrustment *(gtad-rgya),*[919] in the palace of Nyuk. At that same time, Kyitön Tshering Wangpo also received it; and he later gave the empowerment of the *Sūtra,* along with its seal of entrustment, at Pelkar in Samdruptse in Tsang.

On that occasion, the great guru Treshongpa Nyaktön Chögyel Dorje, who was a child at the time, was taken there by his father, Mang-rawa



Rikdzin Lekdenje

Pema Düdül; and so he received the complete [empowerment of the *Sūtra*] from Kyitön Tshering Wangpo. Later, at Kong-ra Lhündrupding, Treshongpa also received it from Locen Zhenpen Dorje, and at Thekcokling in Tsang from Namka Drukdra Zangpo, an adept of the Great Perfection, along with a congregation.[920] Treshongpa held Öselchok of Ngari, Kong-ra Locen, and Lhatsün Namka Jikme to be his three root gurus.[921] Relying on them and many other genuine gurus he became vastly learned. He was a great lord among accomplished masters, and his disposition was that of a celibate monk. At Shambhara in Rongmu he remained in strict retreat, but, under the pretext of conferring guidance on the *Black Further Innermost Spirituality* (*yang-tig nag-po*), he granted the empowerment of the *Sūtra*, together with the seal of entrustment, in a unique lineage to the great Menlungpa Nyangtön Locok Dorje [by instructing him] through a secret passageway.[922]

This Nyangtön Locok Dorje had previously received this empowerment in the maṇḍala constructed of coloured powders during the rites of great attainment from Locen Zhenpen Dorje as well; and he held

the latter to be his supreme root guru. In general, Nyangtön knew the sūtras, mantras, and sciences, but, in particular, he was learned in the treasure doctrines of Guru Chöwang.[923] He was honoured with the title of *ti-shih* by the supreme conqueror, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, and became the crown ornament [i.e. guru] of many learned and accomplished masters.[924]

Dorje Trak Rikdzin Pema Trhinle



Dorje Trak Rikdzin Pema Trhinle

[477.5-479.4] Nyangtön Locok Dorje elaborately bestowed the empowerment of the *Sūtra*, along with its seal of entrustment, esoteric instructions, and practical techniques, on Dorje Trak Rikdzin, a supreme emanation, who was a lord of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School. This holy individual was the emanation of Rikdzinje, the reincarnation of Nanam Dorje Düjom. He was born in 1641 (iron female snake year) at Namseling in Mönkar, as the son of the nobleman Karma Phüntsok Wangpo, who belonged to the Canak clan. Since he clearly remembered his past life as Cangpa Rikdzin Ngagiwangpo, he was invited to the seat of his predecessor during his sixth year.[925] Beginning with reading, writing, and the essential rites and means for attainment,

he easily learned the textual traditions. He offered a lock from the crown of his head to the supreme conqueror, the all-knowing Great Fifth Dalai Lama [i.e. he took the vows of refuge under him], and the name Künzang Pema Trhinle was conferred upon him. Later, he was fully ordained in the presence of the Dalai Lama and received many profound doctrines from him. In addition, he attended on many learned and accomplished gurus such as Zurcen Chöying Rangdröl and Gönpo Sonam Chokden; and he studied insatiably numberless doctrinal transmissions under them, including the empowerments, guidance, exegeses, transmissions, and esoteric instructions of the ancient and new traditions.

Pema Trhinle established [the meaning of all he had studied through discriminative awareness] born of thought, and his learning grew without obstruction. At Dra Yangdzong, Chuwori, his seat at Dorje Trak, and elsewhere, he cultivated practical experience through discriminative awareness born of meditation. So it was that he obtained stability in the stage of creation and mastery of the pristine cognition of the stage of perfection. Thus, he became a great learned and accomplished master. His enlightened activity, endowed with knowledge, love and power, never strayed from the three spheres of exegesis, attainment and work.

In particular, inspired by the command of the supreme conqueror, the all-knowing Great Fifth, he composed the work entitled *Embarking on the Ocean of Maṇḍalas: The Empowerment Ceremonies of the Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* (*'dus-pa mdo'i dbang-chog dkyil-'khor rgya-mtsho'i 'jug-ngogs*); and he conferred the empowerment of the *Sūtra* on numerous occasions. Thus, he greatly advanced the teaching of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*.

Pema Trhinle continued to work extensively on behalf of the teaching and living creatures through to his seventy-seventh year. His written works, in about thirteen volumes, have had a most remedial effect on the teachings of both the transmitted precepts and the treasures.

THE LINEAGE OF ZUR HAM'S SISTER, ZURMO

[479.4-5] This is the Kham tradition, which has already been described following the section on Katok [pp. 700-1].

THE LINEAGE OF THE SON, SANGYE RINCEN

Zhangtön Namka Dorje

[479.5-480.6] Drölcen Samdrup Dorje's son, Sangye Rincen, transmitted the lineage to Zhangtön Namka Dorje. He was a learned student

who completed his studies under both Drölcen and his son. In the biography,[926] it says:

> At the funeral service for Jamyang Samdrup Dorje, the major disciples who were invited included about fourteen monks who performed the ceremonies, headed by the gurus who were supreme even among the major disciples. At that time [they included] Lama Zurcenpa, Lama Namdingpa...[927]

Zhangtön is this last mentioned. Particularly, he received the empowerment of the *Sūtra*, together with its seal of entrustment, exegesis and instructions, from the son, Sangye Rincen, at Decen Drölma. He became learned in all the tantras, transmissions and esoteric instructions, along with their means for attainment. In the hermitage of Tanak Namding he became intent on experiential cultivation above all else; and he attained the stability of vital energy and mind. He disclosed the intentions of the stages of creation and perfection, and mastered the four rites of enlightened activity, whereby he acted on behalf of those requiring training.

Zhangtön conferred the empowerment on the learned and accomplished Shami Dorje Gyeltsen in the glorious hermitage at Namding, and granted the exegesis and instructions as well. The latter remained in practice at the hermitage of Decen and acquired stability in the stage of creation, whereby he accomplished the four rites without obstruction. He reached the limits of experience and realisation in the stage of perfection and benefitted the teaching by both exegesis and attainment.

Rikdzin Yudruk Dorje

[480.6-481.4] In the hermitage at Decen, Shami Dorje Gyeltsen conferred on Rikdzin Yudruk Dorje the entire empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, together with its seal of entrustment. He also granted to him the exegesis and instructions. This Yudruk Dorje remained wholly immersed in experiential cultivation in the solitary hermitages of the Central Tibetan mountains, such as Ön and Do, and above all in the hermitage of Lagu-ngö in Tanak, Yeru. This was why he became known as Lama Drupcenpa, "Guru of Great Attainment". He attained the limits of experience and realisation. Just by conferring his blessing, he could liberate people from disease and evil spirits. In these and other ways the expression of his occult and spiritual powers was revealed. He lived to an extremely ripe old age, and this, combined with his solitary cultivation of experience, enabled him to establish those fortunate disciples who yearned for freedom in maturation [through empowerment] and liberation [through his guidance].

Khedrup Lodrö Gyeltsen Pelzangpo (Sodokpa)

[481.4-483.6] Yudruk Dorje bestowed the empowerments of the four rivers of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* in their entirety, together with its seal of entrustment, exegesis, instructions, and practical techniques on the learned and accomplished Lodrö Gyeltsen Pelzangpo, an emanation of Nyak Jñānakumāra. He was born into the family of Dong at Thak Dongkar in Yeru, Tsang. From his childhood he learned all the conventional sciences without difficulty. In particular, he became adept at the science of medicine. Since he passed his youth in the service of the aristocrat Dongkarwa, he became known as Dongkar Tshoje, the "Physician of Dongkar". During adolescence he awoke to the enlightened family and was ordained as a novice. He was a suppliant at the feet of many learned and accomplished genuine gurus, such as Lacen Dorjechang Trakpa Rincen, Yongdzin Ngawang Trakpa, Dawa Gyeltsen, the spiritual son of Pema Lingpa,[928] the treasure-finder Zhikpo Lingpa,[929] and Dorje Senge, who passed away as a sky-farer without relinquishing his body. Under them, he insatiably studied an infinite number of approaches to the doctrine. Not merely leaving those teachings to be something he had once heard, he removed his doubts. Undistracted by social diversions he persevered in experiential cultivation and accomplished all at once [the three kinds of discriminative awareness, born of] study, thought and meditation.

By virtue of that, the spatial expanse of experience, realisation, and knowledge grew from within him. His knowledge of the textual traditions of the sūtras and mantras in general, and of the doctrines belonging to the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Ancient Translation School, in particular, developed without impediment. And the naturally manifest, unbiased intention of the Great Perfection arose within him. The pulses of the energy channels, currents and seminal points dissolved into the central channel.[930] By mastering the refinement, multiplication, emanation and transformation of dreams,[931] he journeyed to pure lands and met face to face with many buddhas and bodhisattvas, and obtained prophecies from them. By his occult power he destroyed the ruinous demons of Tibet, and the hostile armies on the frontiers. Since he could immediately actualise the signs of [one who can successfully] protect and obstruct, he became universally renowned.

During the early part of his life Lodrö Gyeltsen lived at Kyibuk in lower Nyang. Without straying from the intention of the Indestructible Nucleus of Inner Radiance[932] he continuously propagated the doctrines of the transmitted empowerments, exegeses, transmissions, and profound guidance in whatever manner was suited to the abilities of his disciples. In this way, he fulfilled the hopes of each. He composed detailed expositions, texts concerning the means for attainment, ceremonies and rites, works on practical technique, histories of the doctrine,

answers to critics and so forth. He produced golden copies of the *Seventeen Tantras*, the *Innermost Spirituality of Vimalamitra*, the *Gathering of the Sugatas*, et cetera; and he published many volumes of transmitted precepts and treasures. Thus, by vast enlightened activity involving exegesis, attainment, and work, he clarified and spread the teaching of the Ancient Translation School.

Lodrö Gyeltsen's *Notes on the Indications and Avoidance of Death* (*'chi-ba brtags-bslu'i yi-ge*) was clearly composed during his seventy-third year. Therefore, he certainly lived a long life.

Kong-ra Locen Zhenpen Dorje

[483.6-486.2] Lodrö Gyeltsen gave the empowerments of the four rivers of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* in their entirety, along with its seal of entrustment, exegesis, instructions and practical techniques to Kong-ra Locen Zhenpen Dorje. This holy individual was born in Trashiling, Sikkim, in 1594 (wood male horse year). He was a son of one Öncen, who was the younger brother of Locen Ngagiwangpo, the grandnephew of Tokden Chönyi Rangdröl. Their family was Nup Thropupa. As a boy Zhenpen Dorje was wild-tempered, but highly disciplined. So he was fearlessly brilliant and haughty towards everyone. From childhood, too, he seemed to yearn for a support free from desire, owing to which, during his twelfth year he received the ordination of a novice, and during his twenty-first year the complete ordination in the presence of Zhamar Chöki Wangcuk; and he became supremely dignified in his conduct.

His uncle, Locen Ngagiwangpo, had been invited to tutor the Zhamarpa in the sciences, and so Zhenpen Dorje followed as his servant. He became learned in all the branches of linguistic science, including the *Kalāpasūtra*, the *Mirror of Poetics*, prosody, astrology, and various Indian and Tibetan scripts. Under that doctrine master [the Zhamarpa] and Rinpoche Maseng, among others, he learned all kinds of dialectical texts, and incidentally attended the doctrinal discourses they delivered. Above and beyond that, he attended on many great individuals, including his uncle Locen Ngagiwangpo, Khedrup Lodrö Gyeltsen, Sungtrül Tshültrim Dorje, Nyipuwa Rikdzin Nyingpo, Tsele Pema Lekdrup, Katokpa Pema Lodrö, and Yöndopa Trashi Lhündrup. Under them he studied innumerable doctrines belonging to the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Ancient Translation School, until his doubts were removed. By perseverance in the meditation and attainment of the stages of creation and perfection, he arrived at the limits of experience and realisation. Because he was unsullied by the social diversions of the eight worldly concerns, all who followed him naturally behaved in accordance with the true doctrine.

He prepared copies of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa* (*rnying-ma rgyud-'bum*) on three occasions. The first two times, in consideration

of the continuity of the teaching, he sent those copies to Kham and Kongpo. As this illustrates, whatever he had, whether books or other possessions, he gave away that they might benefit living creatures; and even if he had none, he provided liberal sustenance for those who were engaged in practice. From this master, Zhenpen Dorje, a continuous transmission of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa* pervaded Kham and Central Tibet. Therefore, his kindness to the teaching was great. By perpetuating the enlightened activity of teaching the sūtras, mantras, and sciences, he fulfilled the hopes of his disciples. He always maintained all those who studied the doctrine by providing sustenance. In short, he was exalted by the enlightened attributes of learning, dignity, and excellence; and his enlightened activities in the three [spheres of] exegesis, attainment, and work were as extensive as space. He passed away into the expanse of peace during his sixty-first year, which was an inauspicious one astrologically.[933]

Sangdak Trhinle Lhündrup

[486.2-489.5] From Kong-ra Locen, the lineage was transmitted to Sangdak Trhinle Lhündrup, the reincarnation of Nupcen Sangye Yeshe. He was born at Chak Cangcupling in 1611 (iron female pig year) as the son of Do-nga Tendzin, a great learned and accomplished teacher of the Nyö clan. From his fifth year he fully mastered both reading and writing. In his eighth year he received the vows of a layman in the presence of his venerable father, and the name Orgyen Tshepel was conferred upon him. Beginning then, he learned the cycle of rites, means for attainment, and practical techniques. By training himself in all the scriptures of the great, all-knowing Longcenpa, and in the conventional sciences like grammar and astrology, he acquired intellectual power. Under his venerable father, in particular, he received many empowerments, exegeses, transmissions and much guidance on the transmitted precepts and treasures; for instance, the means for attainment of the trio of the *Guru, Great Perfection and Great Compassionate One* (*bla-rdzogs-thugs-gsum*).[934] Then, through reflection and meditation he established them [in his mind].

When he was ordained as a novice by the great Tsuklak Gyamtso, the name Trhinle Lhündrup Pelzangpo was conferred upon him, and he received all kinds of doctrinal discourses. Moreover, he attended on more than thirty genuine gurus of the ancient and new traditions, including Nyingmapa [teachers], such as Sungtrül Tshültrim Dorje, Locen Zhenpen Dorje, Lhatsün Künzang Namgyel, Dzokcenpa Drukdra Zangpo, Pönlungpa Tshültrim Gyeltsen, Zur Chöying Rangdröl, and Trhüzhi Norbu Chöten, and other [teachers] of the new translation schools, such as Gyeltsap Trakpa Chöyang, and Gönpo



Sangdak Trhinle Lhündrup

Sonam Chokden. Under them, he insatiably studied innumerable doctrines of the sūtra and mantra traditions.

Concerning the empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, in particular: In his eighth year, Trhinle Lhündrup, in the company of his father, received both the Zur and Kham traditions when the mantra adept Künzang Peljor was invited to Cangcupling. In his twenty-first year he studied the writings of the Kham tradition under Lhatsün Künzang Namgyel. Then, in his twenty-ninth year, in May 1639 (fourth month, earth hare year), at Kong-ra Lhündrupding, in the presence of the great translator Zhenpen Dorje, who had constructed all the root and branch maṇḍalas of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* with coloured powders, he received the empowerments of its four rivers in their entirety over a period of seventeen days, along with its seal of entrustment and esoteric instructions on the sequence of meditation. [This was] all [given] according to the writings of Nyelpa Delekpa,[935] and in conjunction with the steps of the rite of great attainment.

That same Kong-ra Locen bestowed alms munificently on those who were his fortunate disciples. Beyond that, he would refuse whatever tribute was offered to him for the doctrine and return it, saying, "Our

doctrine is not for sale." None the less, it is said that when this master, Trhinle Lhündrup, offered him nine empowerment vases for the corners [of the maṇḍala],[936] Kong-ra Locen was delighted and accepted them. That was certainly a symbolic way of indicating that he regarded Trhinle Lhündrup as a fit vessel for the river of empowerment, and that, hence, he had arranged the auspicious occasion for the teaching to increase.

So it was that Trhinle Lhündrup removed all the doubts associated with study and thought in the appropriate fashion. In many solitary hermitages, he properly applied himself to the experiential cultivation of the essential path. In the visionary clarity of the stage of creation, through which he could eliminate the impure appearances [of the everyday world] he obtained signs which could be tangibly perceived. Thus, he accomplished unimpededly whatever rites he undertook.

By realising, through the stage of perfection, the primordially pure ground, perfect and free from change and transformation, which is the abiding nature of reality as it is, he cut through the entanglements which grasp saṃsāra and nirvāṇa as true. Having dissolved all phenomenal appearances in the space of spontaneously present inner radiance, he had visions of many meditational deities and obtained prophecies. Since he had destroyed selfish mental grasping, an all-embracing compassion for the sake of others effortlessly and powerfully arose, whereby he constantly turned the doctrinal wheels of exegesis and attainment for many fortunate persons, high and low, who aspired to freedom. Thus, he extended the spiritual and temporal well-being of the teaching and living creatures.

In particular, Sangdak Trhinle Lhündrup bestowed all his profound and vast doctrines in their entirety on the supreme spiritual son of his body, speech and mind, the great treasure-finder Gyurme Dorje;[937] and he empowered him as his regent. Then, during his fifty-second year, on Sunday 9 April 1662 (twenty-second day, second month, water tiger year)[938] a protuberance suddenly arose on the crown of his head, from which a vapour, like pale dew by moonlight, or incense smoke, was expelled;[939] and he withdrew from the array of his physical body into the expanse of reality.

Locen Chögyel Tendzin

[489.5-492.5] Trhinle Lhündrup favoured Locen Chögyel Tendzin as his disciple. He was born in the lower village of Edam Ngönpo in 1631 (iron sheep year). Because the propensities of his previous life were clearly manifest, he was recognised as master of his [former] monks and invited to Taktöling, and the other monasteries of his predecessor. Without difficulty he mastered writing, reading, ceremonies and rituals. Having done so, he went to the college of Chongye Pelri to pursue his education. He was ordained as a novice by Sonam Rincen, who occupied

that seat, and the name Chögyel Tendzin was conferred upon him. He received all kinds of empowerments and transmissions. Then, beginning with the memorisation of the ceremonial texts for the *Gathering of Intentions* (*dgongs-'dus*) and so forth, and their iconography, iconometry, *torma* sculpture,[940] and chants, he trained himself in all [subjects of study] as far as the great, all-knowing Longcenpa's treatise, *Mind at Rest*, including both the root text and commentary. Afterwards, he also studied, under Nuptön Trakpa Wangpo, the practical applications of such wrathful mantras as those of *Yangdok* (*yang-bzlog*) and *Loktri*,[941] along with Indian and Chinese astrology and divination (*rtsis-dkar-nag*).[942]

In 1648 (earth male mouse), his eighteenth year, Chögyel Tendzin was made disciplinarian of the college, where his strictness set an example. In that same year Rikdzin Trhinle Lhündrup was invited to Chongye Pelri. With the supreme emanation Trhinle Namgyel in the midst [of the assembly], Trhinle Lhündrup conferred on the whole college the empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* according to the Zur tradition, in the maṇḍala of coloured powders, along with its instructions and seal of entrustment, and in connection with the rite of great attainment. Subsequently, to a small company of masters and students, he conferred this empowerment according to the Kham tradition, using the maṇḍalas drawn on cloth. At this time, Chögyel Tendzin received both traditions.

Later, at various times and places, he studied many teachings including the *Gathering of the Sugatas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts*, the *Gathering of Intentions*, the *Innermost Spirituality of Vimalamitra*, and the treasure doctrines of Zhikpo Lingpa (*zhig-gling-gi gter-chos*). Moreover, he attended on many genuine learned and accomplished gurus, including Lhatsün Namka Jikme and Sungtrül Tshültrim Dorje, and received from them many empowerments, transmissions, and much guidance on the transmitted precepts and treasures. Then, summoned by the command of the minister Gyari, he proceeded to Kong-ra, where, under Nyangtön Locok Dorje, he studied and mastered the *Kalāpasūtra*, poetics, prosody, and the other branches of linguistic science.

After completing his studies in this way, Chögyel Tendzin lived for sometime at Etongmen and Tshometeng. But, above all, he established his residence at the monastery of Taktöling. He persevered secretly in rites of service and attainment[943] and thereby developed excellent experiences and realisations. Powerful signs that the protectors worked in his service constantly occurred, so even the villagers of those districts were afraid to contradict the order of "Lama Lingpa" [i.e. the guru of Taktöling, Chögyel Tendzin] lest the punishments of the doctrine protectors be forthcoming.

In 1662 (water tiger), his thirty-second year, in particular, he went to Tarling and received some of the treasure doctrines of Pema Lingpa

from the great treasure-finder Gyurme Dorje. At that time Gyurme Dorje learned that the continuous lineage of the empowerment of the *Sūtra* and its practical techniques, which he had [formerly] received from his venerable father [Trhinle Lhündrup], were purely held [by Chögyel Tendzin]. Later, therefore, Chögyel Tendzin was invited to [Mindröling,] the seat of that precious, great treasure-finder, where he offered him that empowerment of the *Sūtra*.[944] Thus, Chögyel Tendzin unsurpassably benefitted the teaching of the Ancient Translation School. During his seventy-eighth year, in May/June 1708 (fourth month, earth mouse), he passed away at the monastery of Taktöling.

So it was that, with regard to the transmitted precepts, the number of disciples of the three ancestral Zurs directly multiplied, and countless [lineages] spread forth from them. It is therefore truly said that the great lord of secrets, Dropukpa, in whose lifetime these teachings became widely propagated, was the Lord of Secrets [Guhyapati Vajrapāṇi] himself, born in [Tibet], the land of snow mountains, for the purpose of increasing the teaching of the mantras.

Later, as the result of the increasing degeneration [of the age], the teaching of the Ancient Translation School gradually became sparse, until it was no more visible than the streams of autumn. At this juncture, the great treasure-finder and king of the doctrine, Gyurme Dorje, and the all-knowing, great translator Ngawang Chöpel [i.e. Dharmaśrī, who were spiritual] father and son, along with the host of their disciples, assumed responsibility for the aspirations of the great master Padmasambhava, who had been the crown ornament of the whole populace of the Land of Snows, and for those of Vairocana and Yudra Nyingpo. They united all the fragile streams of instruction from all quarters and made them flow together into an inexhaustible, vast reservoir of teaching; and thus they raised anew the great, unfailing banner of the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*. A brief biography of the supreme, great treasure-finder will be found below [pp. 825-34].

Locen Dharmaśrī

[492.5-498.6] Now, the great translator Dharmaśrī, the sun of the teaching, was born in 1654 (wood male horse year) as the younger brother of the precious, great treasure-finder Gyurme Dorje. He received the vows of a layman adhering to the threefold refuge from that venerable, treasure-finding guru, who named him Tendzin Jamyang Wangpo. In his fifteenth year he was ordained by the all-knowing Great Fifth Dalai Lama and the name Ngawang Chöpel was conferred upon him along with the vows of a novice. Then, in his twentieth year, he was fully ordained by that same preceptor. Later, complying with his royal order,



Locen Dharmaśrī

he again received the pure lineage of the vows according to the Lower Tibetan Vinaya of the Ancient Translation School from Kharap Zhelngane Köncok Tendzin.

From his guru [Gyurme Dorje], the venerable and great treasure-finder, Dharmaśrī received the vows of a bodhisattva according to the three traditions and so cultivated an enlightened aspiration. His spirituality had matured because, previously, during his twelfth year he had received from him the empowerment of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Awareness-holder* (*rig-'dzin thugs-thig*) in conjunction with the maṇḍala of coloured powders. Both the *prātimokṣa* and bodhisattva vows which he received thereafter arose within him as the essence of the corresponding vows derived from his moral discipline in the mantras; so his mind was well bound.[945]

Dharmaśrī fully mastered reading, writing, ceremonies and rituals. In his sixteenth year he attended Kungtang Paṇcen Shenyen Namgyel's expositions of the *Kalāpasūtra* and prosody in their entirety, his expositions of the Rañjanā, Vivarta (*Vartula*)[946] and other scripts, and those of the *Thirty Verses and Introduction to Gender* (*sum-rtags*, T 4348-9), and of all other branches of linguistic science. Under Dumpa Töndrup

Wangyel he studied Indian and Chinese astrology and divination, the *Svarodaya (dbyangs-'char*, T 4326-7)[947] and so forth. He heard Taklung Trapa's explanations of the grammatical tables of the *Sārasvata Grammar* (T 4423), of *sandhi* and verbal derivation according to the *Grammar of Candragomin* and of the prosody of light metrical feet [*yang-pa'i bya-ba*; from the *Precious Source of Prosody*, T 4303-4]. He attended the great treasure-finding guru's expositions of the *Mirror of Poetics*, and of dance, iconometry, and chant according to the unique tradition of the Ancient Translation School. And all of these he mastered thoroughly.

Under his elder brother Gyelse Tenpei Nyima, Dharmaśrī became learned in the practical application and technical jargon of the Vinaya. Just by receiving [the transmission] of most texts, including *Mind at Rest* and the *Treasury of the Scriptural and Logical [Background for] the Vinaya ('dul-ba lung-rigs gter-mdzod)*, an unimpeded understanding arose. From the spiritual benefactor Sangye Chödar he received the exegeses of the Vinaya, Abhidharma, and Transcendental Perfection. From Kungtang Paṇcen he received the exegeses of the *Lecture Notes on the Middle Way (dbu-ma'i stong-thun)* and of the *Three Hundred Verses on the Vinaya (Śrāmaṇerakārikā*, T 4124). He studied the exegesis of the *Profound Inner Meaning* under Khedrup Chökyong Gyeltsen. And in the presence of the venerable guru Gyurme Dorje he studied many scriptures of the great, all-knowing doctrine master, Longcenpa; of the masters of the Zur lineage; and of the great Rongzompa. Thus, his mind was liberated, so whatever he studied or considered he did not treat superficially but was able to apply directly to his own mind. This, he said, was owing to the kindness [of his brother, the great treasure-finder].

When, in particular, Dharmaśrī heard the great treasure-finding guru deliver an oral exegesis of the *Secret Nucleus* which combined the *Parkap Commentary* and *Yungtönpa's Commentary*, he plumbed the depths of all the overt and hidden meanings of that tantra. He studied, in the manner of a vase being filled to the brim, all the existing transmitted empowerments, exegetical transmissions, and transmitted esoteric instructions of the classes of the tantras and means for attainment of the Ancient Translation School, including the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*. Among the treasures he received the empowerments, transmissions, and esoteric instructions for all the treasure doctrines of most of the famous treasure-finders, of which the foremost were the *Earlier and Later Treasure Troves*. And he received, too, the entire transmission of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa*, which is the root of all [the teachings mentioned here]. Moreover, from Rikdzin Pema Trhinle, Dharmaśrī received the empowerment of the complete *Kālacakra* and the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Magical Net*.

These must suffice as illustrations: It is impossible to describe the extent to which Dharmaśrī studied, considered, and meditated upon an ocean of doctrinal systems, belonging to various traditions, under some twenty tutors of the ancient and new translation schools, without partiality.

For the sake of the teaching, Locen Dharmaśrī gave the vows of complete ordination to four hundred and forty-seven monks, and those of the novitiate to one thousand two hundred and ninety-eight. From his forty-eighth year to his sixty-fourth, during both the summer and winter sessions, he continuously turned the doctrinal wheel of the *Tantra of the Secret Nucleus* on behalf of about sixty members of the community of awareness-holders, who were intelligent and endowed with supreme good fortune. He also taught many great texts, including the *Ascertainment of the Three Vows*,[948] Transcendental Perfection, and the Vinaya. Eight times he conferred solely the empowerment of the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Magical Net*, thrice that of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and five times that of the *Churner of the Depths of Hell* (*na-rak dong-sprugs*), et cetera. In this way, it seems, he taught all the empowerments, transmissions, and [systems of] experiential guidance of the transmitted precepts and treasures of the ancient and new translation schools, which he had himself received, not less than three or four times each.

In particular, he conferred on Ngawang Künga Trashi, the great lord of the glorious Sakyapa, a great many doctrines and transmissions including the complete empowerments and transmissions of the *New Treasures* [*gter-gsar*, i.e. those of Gyurme Dorje],[949] the *Guidance which Lays Bare the Teaching on the Great Compassionate One* (*thugs-rje-chen-po'i smar-khrid*), and the empowerment of the *Razor Kīla* (*phur-pa spu-gri*). In his fifty-ninth year, 1712 (water dragon), Dharmaśrī was invited to Chamdo in Dokam, where he matured and liberated the minds of Phakpalha Gyelwa Gyamtso, Zhiwa Zangpo and Ngawang Trülku by means of many nectar-like empowerments, transmissions, and esoteric instructions of the ancient and new traditions, without bias. These included the entire cycle of the *New Treasures* (*gter-gsar-skor yongs-rdzogs*), the *Guru as the Gathering of Secrets* (*bla-ma gsang-'dus*), the *Red Wrathful Guru according to the Treasure of Nyang* (*nyang-gter drag-dmar*), the *Razor Kīla*, the *Churner of the Depths of Hell*, and the *Great Compassionate One according to the Tradition of the King* (*thugs-rje chen-po rgyal-po lugs*).

Dharmaśrī even taught the conventional sciences, like grammar, prosody and poetics, not less than five or six times each, according to the intellectual capabilities of particular aspirants. In short, this holy individual lived out his entire life performing bountiful acts in the service of the teaching, in accord with the three ways of the wise [i.e. teaching, debate, and composition]; and in so doing he disclosed the naturally

manifest, impartial intention of the Great Perfection. Thus, he was indisputably one who dwelt on the great level of a sublime [bodhisattva].

In order that the teaching might endure for a long time, Locen Dharmaśrī composed the texts making up his eighteen-volume *Collected Works* (*bka'-bum*), beginning with his unprecedented writings on the intentional meaning of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* and the *Magical Net*, which are in the form of great commentarial vehicles, and continuing through to his works on the conventional sciences. It is manifestly a great treasure trove of perfect treatises and eloquence.

Concerning the sons who were born from his speech: Among most of the great individuals who maintained the doctrine during that epoch, it seems that there were none who failed to bow at his feet. Moreover, the host of his disciples who were learned in scripture and logic, and who were endowed with experiential accomplishment, cannot be enumerated.

11 *Later Lineages of the Transmitted Precepts*

THE MINDROLING LINEAGE OF THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS

[498.6-506.5] So it was that the transmitted precepts of [the empowerments which cause] maturation and [the guidance which causes] liberation, along with the exegetical transmissions, instructions and practical guidance of the transmitted precepts of the Ancient Translation School, in general, as well as the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*, in particular, fell to the great treasure-finder, Rikdzin Gyurme Dorje. He bestowed them on his younger brother, the great translator Dharmaśrī, an emanation of Yudra Nyingpo, who gave them to Gyelse Rincen Namgyel, an emanation of Vimalamitra. He, in turn, gave them to the great translator's reincarnation, the great preceptor Orgyen Tendzin Dorje. From those two, master and disciple, the lineage divided into many streams, extending all the way from [the monasteries of] Katok, Pelyül, Zhecen,[950] and Dzokcen in Kham, to Gyelmorong in the far east and to the Golok region of Amdo. In these districts the enlightened activities of exegesis and attainment have extensively and uninterruptedly continued until the present day.

It is not possible to describe all the lineage-holders individually, but here, for example, is one major lineage [of the transmitted precepts]: From the great preceptor Oḍḍiyāna [Orgyen Tendzin Dorje], they were transmitted through:

Trhicen Trhinle Namgyel, who was an emanation of Trhinle Lhündrup;
Trhi Pema Wangyel, the emanation of the great treasure-finder [Rikdzin Gyurme Dorje];
Trhi Sangye Künga, an emanation of Yudra Nyingpo.

From the great treasure-finder to this [last-mentioned] master the lineage represents the continuous family line of the Nyö clan,[951] who were holders of indestructible reality.

Then, the lineage continued through:

Do-nga Tendzin Norbu, the Dokam Kyangkar Trülku, who was supreme for his learning, dignity and accomplishment;
the lord of the circle, Gyurme Phendei Özer,[952] or Jampel Dewei Nyima, the emanation of Vajrapāṇi, the Lord of Secrets.

[This last master] took me personally into his following and I obtained the liberating inspiration of the seal of entrustment.

THE MINDROLING LINEAGE OF ATIYOGA

Moreover, there is the special lineage of the Great Perfection [which has transmitted] the cycles of the Mental and Spatial classes, as well as the great Innermost Spirituality. Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa [Gyurme Dorje] transmitted this to Gyelse Rincen Namgyel and to the venerable lady Mingyur Peldrön, an emanation of Yeshe Tshogyel.[953] From these two, it was transmitted successively through:

the great preceptor Orgyen Tendzin Dorje;
Trhicen Trhinle Namgyel;
the venerable lady Trhinle Chödrön;
the all-knowing Dorje Ziji, or Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, who was the combined emanation of the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra and the sovereign, or religious king, Trhisong Detsen;
Jedrung Trhinle Campei Jungne, an emanation of Langdro, and to the all-pervading lord Gyurme Ngedön Wangpo, the magical emanation of Vairocana.[954]

In the presence of these [last] two lords of the circle, I received the entire maturing [empowerment], liberating [guidance], and esoteric instructions, and thus was favoured with the blessing that transferred to me the intention of the true lineage.

THE LINEAGE OF THE *COLLECTED TANTRAS*

Again, one may refer illustratively to the successive lineage of the transmission of the *Collected Tantras* in their entirety. As will be explained below [pp. 793-5], the rivers of the transmitted precepts of the secret tantras, without exception, converged in the great treasure-finder Ratna Lingpa. From him the lineage continued through:

Tshewang Trakpa, his son and heir, who lived to the age of one hundred and ten;
Ngawang Trakpa, [Tshewang Trakpa's] younger brother;
Ngawang Norbu, [the latter's] son;
Norbu Yongdrak, an emanation of Vimalamitra;
Gyelse Norbu Wangyel;
the all-knowing Tshültrim Dorje, the third speech emanation of Pema Lingpa;[955]
Karwang Tshültrim Gyeltsen of Pönlung;
Tendzin Gyurme Dorje, the fourth successive reincarnation of Pema Lingpa's spiritual son Dawa Gyeltsen, and Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa [Gyurme Dorje] of Mindröling.

The lineage of the former [i.e. Tendzin Gyurme Dorje] continued through:

Ngawang Künzang Dorje, the fourth speech emanation of Pema Lingpa;
Gyurme Chokdrup Pelbar, the fifth successive spiritual son;
Pema Töndrup Trakpa, a holder of indestructible reality;
Künzang Tenpei Gyeltsen, the sixth speech emanation of Pema Lingpa;
Baka Künzang Rikdzin Dorje;
Künzang Tenpei Nyima, the eighth speech emanation of Pema Lingpa;
Baka Rikdzin Khamsum Yongdröl;
Orgyen Namdröl Gyamtso, a holder of indestructible reality;
Gendün Gyamtso, a lord of yoga who had renounced everything.

[Gendün Gyamtso] embraced me with his great kindness.

LINEAGES IN KHAM

The stream of the lineage which descended through Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa was also vastly increased by Jamgön Lodrö Thaye.[956] Therefore, as it is explained here, the genuine teaching of the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class* has continued without decline through to the present day.

The following passage appears in Thuken's *Crystal Mirror of Philosophical Systems* (*thu'u-bkvan-gyi grub-mtha' shel-dkar me-long*):

> A long time has passed since all the essential doctrines of the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class* and so forth vanished into the primordial purity of original space. The Nyingmapa

> of today merely treat as essential such mimicry as the chanting of ritual manuals, the material elaboration of feast offerings, and the rites of suppression, burnt offerings, casting out *tormas*, et cetera...[957]

Such uncritical prattle is exceedingly false. Since a great scholar like Thuken, who bears up to examination, would never present a corrupt account, we think that this statement was undoubtedly an interpolation made later on by some foolish fanatic.[958]

KATOK

To continue: As has already been described, the seminary of the Vajra Seat at Katok was a unique fountain-head of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School. At a later date its enlightened activity was increased by Rikdzin Düdül Dorje[959] and Longsel Nyingpo. None the less, during the intervening period [which followed] the transmitted precepts gradually became rare there. Sonam Detsen, the reincarnation of Düdül Dorje and the spiritual son of Longsel Nyingpo received them at the feet of the great treasure-finder [Terdak Lingpa] of Mindröling,[960] and restored the teaching of the transmitted precepts from its very foundations. Beginning with his reincarnation, Trime Zhingkyong Gönpo, and the others forming the [incarnate] succession of great individuals who maintained the seat of Katok, as well as with Rikdzin Tshewang Norbu,[961] an emanation of Namkei Nyingpo, and Gyurme Tshewang Chokdrup, a great paṇḍita who was an emanation of the great Nyak Jñānakumāra, [this transmission has continued] through to such teachers of more recent times as Situ Künzi Chöki Gyamtso, and the great preceptor Rikdzin Ngawang Pelzang, a subsequent emanation of Vimalamitra. The teaching of the Conqueror in general, and, in particular, the teaching of the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Ancient Translation School, have been rendered as clear as sunshine by these supreme teachers of living beings, whose learned and accomplished lives and enlightened activities, belonging to the three spheres [of exegesis, attainment, and work], have been utterly amazing and totally without rival.

DZOKCEN

Moreover, there was the lord among accomplished masters, Pema Rikdzin of Dzokcen, who is renowned as the combined emanation of master Kukkurāja and Vimalamitra, and whose life was one of inconceivable learning, dignity, and accomplishment. He went to Dokam at the order, issued with foresight, of the supreme conqueror, the Great



Dzokcen Pema Rikdzin

Fifth [Dalai Lama]. There, he founded the retreat centre of Samten Chöling at Rudam Kyitram,[962] and so became a unique benefactor to the teaching of the Ancient Translation School. His successive incarnations, and his spiritual sons, such as the great treasure-finder Nyima Trakpa, Pönlop Namka Ösel, and Zhecen Rapjam Tenpei Gyeltsen, gave rise to a succession of supreme individuals who, like a chain of golden mountains, maintained the teaching through enlightened activity as expansive as the sky.

Above and beyond that, during the period of the fourth Dzokcen emanation Mingyur Namkei Dorje, Gyelse Zhenpen Thaye, the emanation of the great treasure-finder of Mindröling [Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa], made vast spiritual efforts on behalf of the exegesis and attainment of many textual traditions of the sūtras and mantras, and especially on behalf of the transmitted precepts of the Ancient Translation School. Therefore, he sought out and greatly propagated manuscripts of them, and their continuous empowerments, transmissions, and esoteric instructions. He published some ten volumes of ceremonial arrangements for the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and so forth. Thus, his kindness and legacy to the continuous teaching surpass the imagination.



Rikdzin Künzang Sherap

PELYUL

Similarly, Rikdzin Künzang Sherap, an emanation of Lasum Gyelwa Cangcup, founded the doctrinal centre of Namgyel Cangcup Ling at Pelyül.[963] He gave rise to a great family of learned and accomplished individuals who upheld the teaching, including his spiritual sons, and the play of his successive emanations. Thus, he vastly increased the enlightened activities of exegesis, attainment and work.

At a later date, inspired by both Jamgön Khyentse Wangpo and the great treasure-finder Chogyur Lingpa,[964] Gyatrül Pema Do-nga Tendzin instituted, at that very seat, the annual attainment and worship of the twenty-seven great maṇḍalas of the transmitted precepts of the Ancient Translation School, which are all those of which the continuous empowerment and transmission exists at present;[965] and he newly founded Tartang Do-nga Shedrup Ling. In these and in other ways his enlightened activity in the three spheres was most amazing.

Above and beyond that, by the power of his undeviating enlightened aspiration, Orgyen Do-nga Chöki Nyima published, in about twenty

volumes, all the texts which constitute the doctrinal treasury of the transmitted precepts. I have had the good fortune to obtain a set of these books of the transmitted precepts of the Ancient Translation School, of which the foremost is the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*. On the basis of these, at this juncture when the unbearable twists of time in this unfortunate age have turned Tibet and Kham into wild and savage lands, the dying embers of the teaching have spread in this direction [i.e. India].[966] Thus, it is the amazing mass of the kindness of that master alone, such as can never be repaid, that the life of the teaching has ripened into an unending harvest.

This completes the exposition of the descent of the teaching of the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*, belonging to the extensive, distant lineage of the transmitted precepts, the fifth part of this book, *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra*, a history of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Six
The Close Lineages of the Treasures

1 *The Nature, Purpose and Kinds of Treasure*

[511.1-523.2] Now, I shall briefly describe the history of the treasures, [which constitute] extremely profound, close lineages.[967]

THE NATURE OF THE TREASURES

The nature or essence of [teachings discovered as] treasure is indicated by the following passage from the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with the Nāga King* (*Nāgarājaparipṛcchāsūtra*, T 153-5):

> These four are the great treasures, which are inexhaustible: (i) The inexhaustible, great treasure of the unbroken line of the Three Precious Jewels; (ii) the inexhaustible, great treasure of immeasurable and supreme realisation of the doctrine; (iii) the inexhaustible, great treasure of bringing delight to sentient beings; and (iv) the inexhaustible, great treasure which is like the sky.

Similarly, it says in the *Sublime Sūtra of Contemplation which Subsumes All Merits* [*Āryasarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra*, T 134, quoted in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p.105]:

> O Vimalatejas! the doctrinal treasures of bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors who desire the doctrine, have been inserted in mountains, ravines, and woods. Dhāraṇīs and limitless approaches to the doctrine, which are set down in books, will also come into their hands.

This explains well the [existence of] treasure doctrines, treasure sites, and the individuals who discover them; and [in that same sūtra] one finds the following passage, indicating the [presence of] celestial doctrines, and so forth:

> For one whose aspiration is perfect the doctrine will emerge from the midst of the sky, and from walls and trees, even though no buddha be present.

Moreover, in various well-known sūtras and tantras the essence, formal definition, enumerations, and purposes of treasures are repeatedly indicated; and these have been renowned in both India and Tibet. The treasures, therefore, have not been invented by specific individuals, such as the Tibetans.

THE PURPOSE OF THE TREASURES

As to the reason for concealing these treasures, it says in the *Sūtra of the River's Play* (*chu-klung rol-pa'i mdo*, DZ Vol.9):

> Conceal the doctrinal texts of my teaching,
> As treasures of mind, [emerging] from mind,
> Or make them cores of the earth:
> Though extremists with wild thoughts
> Will certainly confound the definitive meaning,
> The flow of the river will not be cut off!

And in the words of a treasure discovered by the doctrinal king, Ratna Lingpa:[968]

> Because, generally, I harbour great compassion
> For the Tibetans, who love what is new,
> And for the creatures of this defiled age,
> I have filled the frontiers and the centre with treasures,
> Focal points which are the culmination of utter profundity;
> And I have prayed that these be found by my worthy sons.
> In the future, sophists, verbally skilled,
> Anchorites and others who are biased, inflated with
> prejudice,
> Will promote themselves and dispute my treasures.
> But most religious persons in the defiled age will be
> guided by treasures.
> They are profound and complete, unobscured,
> comprehensive:
> Each instruction will certainly liberate someone.
> Therefore, O worthy and well-trained ones, whose
> propensities have awakened,
> If you remember death, then experience these
> treasure doctrines!
> You will obtain liberation's path in one lifetime,
> O my followers!
> In the defiled age all worthy devotees of treasure
> Will be those who now have beheld the guru's visage
> and formed an aspiration.

Since you all have such propensities, cultivate joy!
These words of mine are more rare than gold, or jewels!

Such statements may be found in other treasure texts, too, without limit. Accordingly, concerning the transmitted precepts [of the distant lineage]: During this defiled age their transmitted empowerments and instructions have become adulterated like milk in the market-place. Because [their lineages] have been interrupted by many lineage-holders, the fresh descent of their blessing has been weakened by many violations of the commitments, as well as by pollution [of the teachings] due to interpolations. But, regarding the contents of the treasures: The discoverers of treasure were emanations who had been taken into the following of the great Padmasambhava of Oḍḍiyāna himself, and had thus obtained complete transmission of the empowerments and instructions, which bring about maturation and liberation. By bringing forth in this way profound doctrines which embody the unfading, moist breath of the ḍākinīs, they form close lineages, unequalled in the splendour of their blessings.

THE LINEAGES OF THE TREASURES

It is well known that [the teachings discovered as] treasure have six lineages, because they possess three special lineages over and above the intentional, symbolic and aural lineages which have already been described.[969] These comprise: [the lineage empowered by enlightened aspiration, the lineage of prophetically declared spiritual succession, and the lineage of the ḍākinīs' seal of entrustment].

In the *lineage empowered by enlightened aspiration* the concealer has sealed [the treasure doctrines] with the following statement of aspiration embodying a declaration of truth: "May the individual who has power over such and such a treasure trove come to reveal it!"

In the *lineage of prophetically declared spiritual succession* the person destined to reveal the treasure has been entrusted with the central intention, namely, the genuine pristine cognition that is the object of illustration, and has also received encouragement through a prophetic declaration of future events.

In the *lineage of the ḍākinīs' seal of entrustment* illustrations [of that intention] are verbally arranged in symbolic writing and then invisibly sealed in indestructible rocks, wealth-filled lakes, and immutable chests, their identifying inventories having first been entrusted to their respective treasure lords.[970] When the predicted time arrives, the power of [the concealer's] aspiration matures, the propensities [of the discoverer] awaken, and the lord of the treasure offers encouragement. The appropriate chest, containing all kinds of profound treasure, with or without an inventory, then comes into the hands of the treasure-finder.

THE CONCEALMENT OF THE EARTH TREASURES

In particular, most of the profound doctrines contained in the treasures were encoded in the symbolic script of the ḍākinīs. They cannot be deciphered by any other than the person who has the right fortune; and because that person must encounter the actual inscribed seal indicative of the transmitted precepts of the great Orgyen [Padmasambhava], the lineage is therefore uninterrupted by ordinary people. Its source is venerable, its symbolic conventions uncontrived, its words unconfounded, and its meaning unerring. Since [such treasures] were translated from the secret symbols of the ḍākinīs, the texts are profound and their blessing great. The unworthy, no matter how keen their intelligence, are like blind men examining an elephant and cannot appraise even a portion of them. The revealers of treasure are genuinely beyond the perceptual range of ordinary beings.

In this country of Tibet the one who instructed numberless persons in need of training by enlightened activities associated with the nucleus of the teaching, the vehicle of indestructible reality in general, and the profound treasures in particular, was the Second Buddha, Padmasambhava.[971] In the *Sūtra of Final Nirvāṇa* the Buddha prophesied:

> After my nirvāṇa,
> When about twelve years have passed,
> An individual greater than myself will appear
> On the lake isle of Dhanakośa.

This great master was not merely an individual who traversed the sequence of the path, or a sublime [bodhisattva] abiding on [any of the ten] levels. Indeed, he was the emanational body of Buddha Amitābha, the peerless Śākya King, and others, made manifest in order to train, by various means, those beings, human and non-human, who are difficult to train. It is thus impossible, even for great sublime beings, to describe just an aspect of his career. None the less, a brief outline has already been given above. It was his particularly great enlightened activity to conceal uncountable treasure troves containing doctrines, wealth, medicines, astrological calculations, images, sacramental substances and so forth in the lands of India, Nepal, and Tibet, with the intention of providing a harvest for future disciples and for the teaching.

Above all, skilfully teaching each according to his needs here in Tibet, Guru Rinpoche taught approaches to the doctrine in general, and, in particular, an infinite mass of tantras, transmissions, esoteric instructions and rites associated with the three classes of yoga [Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga]. All of those transmitted precepts were compiled by the mistress of secrets, the queen of the expanse, Yeshe Tshogyel, who retained them in her infallible memory. She arranged them on five kinds of yellow scroll [symbolising the five

families] in the symbolic script of the ḍākinīs and, inserting them in various treasure chests, sealed them to be indestructible. Guru Padmasambhava and his consort, alone or in the company of the king and his subjects, concealed them in different locations and entrusted them to their respective treasure protectors. Yeshe Tshogyel, in particular, lived for more than a hundred years after the guru's departure for Cāmaradvīpa and concealed an inconceivable number of treasure troves in upper, middle and lower Tibet.[972] In this way she fulfilled her service to the treasures.

Moreover, the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra, the generations of the religious kings, the great translator Vairocana, Nup Sangye Yeshe, Namkei Nyingpo, Nyak Jñānakumāra, Nanam Dorje Düjom, and Nyangben Tingdzin Zangpo and others also concealed many profound treasures. They consecrated these so that later, when the time was ripe for disciples to be trained, the treasures would be practised, and so benefit living beings. In accord with their prophecies and prayers, the king and his subjects have appeared as an ongoing, magical play of fortunate individuals and emanations, of varied social class and life-style, who have acted on behalf of the teaching and of living beings.

PURE VISIONS AND TREASURES OF INTENTION

All the above refers primarily to the appearance of the earth treasures. As for the origins of the profound pure visions and treasures of intention, however, there is a particular aspiration of the bodhisattvas [*Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva,* Ch.10, v.37] which says:

> May all corporeal beings continually hear
> The sounds of the doctrine
> From birds and from trees,
> From all the light rays and even from the sky.

It is said that owing to the power of such aspirations, and also because bodhisattvas have no reason to be destitute of the doctrine, they continually hear the sound of the doctrine, even in the sounds of the elements and wild animals. Buddhas and bodhisattvas indeed reveal themselves in visions and teach the doctrine, as it says in the *Sūtra of Contemplation which Subsumes All Merits*:

> O Vimalatejas! the great bodhisattvas who are desirous of the doctrine and who are endowed with perfect aspiration and reverence, will behold the visage of the Transcendent Lord Buddha and hear his doctrine even though they reside in another region of the universe.

Particularly, in the perception of great sublime beings there is only a pure vision [of reality]; impure vision does not occur. Through the perpetual round of the three times they continuously engage in many wonderful doctrinal discussions with their myriad favoured deities of the three roots; and thence there emerge limitless, profound instructions. These are the pure visionary doctrines, which, in accord with the devoted attitudes of specific individuals, have been suitable for propagation amongst the fortunate. Their appearance within the perceptual range of all may be known from the lives of many learned and accomplished masters of India and from those of the spiritual benefactors, treasure-finders, and accomplished masters of the ancient and new traditions of Tibet, impartially.

In the same way there are those [teachings] known as the treasures of intention, on which a sūtra says:

> O Mañjuśrī! know that just as the four elements originate from the treasure of space, so do all doctrines originate from the treasure of the Conqueror's mind. Thereby one should relish the significance of this treasure.

Accordingly, it is said that the treasure troves of the doctrine pour forth from the spatial expanse of the intention of all sublime individuals.

The following passage also occurs in the *Sūtra which Genuinely Comprises the Entire Doctrine*:

> To the bodhisattva whose aspiration is pure all appropriate instructions and teachings come forth just as he wishes.

And again, there is a sūtra which says:

> If you have the confidence of certainty with respect to
> ultimate meaning,
> One hundred thousand doctrinal treasures will pour
> forth from your mind.

Just so, up to the present day, in all the lands of India, Nepal and Tibet, an infinite number of profound instructions have emerged from the profound intentions of great learned and accomplished masters.[973] In brief, these masters have opened at will the doors of doctrines, wealth, sacramental substances,[974] et cetera; and by wonderful enlightened activity, the four ways of liberation,[975] they will maintain the true doctrine, down to the end of this evil age. Even in places where the teachings of the Vinaya and the sūtras do not exist, the teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality, which is that of the secret mantra, spreads little by little, and expands, without decline. Such is the extensive and continuous enlightened activity [of the treasures] which liberates

all beings who are hard to train. Guru [Padmasambhava] himself has asserted:

> In the defiled age the teaching's limits
> Will be preserved by treasures.

Accordingly, until the teaching of the Fifth Guide [Maitreya] arises, the activity of the profound treasures will never decline.

2 *Biographies of the Treasure-finders*

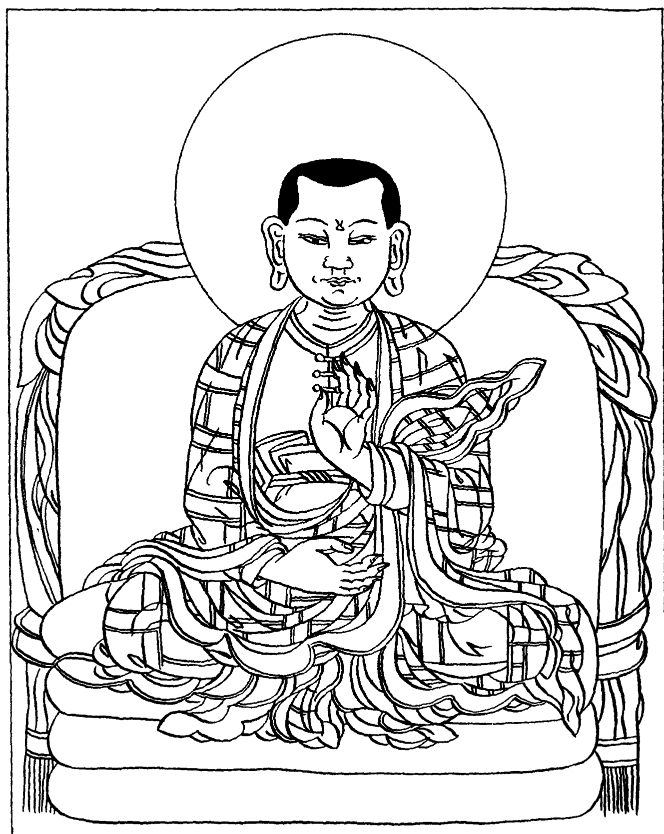
[523.2-523.6] Having thus explained the treasures in general, it will not be possible here to elaborate specifically and at length on the lives of the hosts of accomplished awareness-holders who have revealed the treasures. Included among them are those treasure-finders who have been roughly prophesied, along with their eras and characteristics, in [the various recensions of] the *Injunctions of Padma* (*padma bka'i thang-yig-rnams*),[976] as well as those who have appeared without being clearly referred to therein, but are none the less universally renowned as valid. [All their lives] can be learned from the earlier and later versions of the *Biographies of the Hundred Treasure-finders* (*gter-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar snga-phyi*)[977] and elsewhere. I have already described the lives of a few supreme, accomplished masters who were successors to the treasure doctrines in the course of several of the foregoing lineages. Here, I shall give only the essential accounts of a few of the most important proven promulgators of the Ancient Translation School in general, with respect to both the transmitted precepts and the treasures.

3 *Sangye Lama*

[523.6-525.5] The earliest of all treasure-finders was Sangye Lama. He was the first of the thirteen incarnations of Gyelse Lharje, during which he was always a treasure-finder. He was born at Tshowar in Latö, approximately during the early part of the life of the great translator Rincen Zangpo,[978] and lived as a shaven-headed monk who was an adherent of the mantra tradition. From a cross-beam in the temple of Lowo Gekar in Ngari he brought forth the *Trio of the Guru, Great Perfection, and Great Compassionate One* (*bla-rdzogs-thugs-gsum*); from the nearby rock of Tamdringül the *Combined Means for Attainment of the Three Roots called "Perpetual Vision of Accomplishment"* (*rtsa-gsum dril-sgrub dngos-grub brtan-gzigs*); and from Thangwar, Khoklang Rock and elsewhere the *Hayagrīva who Overpowers Arrogant Spirits* (*rta-mgrin dregs-pa zil-gnon*), many rituals of the sūtra tradition which had been translated from Chinese, notes on their ritual variants (*kha-bsgyur*), et cetera. He travelled throughout Central Tibet and Tsang, benefitted living creatures to the utmost, and lived until about the age of eighty. It is said that, later, Chöje Lingpa[979] also saw a kīla preserved at Tsāri Tshokar, which had come from Sangye Lama's treasures. The family of that treasure-finder continued until a later time in the region of Latö; and it seems that the treasure-finder called Sangye Bar, too, was born into this same family.

Because of their extreme antiquity, the empowerments, transmissions and texts of Sangye Lama's treasures did not continue later on, excepting the continuous transmission of a few minor sūtras. However, the vision of pristine cognition of the great Orgyen, the knower of the three times, and his spiritual sons, as well as their compassion, have no need for writing. With special consideration for the subjects of Tibet during the extremes of this defiled age, they inspired Pema Ösel Do-nga Lingpa [Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo], a unique charioteer of the ocean of profound treasures who had arisen as the unimpeded, magical emanation of the compassion of Vimalamitra and of the ancestral kings Trhisong Detsen and Relpacen, to be the master of seven successions of transmit-

ted precepts. Thus, all the profound treasures of the hundred treasure-finders directly and indirectly came into his hands, and indestructible prophecies repeatedly disclosed to him the true significance of these opportune occasions. So it was that the yellow scroll of the *Twenty-onefold Dialogue concerning the Combined Means for the Attainment of the Three Roots* (*rtsa-gsum dril-sgrub zhu-lan nyer-gcig-pa*), which was the essence of the profound treasures of this great emanational treasure-finder Sangye Lama, fell into Khyentse Rinpoche's hands.[980] The root text of the treasure could not be established, but Khyentse Rinpoche arranged the ceremonies for the rites and for the *torma* empowerment[981] in accordance with the intention of the text and propagated them. They are found in the *Great Store of Precious Treasures* (*rin-chen gter-gyi mdzod chen-po*).



Sangye Lama

4 *Trapa Ngönshe*

[525.5-527.3] Trapa Ngönshe, a simultaneous emanation of Shüpu Pelgi Senge and the great translator Vairocana, was born in 1012 (water male mouse year preceding the first cycle), into a family descended from Chim Dorje Peucung, at Kyi in Tra, Yoru. As a youth he awoke to the family of the true doctrine and entered the seminary of Samye. He was ordained as a novice by Yamshü Gyelwa-ö, a preceptor who had been Lume's disciple. He became known as Trapa because he was a native of Tra, and Ngönshe because his learning in the Abhidharma was extensive.[982] His ordination name was Wangcuk Bar. From above the door of the central shrine [at Samye] he extracted the *Secret Means for the Attainment of Red Jambhala* (*dzam-dmar gsang-sgrub*) and the *Tantra of the Yakṣa Vajra Mārajit* (*gnod-sbyin rdo-rje bdud-'dul-gyi rgyud*) along with its means for attainment.[983] In particular, as had been prophesied by Zhanglön,[984] he brought forth the master copies[985] of the *Four Glorious Tantras of Medical Science* (*gso-ba rig-pa dpal-ldan rgyud-bzhi'i bla-dpe*),[986] which had been translated by the great translator Vairocana, from the "Vase Pillar" in the middle storey of the innermost shrine at Samye, at three *chutsö* past midnight [approximately 1.12 a.m.] on Wednesday 19 July 1038 (fifteenth day, seventh month, earth male tiger year). He copied the books and returned the originals to their proper resting place. Then he concealed the copies for about one year. Afterwards, he gave them to Khutön Tarma-tra, the spiritual benefactor from Yarlung. The transmitted precepts fell to Yutok Yönten Gönpo, the second king of physicians in [Tibet] the range of snow mountains, who maintained the enlightened activity [of this medical tradition]. Thus, the enlightened activity and wonderful achievements of this master alone have been inconceivable.

By propitiating Jambhala, Trapa Ngönshe was granted the accomplishment of an abundance of gold. On that basis, he founded the great seminary of glorious Tratang[987] in the lower valley of Tranang, and built many similar establishments. Since he acted as master of all those, and of the seminary at Samye as well, he seems to have been a

great spiritual benefactor. Various streams of empowerment and transmission connected with the two aforementioned yakṣas [*Red Jambhala* and *Vajra Mārajit*], and the lineage of the exegetical transmission of the *Four Tantras of Medical Science (gso-dpyad rgyud-bzhi)*, have continued without interruption.



Trapa Ngönshe

5 *Nyang-rel Nyima Özer*

[527.3-533.5] The first of those who were famed as the five kingly treasure-finders and the three supreme emanations was Nyang-rel Nyima Özer, the deliberate reincarnation of the religious king Tshangpa Lhei Metok [i.e. Trhisong Detsen].[988] He was born at Sergön in Dzesa, a part of Tamshül in Lhodrak, in 1136 (fire male dragon year, second cycle).[989] His father was Nyangtön Chöki Khorlo, and his mother Pema Dewatsel. From his childhood onwards there were limitless wonderful signs: In his eighth year he had many pure visions of the Transcendent Lord Śākyendra,[990] the Great Compassionate One, Guru Rinpoche and others, and he was exhilarated for a whole month. In particular, one evening he envisaged Guru Rinpoche riding upon a white horse, the hoofs of which were supported by the ḍākinīs of the four classes. Guru Rinpoche gave him the four empowerments with nectar from his vase, as a result of which Nyang-rel had three experiences, which were like the sky being rent open, the earth shaking, and mountains moving. Consequently, his conduct underwent various changes and everyone held him to be insane. He received the empowerment of Hayagrīva from his father and after propitiating that deity at Dzepu Kang-ra had a vision of him. The neighing of a horse resounded from his copper kīla and Nyang-rel left the impressions of his hands and feet in rock. In accord with a prophetic declaration of the ḍākinīs he went to the base of Mawocok Rock, where a ḍākinī of pristine cognition conferred upon him the name Nyima Özer. He became known thus thereafter.

Guru Rinpoche emanated as a yogin called Wangcuk Dorje, who granted Nyang-rel essential documents containing an inventory [of treasures] and gave him lessons. Also, the inventories of Trapa Ngönshe and the Rashak Treasure-finder,[991] with their supplements, came into his hands. In accordance with them he proceeded to the treasure site at the base of Sinmo Parje Rock. He stayed the night there and on the following day a woman who was an emanation of Yeshe Tshogyel came bringing two antelope-skin chests loaded on a white mule. From within one of them she brought out a tiger-skin casket and offered it to Nyang-

rel. He also found the entrance to the treasures and discovered a copper casket, a clay vase, images, sacramental objects, and many other riches. From the copper casket there came forth [the doctrinal cycles of] the *Great Compassionate One* (*thugs-rje chen-po*) and the *Peaceful and Wrathful Aspects of the Guru* (*gu-ru zhi-drag*); from the clay vase the *Cycle of Mahākāla and Malevolent Mantras* (*mgon-po dang ngan-sngags-kyi skor*); and from the tiger-skin casket many doctrinal cycles of the ḍākinīs (*mkha'-'gro'i chos-skor*).



Nyang-rel Nyima Özer

Sometime thereafter a broken finger from an image was given to him by a merchant. Inside of it Nyang-rel found an inventory, following which he discovered two treasure chests, one brownish and the other pale gray, behind an image of Vairocana at Khoting. From inside the brownish chest there came forth the *Tantra of the Gathering of the Sugatas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts*, along with its transmissions and esoteric instructions, arranged in one hundred and thirty doctrinal topics (*bka'-brgyad bde-gshegs 'dus-pa'i rgyud-lung-man-ngag-dang-bcas-pa'i chos-tshan brgya-dang sum-cur bkod-pa*), written in the handwriting of Vairocana and that of Denma Tsemang for use as the religious king Trhisong Detsen's personal copies. Within the pale gray chest he found

[images, books, and stūpas] representing respectively the body, speech and mind of Hayagrīva, plus sacraments and much else besides. Moreover, from Samye Chimpu, Sinca Rock in Namkecen, the shrine of Enetrakri, and elsewhere, he also brought forth many treasure troves.

Nyang-rel Nyima Özer attended on numerous gurus including his father, the great Nyangtön; Gyanyönpa Tönden; Zhikpo Nyima Senge; Mel Kawacenpa; and Tönpa Khace.[992] Under [these masters] he studied mantras and dialectics extensively. He practised the attainment of the *Guru as the Gathering of the Three Bodies* (*bla-ma sku-gsum 'dus-pa*) for three years, whereupon he met the master Padmasambhava in person and obtained many oral authorisations. While experientially cultivating the *Guru as the Attainment of Mind* (*bla-ma thugs-sgrub*) at Mutik Shelgi Pagong, Yeshe Tshogyel actually arrived and bestowed on him the text of the *Hundredfold Dialogue of the Ḍākinī* (*mkha'-'gro'i zhu-lan brgya-rtsa*). She led Nyang-rel to the Śītavana charnel ground, where the master Guru Rinpoche and the eight awareness-holders who were successors to the transmitted precepts gave him, separately, the empowerments of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-brgyad*), in general and in particular. They also gave him the tantras and the esoteric instructions in their entirety.

Nyang-rel took Cobuma, an emanation of Yeshe Tshogyel, to be his wife, and she bore him two sons, Drogön Namka Özer and Namka Pelwa, an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. Once, when the accomplished master Ngödrup arrived, Nyang-rel volunteered that he possessed the treasure troves of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts*. Ngödrup then stated that he had preserved the related *Transmitted Precepts of the Narrow Path to the Fortress* (*rdzong-'phrang bka'-ma*). Nyang-rel therefore studied them as well and blended together, into one stream, the transmitted precepts and the treasures. The accomplished master Ngödrup also gave him the *Five Scrolls of the Doctrinal Cycle of the Great Compassionate One* (*thugs-rje chen-po'i chos-skor shog-dril lnga*) which he had discovered in Lhasa, saying, "Now, you are their master."[993]

Once, while Nyang-rel was performing the means for the attainment of elixir (*sman-sgrub*) the elixir goddess personally offered moist myrobalan to him, together with the leaves.[994] He could ascend, cross-legged, into the sky, travel without his feet touching the ground, and display countless other miraculous abilities. He devoted his whole life to meditative attainment and the advancement of education together. Later, his enlightened activity became as vast as space; so his legacy to the teaching was inconceivable.

In his sixty-ninth year, 1204 (wood male mouse),[995] Nyang-rel Nyima Özer displayed vast wondrous omens. Above all, a white syllable HRĪḤ emerged from his heart and went off to Sukhāvatī. In this way did he withdraw from the array of his body. He had predicted that three emanations of his body, speech, and mind would arise simultaneously.

When Chak Lotsāwa went to cremate the master's remains, he failed to start a fire. Then the pyre ignited all by itself and everyone saw a young boy in the crematorium, surrounded by ḍākinīs, and chanting HA RI ṆI SA with them, as well as many other omens. Many extraordinary relics were left behind as objects of veneration.

During the actual funeral ceremonies, the great paṇḍita Śākyaśrī and his followers were invited to attend, and they were delighted with vast offerings of gold. Nyang-rel's son, thinking he should be ordained as a novice asked Śākyaśrī, who refused to grant his request, saying, "Both of you, father and son, have been great bodhisattvas; and I cannot interrupt a family line of bodhisattvas. Maintaining your present lifestyle you will be of great benefit to living creatures."

Śākyaśrī's extensive praise of both the doctrine and the man shows that, from the start, Nyang-rel was universally renowned as a great indisputable and authentic treasure-finder. Moreover, even biased partisans of the new translation schools are free from the taint of having harboured perverse notions [about Nyang-rel], and he became as famous in the Land of Snows as the sun and moon.

Nyang-rel's son and main disciple, Drogön Namka Pelwa, was the master of his teaching, to whom the succession of the transmitted precepts of maturation and liberation was entrusted in its entirety. A prophetic declaration states him to have been the emanation of Avalokiteśvara. Thinking to fulfil [his father's] intention, through his exceedingly great miraculous abilities he drove the stones in front of Mount Shampo into the sky, as if they were herds of sheep. Others never knew where they came from, but they all landed in a grey mass on the banks of the Kyicu in Lhasa, where they were used for [the reconstruction of] the dike[996] [which protected the image of] Lord [Śākyamuni in Lhasa]. It is said that in past times those stones could be distinguished without error.

Drogön Namka Pelwa also commissioned one hundred and eight wall-sized paintings in the Nepali style. He possessed exceedingly great occult powers and abilities and was served by the protectors of the doctrine. Therefore, he could destroy all his enemies with lightning, hail and so forth, by sheer force at any time of the day, disregarding the season or month.[997] There are many stories which illustrate this. Because of his inconceivable compassion Guru Chöwang and many other emanations became his disciples.

His son, Ngadak Loden, was an emanation of Mañjuśrī, and his son Ngadak Düdül, in turn, an emanation of Vajrapāṇi. Thus, from these emanations of [the Lords of] the Three Families, who are praised in scripture, there developed successively the "lineage of the sons". There were also the lineages of Nyang-rel Nyima Özer's disciples, the foremost

of whom were the five "sons who were successors to the transmitted precepts", including Nyö Tragyel, Zhikpo Dütsi, and Menlungpa Mikyö Dorje. Up to the present day these lineages have all-pervasively increased his doctrinal activity throughout Tibet, both on the frontiers, and in central districts.

6 *Guru Chöki Wangcuk*

[533.5-552.3] The second of the famed five kingly treasure-finders and the three supreme emanations was the precious Guru Chöki Wangcuk. The religious king Trhisong Detsen reached the highest fruition in the form of the precious Ngadak Nyang[-rel Nyima Özer] and had attained buddhahood on [the level called] Unattached Lotus Endowed.[998] Guru Chöki Wangcuk was then revealed as an emanation of his buddha-speech.

Moreover, during the ancient propagation of the teaching a Pönpo named Nyaring had vowed to kill King Trhisong by bringing down a thunderbolt. At that, a powerful mantra adept called Pangje Tsentram, who was a disciple of master Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Vairocana, raised his index finger menacingly, and the five thunderbolts which the Pönpo brought down simultaneously were returned to be his own executioners. The Pönpo's village was devastated. The king conferred great rewards on the mantra adept, whose son, Pang Rikdzin Nyingpo, was appointed to be the officiating priest of the four Further Taming temples.[999] Once a year he would visit Khoting to conduct the rites of worship there, and on one such occasion he met the great minister of Layak Dzawar, who presented him with many riches and estates. He accepted them, saying, "This was my land during a previous life."

From Pang's son, Künkyen Sherap Gyelpo, there descended an unbroken line of sagacious and powerful masters; and in that line there arose one Pangtön Trupei Nyingpo. He asked Lama Sangye Nyigom to grant him the vows of celibacy, but was told, "One [married] bodhisattva can benefit living creatures more than an assembly of eight monks. So, I will not break a line of bodhisattvas."

While Pangtön was living at home, he received a prophetic declaration telling him to take the ḍākinī Kargi Wangmo to be his wife. Knowing that this referred to one Karza Gönkyi, who was descended from a family of accomplished masters who could roam through the sky, he married her.

When he was studying the *Root Fragment of Vajrakīla* under Drigung Kyopa,[1000] the latter said to him, "Instruct your youngest son in the doctrine. He will undertake enlightened activity." Zhang Rinpoche had also said to him, "Geshe Locungpa! maybe I will be reborn as your son! That's a joke. But you *will* have a son like me." Pangtön obtained many other prophecies in the same vein.



Guru Chöki Wangcuk

When [the son who had been thus prophesied] entered his mother's womb, there were wonderful omens: The sun and moon were conjoined and vanished into the crown of her head; from her womb there resounded the sound of the unborn syllable A; verses were heard when she was handed a ceremonial silk arrow;[1001] and so forth. Then, at sunrise on Thursday 19 January 1212 (fifteenth day, first month, water male monkey year, fourth cycle)[1002] the boy was born. At the time, his father was making a gold copy of the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī* and, to check the coincidence, noted that he had just reached the words,

Lord of doctrine, king of doctrine...[1003]

Therefore, the child was named Chöki Wangcuk, "Lord of Doctrine". Seers declared, too, that the infant was worshipped by gods and demons.

Beginning in his fourth year Chöwang learned writing and reading from his father. He studied thirteen treatises on grammar, including the *Sword at the Gateway to Language* (*smra-sgo mtshon-cha*, T 4295), *Five Texts on the Recitation of Sanskrit Formulae* (*rig-klag sde-lnga*), and the *Great Vivarta* (*bi-barta chen-mo*); ten treatises on the principles of behaviour, including the *Point of Human Sustenance*; Chinese divination; the transmitted precepts and treasures on medical science; seven texts on royal genealogy (*rgyal-rabs sde-bdun*); one hundred and four treatises on music and drama, including the *Collected Stories of the Great Lineage of Riddles* (*lde-brgyud chen-po'i sgrung-'bum*);[1004] seventy-five great texts of Pön; one hundred great texts on rites of thread-cross exorcism; much iconometry of the inner and outer traditions of secret mantra; four great volumes of the *Vajrakīla* cycle (*phur-pa'i skor pod-chen bzhi*); and many others. In his tenth year he studied six traditions of Vajrapāṇi according to the new translation schools; and when he propitiated that deity the water in his ritual vase began to boil. He performed the ritual services of Yamāntaka and Vajrakīla to their full measure. In his eleventh year he completed [the study of] the empowerments, tantras, and esoteric instructions of the *Magical Net*. At twelve he learned the *Kaṅkaṇi Dhāraṇī* (*ka-ka-ni*) and the *Five Protective Dhāraṇī* (*Pañcarakṣā*, T558-9 & 561-3), and the *Hundred Means for Attainment*; and he performed the practice of the Hundred-Syllable Mantra (*yig-brgya*). In his thirteenth year he received many traditions of the ancient and new translation schools, including *Yangdak Heruka*, *Mātaraḥ* and *Yamāntaka*, two traditions of the *Great Compassionate One*, and *Hayagrīva*; and he propitiated them.

During his thirteenth year, too. Chöwang experienced a vision in which the lady Tārā led him to the top of a crystal castle where he met Vajrasattva. There was a four-faced ḍākinī there, whose white face in front said, "You will maintain the teaching of the Buddha"; her yellow face to the right, "You must propagate the true doctrine"; her red face to the rear, "You will exalt the station of the *saṃgha*"; and her blue face to the left, "You must tame those who are hard to train in this evil age". With these words she handed him a white arrow with five quills.[1005]

In his fourteenth year Guru Chöwang studied logic, the *Compendium of the Abhidharma*, the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva*, the *Hevajra Tantra*, and other great texts under Tise Trogyang Sarwa. He also received esoteric instructions such as those of the Great Seal, Great Perfection, Pacification, and Six Doctrines. He studied the *Brief Account of the Truths according to the Madhyamaka* (*dbu-ma bden-chung*, T 3902 & 4467) under Thakorwa; the exegesis and attainment of the cycle of Atiyoga, and other sūtras and mantras of the ancient and new traditions under Tshurtön, father and son; and Pacification, the Great Seal, Great Perfection, Object of Cutting, an introduction to the instructions (*gdams-*

ngag ngo-sprad), and all the wrathful mantras of the protectors of the teaching under his father. And he experientially mastered them all.

In his seventeenth year he met Ngadak Drogön and became the master of the infinite treasure doctrines of the precious Nyang-rel Nyima Özer. When he was eighteen he received [the vows of] the cultivation of the enlightened attitude from Sakya Paṇḍita at Nezhi Gangpo, a doctrinal connection at Kyangsar, and attended the consecration at the Stūpa of Lhalung. That night, in a dream, he went in search of an *udumbara* flower on Mount Wu-t'ai-shan in China, where, seated atop a blue lotus, the sublime Mañjuśrī declared:

> *Jñānakāya Dharmadhātu*! [Body of pristine cognition, expanse of reality!] I am the lord of the doctrine. I know your mind. Knowing the mind is an inconceivable approach to the doctrine. The meaning of this inconceivable approach to the doctrine is naturally present, pristine cognition, the sole seminal point. Now, I have explained to you the meaning of the eighty-four thousand doctrinal components. Examine the significance of it!

At that, Chöwang awoke from his sleep with the conviction that he had obtained the entire doctrine.

When he was in his thirteenth year an inventory on yellow paper, which had been discovered at Samye by Trapa Ngönshe and gradually passed on, came into his possession. In the meantime, many foolish charlatans had tried to find treasure by relying on that inventory. Some had lost their lives and others had to escape from thunderbolts and hailstorms. If anyone kept that inventory at home, its magic became intolerable. And if anyone disposed of it in an abyss, at a crossroad, in a whirlpool, or underground, it remained undamaged by the elements. Since no one could handle it, it became known as the "Yellow Scroll of Devastation". Guru Chöwang's father said, "What will you do with that Yellow Scroll of Devastation, which destroys everything? Can you bribe death?" So he stole the inventory and hid it elsewhere.

Afterwards, in his twenty-second year, Guru Chöwang furtively recovered it and befriended a realised practitioner of the Object of Cutting. With the latter's help, he found a supplementary inventory in the valley of Namkecen in Layak Nyin. He was entrusted with the key by the nine-headed nāga demon who guarded the treasure and by a ḍākinī of pristine cognition, who appeared in the guise of a consort. When he opened the door of the cavern he discovered that the essence of the treasure was a vulture as large as a garuḍa. Riding upon it, he flew over the thirteen stages of the heavens and met the buddha Vajrasattva surrounded by a canopy of rainbow light. He obtained the empower-

ment of the expressive play of awareness[1006] and was given a vase of nectar. Returning, he opened the door as described in the treasure inventory and extracted a cubit-tall image of a nine-headed nāga in bronze, and two copper amulet-boxes. Inside the nāga image he discovered four instructional cycles and within the amulet-boxes one hundred and eight esoteric instructions.

This was the first of the eighteen great treasure troves, nineteen with the addition of the mind treasure, which he obtained, and which are set forth in this mnemonic:

> Namkecen (i), and Trakmar (ii), Tamdrinzhap (iii),
> Mönkateng (iv), and Tamdrin (v), Entseigo (vi),
> Khoyishinmar (vii), Tamdrin (viii), Dromcöla (ix),
> Sekar (x), Kyawophukring (xi), Caktepma (xii),
> Samye Ārya (xiii), Cakpur (xiv), Mön Bumthang (xv),
> Tsiki Temple (xvi), Rong Rock (xvii), Hawo Kang (xviii),
> And the self-concealed, genuine treasure (xix)
> Came to me, Chöwang, by the power of propensities.

Furthermore, when he brought out those treasures there were most wondrous apparitions, which were witnessed by fortunate persons. Generally, he imposed oaths of allegiance on the lords of the treasures. Otherwise, he commissioned fortunate and worthy persons to do so. Therefore, all his revelations were indisputable.

His father heard of this and said, "Bring out whatever treasures you are said to have discovered."

When Guru Chöwang handed over the copper amulet-boxes, his father said, "Read the catalogue of contents aloud."

He read it and, again, his father said, "Wasn't there a book called the *Buddhasamāyoga Tantra which, Known Alone, Liberates All* (*sangs-rgyas mnyam-sbyor-gyi rgyud gcig-shes kun-grol*)? Read that to me."

When he had read the tantra from the beginning, his father declared, "Now I understand. That's enough. Previously, I have given you not just a little advice. Even if there are additional disputes later on, no more dead words will come of it. Now, that treasure of yours brings an end to any expectations of ruin or fulfilment. It is undisputably a transmitted precept of the great Orgyen, the knower of the three times. I do not need to hope now for other treasure doctrines, however profound.

"The advice I have for you [comes from] forty years, during which I have gathered the intentions of all the learned and accomplished gurus in the four quarters of Tibet, cut through conceptual elaborations, and determined that this mind alone is the ground and root of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. Now, if you listen to my words, you will by all means emphasise the *Trio of the Guru, Great Perfection, and Great Compassionate One* above all else. Besides that, do not pay even a bit of attention to sorcery

and malign mantras, catapults and explosive weapons, hexes and magic or to any of the other crooked crafts,[1007] until you have emphasised this doctrine above all else. He who does not master it, though he has learned much else, dies a beggar.

"In general, I am by no means opposed to the treasure doctrines. The Buddha made prophetic declarations concerning treasures in all the sūtras and tantras. They were the practices attained by awareness-holders of the past. But previously, there were some small-minded treasure-finders who did not reveal the doctrines in their pure form. They indulged in favouritism and flattery and did not achieve much of benefit to living creatures. By propagating malign mantras before all else Gya Zhangtrom[1008] obstructed the welfare of living creatures. Doctor Kutsa, owing to his medical practice, neglected to serve living beings through the doctrine. By practising rites of thread-cross exorcism, the Rashak Treasure-finder later became merely an exorcist. And Pönpo Traksel propitiated Pehar first and foremost, and so became no more than a sorcerer. Such examples are endless.

"Though the conquerors of the past intended to benefit others, these treasure-finders became useless because, without straightening out the root doctrinal texts, they proceeded to act in the name of enlightened activity. But if you practise the doctrine, the protectors of doctrine will incidentally arrive. Even if you do not practise sorcery it will come, for such is the pledge of the doctrinal protectors themselves. Devote yourself to the experiential cultivation of the *Trio of the Guru, Great Perfection, and Great Compassionate One* without many capricious thoughts. Ngadak Nyang and his son are revered by men because of their propitiation of the Great Compassionate One. They are the only treasure-finders who have not come to ruin.

"Six years ago, I intimated that I was to pass away. Now, that time will come in about two months. Men will come saying yours is a false treasure. Disregard them. Before me thirteen generations of the Pang family have passed, and among them there has been no one who did not acquire signs of accomplishment. And I have by no means been the weakest of them."

Ngadak Drogön examined Guru Chöwang's discoveries, saying, "I have had great experience of treasures"; and he was highly delighted. But the master Thakorwa saw a prophecy among them which spoke of an impending invasion of Tibet by the Mongolian army, and he ridiculed it, saying, "Nowadays there are no Mongols in our country." Guru Chöwang was heart-broken and inclined to reconceal the instructions, but two girls helped him to mount a white, winged horse and led him to the glorious [Copper-coloured] Mountain on Cāmaradvīpa. The great Orgyen gave him the complete empowerment of the *Consummation of Secrets (gsang-ba yongs-rdzogs)* and inspired him with instructions and advice, saying:

The highest path of all is service to others.
Whoever grows weary of this
Lengthens the path to enlightenment.

Then Guru Rinpoche said to him, "Do not hanker after this place. If you do, there is a danger that you will transfer from one lifetime to the next." At that moment Guru Chöwang was raised by what seemed to be a globe of light and arrived back home in an instant. In 1240 (iron male mouse year) the army of the Mongol Dorta the Black arrived, and the future was clearly established.[1009]

The truest of Guru Chöwang's disciples was one Bharo Tsukdzin from Kathmandu in Nepal.[1010] On his way to Tibet in search of gold he had received a prophetic declaration from a ḍākinī saying that he would meet the Guru himself. For seven days he actually perceived Guru Chöwang to be Orgyen. Just by hearing the master's speech realisation arose. One evening, while giving an empowerment, Guru Chöwang said to him, "How do you see me?"

"I actually see the meditational deity," replied Bharo.

"Well then, there is no other to whom to offer the feast and the *tormas*!" So saying, Chöwang consumed the offerings for the feast, which included half the carcass of a Bharal sheep,[1011] in an instant. "Now, how do you see me?" he asked.

"The Buddha is actually present," was Bharo's answer.

"Well then, I shall empower you!" At that, he gathered up the implements of worship, broke up the maṇḍala, and began to dance in the place it had been. Knowing that the constitution and attitudes of his worthy disciple were those of one whose conduct was free from acceptance and rejection, and who was fearless with respect to the great commitments of indestructible reality, Guru Chöwang sent forth Vairocana from the great maṇḍala of his indestructible body, from the divine gateway, in the form of great fragrance [excrement] and gave Bharo the empowerment. Bharo's experience was like that of a snake casting off its slough. Similarly, from the swift, secret path of his vajra, Chöwang poured Amoghasiddhi onto the tip of Bharo's tongue in the form of perfume [urine] and Bharo blazed with the all-surpassing, pristine cognition of incorruptible, supreme bliss.[1012]

The master then poked Bharo's heart with his finger, and said, "Recognise this so-called 'I'."

Bharo's clinging to objects vanished like mist.

"Do not deviate from the significance of seeing this 'I'. There is not so much as a hair there on which to meditate!"

When the master said that, Bharo developed an especially great realisation of the Great Perfection, free from activity and impartial. Extraordinary certainty was born within him. "Now", he said, "I would not think to request empowerment even if the buddhas of the

three times appeared. Should I also cancel this business of going to India?"

Guru Chöwang replied, "If a buddha were to arise who did not wander in saṃsāra he would be an extremist! Go to India. If you find a guru, serve the guru. If you find disciples, educate the disciples." To Bharo it seemed that this advice was exceedingly fine.

Again, this Newar, Bharo, was a person of very great faith whose propensities had awakened: Looking at the guru's hips he saw the eyes of a wrathful deity; he saw him discuss the doctrine with ḍākinīs and so on. Thus, he only saw the guru in pure visions. Once he asked the master, "Have you realised the signs of accomplishment in the practices of sorcery?"

"I have reached the real point of their practical application, but because I devote myself to reciting the mantra OṂ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ I have no leisure to practise them."[1013]

At that the Newar requested him to demonstrate the occult power of "liberation". Guru Chöwang approached a rabbit. He drew the shape of a rabbit on the ground, repeated a mantra seven times over a needle, and stabbed the drawing. At that instant the rabbit tumbled over. Chöwang said, "Now, we must purify its obscurations. Bring the rabbit." He fastened to it a liberating diagram[1014] and took [the rabbit's consciousness] into his following by offering *tormas* and a dedication of merit. Then Bharo asked, "If such sorcery were used on men, would it not be terrible?"

"Men and marmots are similar," answered the guru, and he performed the same action as before, but with a drawing of a marmot. Consequently, they recovered a corpse from a marmot's burrow. "This is the outcome of such practice. I will teach no one, because it is harmful to sentient beings. Even against an enemy one should not utilise any power that does not conduce to buddhahood. Since these two creatures were animals, I have 'liberated' them. Otherwise, [remember that] it is exceedingly hard to obtain a human body. The sin of taking life is infinite. It is not limited to one death, but all those who are related or associated suffer as well. Occult power should not be used even against an enemy. Rather, we should cultivate compassion."

Thus, Guru Chöwang was one who especially undertook to practise the conduct of a bodhisattva. His vows not to use occult power and sorcery for his own sake were exceedingly firm; and because the compassionate aspect [of such rites] reached its mark, this great guru actualised [the meaning of the phrase] "To liberate even the three evil destinies through compassion." He killed the body of past deeds, a mass composed of the five poisons, and resurrected the consciousness in the expanse of reality. In this way, he brought saṃsāra to its end, and so achieved that which is most wonderful among [acts of] killing and resurrection.

At the time of his departure, the Newar, Bharo, offered sixty *zho*[1015] of gold and requested Guru Chöwang to prevent obstacles from arising on his return journey to India and Nepal. The guru mixed the gold with flour and performed a burnt offering, whereby the knot of Bharo's avarice was completely released. Moreover, this was a wondrous deed which demonstrated his conviction in the Precious Jewels; for, having taken the Precious Jewels as their objects of reference, those who have accustomed themselves to the practice of liberality do not manifestly act as do those who harbour doubts when they renounce material things as being insubstantial, but, none the less, their display of delight over merits which appear as substantial objects may arouse the scrutiny of small-minded persons.

Afterwards, the guru said to Bharo, "Dispose of the ashes from the burnt offering by scattering them in the water, without any reservation. On the way someone will come to give you food. Accept it!"

Bharo did as he was told and was offered a turnip by a girl. He presented it to the guru, who said, "Cook it covered with a cloth."[1016] Then, when Guru Chöwang escorted him a short distance on his journey to India, Bharo once more offered him three *zho* of gold. The guru said, "If we delighted the ḍākinīs by burning gold in fire, they will rejoice even more if we throw this gold into water." And he cast the gold into a river.

Guru Chöwang could reveal himself in six bodily forms simultaneously. He flew in the sky and left countless impressions of his hands and feet in stone, and displayed many other miraculous feats. For this reason he was praised not only by the Nyingmapa, but also by such [adherents of the new translation schools] as the all-knowing Phak-ö and Putön Rinpoche, who praised Guru Chöki Wangcuk as an incomparably great accomplished master. Chöwang clearly remembered thirteen lives beginning with the religious king Trhisong's immediate reincarnation, Ö Thaye, the son of the gods, through to Ngadak Nyang-rel Nyima Özer. Even Śakra and sons of the gods offered him worship and praise. All the gurus of Tibet revered him as their own guru and his reputation shook the earth.

Guru Chöwang built the two temples of Tshongdü Gurmo and Samdrup Dewachenpo. This great treasure-finder discovered an image of the Lord of Sages that was similar to the image of Lord Śākyamuni in Lhasa, and which had been recovered from Mount Mucilinda by the sublime Nāgārjuna and concealed on the snowpeak of Hawo by the great Padmasambhava of Oḍḍiyāna. He enshrined it in the Guru Temple in Layak, which became his main seat. During that era the great gurus and aristocrats of Tibet, without distinction, all came before his feet.

Having served living creatures by such inconceivable compassion and enlightened activity, the time for Guru Chöwang to consummate his deeds drew near. He said:

Concerning me, Chöki Wangcuk,
Sentient beings have diverse thoughts.
Some delight if Chöwang is happy,
Others fear the happiness of Chöwang.

And he continued:

Chöwang's mind knows neither hope, nor fear:
Chöwang's mind knows not pain;
May those who delight in his happiness rejoice!
Chöwang has not abandoned pain;
May those who delight in his suffering rejoice!
Chöwang's mind knows neither birth, nor death;
May those who fear he might die rejoice!
Chöwang's mind has died in the expanse of reality;
May those who fear he might not die rejoice!
Chöwang's mind knows neither change, nor transformation;
May those who hope for eternity rejoice!
Chöwang's mind knows not substantial existence;
May those who fear eternity rejoice!

Thus, he lived as a great master of yoga who had totally uprooted hope and fear.

So that his efforts spent in constructing his temples should prove worthwhile, he gave this advice about the necessary service:

If one harms what is sacred, though he be your own son, throw him out!
But if even a beggar does a service for the temple, do him honour!

Moreover, he said:

To the celestial palace of reality's expanse, all-positive, supreme bliss,
The illusory person who is Chöwang, will now withdraw.
It seems that this body has finished training all of those whom it must.
The signs that my past evil deeds are exhausted have also ripened in this body.
Chöwang's human form, like one in a dream, now will vanish and go.
I dreamt that the gathering, the master and all his disciples, found a pile of gems:
It is a sign that all associated with me will obtain supreme bliss.

Also, he declared:

> Everyone who eats a single fragment of my flesh, or bones,
> As small as a pea, or a mustard seed, traversing the path, will
> reach supreme bliss.

Guru Chöwang inspired his disciples with these and other similar oral instructions. Then, in his fifty-ninth year, displaying inconceivable signs and miracles, Guru Chöwang departed for the great Palace of Lotus Light.

During that era, when two mantra adepts would meet on the road, they would ask, "Which is your tradition, that of the Earlier or Later Treasure Troves?"[1017] Accordingly, Guru Chöwang was known as a great promulgator of profound treasures.

Among his descendants there was a continuous lineage of sons, consisting of extraordinary individuals such as Pema Wangcen, who was an emanation of Langdro, and Nyel Nyima Özer. In particular, foremost among the lineage of his disciples were Menlungpa Mikyö Dorje,[1018] who was vastly learned in all the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Ancient Translation School, the Newar Bharo Tsukdzin, the nine "worthy sons" and Maṇi Rincen of Katok,[1019] who passed away into a pure realm without relinquishing his body. These and others in the lineage of disciples, who reached high stages of accomplishment, extensively propagated the profound doctrines of Guru Chöwang, of which the foremost were the rites of the enlightened activity of the Great Compassionate One, throughout India, Nepal and the frontier and central districts of Tibet and Kham. The stream has continued until the present day without interruption.

7 Como Menmo

[552.3-557.5] Of the two characteristic ḍākinīs, who were the real presence of Yeshe Tshogyel,[1020] compiler of the most secret transmitted precepts, the first is well known to have been the great emanational treasure-finder Como Menmo. In the prophetic text of her own treasure, the *Gathering of All the Secrets of the Ḍākinīs* (*mkha'-'gro gsang-ba kun-'dus*) it says:

> At sometime the ḍākinīs will entrust this doctrine
> To a girl of enlightened family,
> Blessed by the ḍākinīs, and born in a monkey year.
> Her conduct will be secret, her name Como.
> By realising its blessing she will be naturally liberated,
> But at that time it will not much benefit others.
> Still, all her associates will be conveyed to the level of supreme bliss,
> And will obtain enlightenment, not leaving a trace of their bodies.[1021]

Thus, it was clearly prophesied that she would be truly liberated.

She emanated forth, like a blossoming lotus, in 1248 (earth male monkey year, fourth cycle),[1022] near the Guru's meditation cave at Zarmolung in Eyül, the birthplace of awareness. Her father was a mantrin of a Takpo family named Dorje Gyelpo, and her mother, Pema Peldzom, was descended from the ḍākinīs. Her parents named her Pema Tshokyi. Because her father was a landowner who had not fallen into the extremes of either wealth or poverty, the infant girl was nursed tenderly, but her mother died when she was in her fifth year and her father remarried. Then, she was sent to graze cattle and forced to do all sorts of menial chores. So, she experienced a little hardship.

During this period, when she was in her thirteenth year, she was grazing the cattle during the springtime near the Secret Cave of Supreme Bliss, one of Guru Padmasambhava's places of attainment, at Khyungcen Dingwei Trak in Zarmolung in E. She had dozed off there



Como Menmo

for a short while when a melodious voice coming from the rock roused her from sleep. She saw the entrance of the secret cave open abruptly and her mood changed. Entering the cave without hesitation, she came upon a group of ḍākinīs in the midst of a terrifying charnel ground. The leader of the host actually appeared as Vajravarāhī, and inspired her, saying, "Welcome! girl of our enlightened family." Vajravarāhī took a small volume from the rock behind her and laid it on the crown of Como's head, thus conferring on her the entire maturation [of its empowerment] and liberation [of its guidance] all at once. Then she entrusted her with the book, saying, "This contains the instructions of the *Gathering of All the Secrets of the Ḍākinīs.* If you experientially cultivate it in utmost secrecy, you will obtain the supreme accomplishment." Receiving this prophetic declaration, the girl became a great, native yoginī, who knew all things to be naturally liberated. When they had enjoyed the feast offerings, the emanated maṇḍala became invisible and the ḍākinīs departed for their own domain.

The nectar of the Vajra Queen's blessing matured in Como's mind, and at all times, day and night, she spontaneously poured forth many

doctrinal expressions. Some people had faith in her, because of the songs and dances of indestructible reality and her unimpeded telepathic statements. But the majority gave her the nickname Como Menmo, saying, "Having fallen asleep on the mountainside, she has been possessed by a Menmo spirit."[1023] For this reason, she became distressed and decided to leave her own country and travel about with no fixed destination.

She went to Layak Pangdrong in west Lhodrak. Just by meeting Guru Chöki Wangcuk there co-emergent, pristine cognition was effortlessly born within her. The precious Chöwang, too, realised that she was one of the five characteristic consorts prophesied by Guru Padmasambhava, and took her as his secret seal of action.[1024] She unravelled the knots of his energy channels, whereby he realised all the symbols and meanings of the *Great Esoteric Instructional Tantra of the Eight Transmitted Precepts, the Consummation of Secrets* (*bka'-brgyad gsang-ba yongs-rdzogs man-ngag-gi rgyud chen-po*), which he had not been able to establish previously; and he translated it into Tibetan. Consequently their union, which was one of mutual advantage, came to be unsurpassedly beneficial.

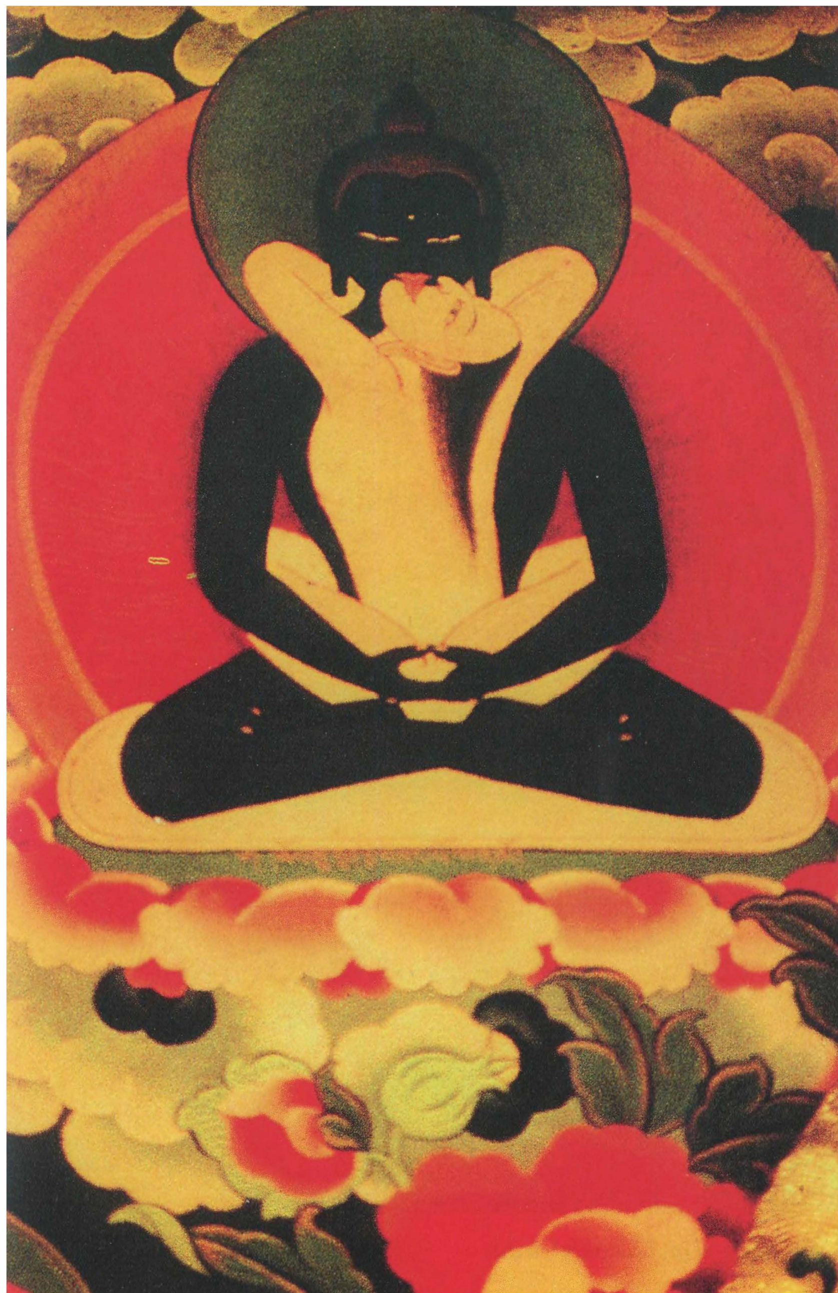
Having stayed there for only a short period of time, Como Menmo received all sorts of essential [teachings on] maturation, liberation, and the instructions. Finally, the great treasure-finder said to her, "It seems that your profound doctrine, the *Ḍākinī* volume, is the most wonderful essence of the meditative commitment of your previous life as the ḍākinī Yeshe Tshogyel. But now is not the time to propagate it on behalf of living creatures. Experientially cultivate it in utmost secrecy. Wander throughout the provinces of Central Tibet and Tsang, and benefit living creatures in a secret manner, which will convey all your associates to the level of supreme bliss. In the end you will attain the accomplishment of the sky-farers, without relinquishing your body."

Obeying his earnest admonition Como Menmo, accompanied by two worthy yoginīs, travelled to all the districts and sub-districts as far as Tingri in Latö. Once, she met Lingje Repa and, relying on symbolic means, opened the energy channel of his discriminative awareness, whereby an all-surpassing realisation was born within him. In this way, he became famous all the way to the River Ganges for his lofty realisation.[1025]

So it was that in the end, having spontaneously benefitted living creatures in a secret manner, Como Menmo, then in her thirty-sixth year, went to the summit of Trak Lhari in Central Tibet. It was Wednesday 4 August 1283 (tenth day, seventh month).[1026] The mistress and her two servants performed a feast offering and then the three of them flew off into the sky, like the king of birds, garuḍa. Without relinquishing their bodies they rose higher and higher in the expanse of space and journeyed unimpededly to the assembly of ḍākinīs on the

glorious Copper-coloured Mountain of Orgyen. When this occurred, they were actually seen by the local cowherds, who, on arrival there, ate some of the scattered offerings, and so became naturally absorbed in contemplation.

This great secret, which is so amazing, renowned as the *Gathering of All the Secrets of the Ḍākinīs*, remained in the possession of the ḍākinīs for some time, and was beyond the reach and range of ordinary persons. The time to train beings by means of it came later in this age of strife, when, by the power of compassion and enlightened aspirations, the transmission of its words and meaning fell to the emanational treaure-finder, the great awareness-holder, Pema Ösel Do-nga Lingpa. This is because, first and foremost, during his past life as the precious Chöwang, Como Menmo had been his secret friend, and also because he was blessed by the ḍākinīs of pristine cognition. By the great, magical display of his recollection he established the text, which is preserved in the *Great Store of Precious Treasure*.



1 *Samanthabhadra with consort*



2 *The peaceful and wrathful deities*



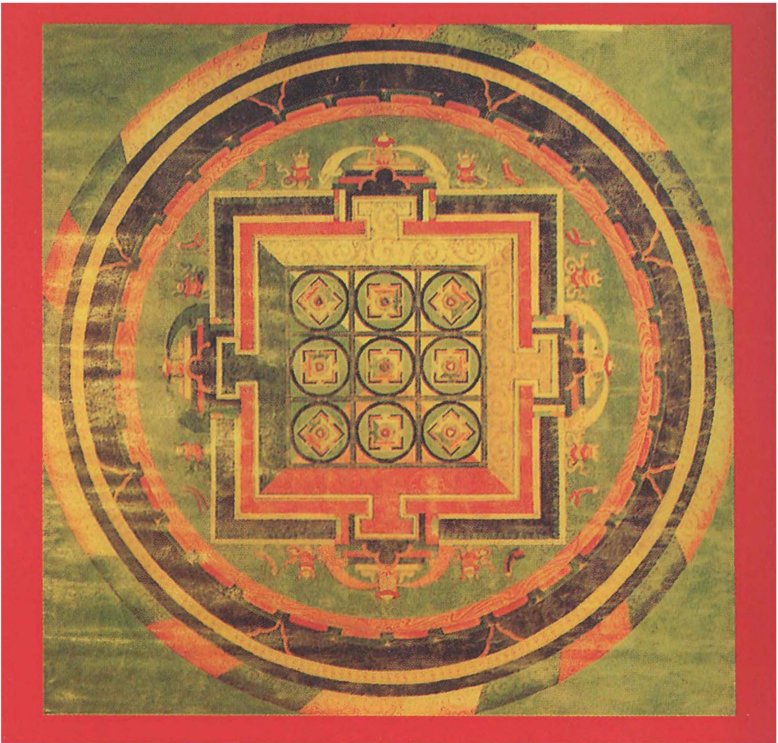
3 *Vajrasattva*



4 *Mahottara Heruka*



5 *Padmasambhava, his two foremost consorts, and eight manifestations*



6 *Maṇḍalas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts*

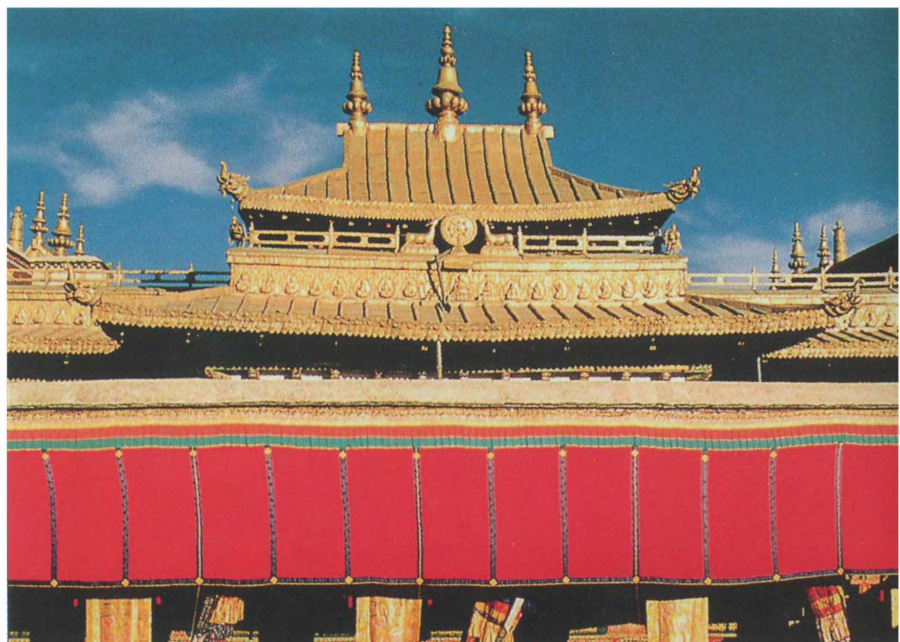


7 *The three ancestral religious kings*



8 *Jowo Rinpoche, the famous image of Lord Śākyamuni in the Jokhang*

9 *King Songtsen Gampo, flanked by his Nepalese and Chinese queens*



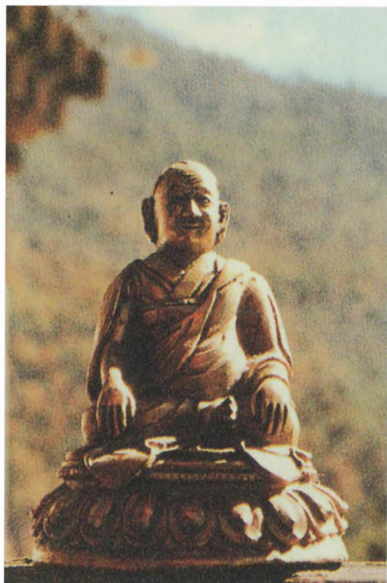
10 *Gilded roofs of the Jokhang, the first temple of Lhasa*



11 *The stone-lion emblem of the Yarlung dynasty in the Chongye valley*



12 *The central shrine at Samye, Tibet's first monastery*



13 *A realistic representation of Longen Rapjampa*



14 *Remains of the sacred juniper tree at Kangri Thökar*



15 *Tharpaling in Bumthang, Bhutan, founded by Longcen Rapjampa*



16 *Katok Dorjeden Monastery in Kham*

17 *The imposing facade of Mindröling Monastery in Central Tibet*



18 *The hidden valley of Rudam Kyitram behind Dzokcen Monastery*



19 *Pel Tshering-jong, the retreat of Jikme Lingpa near Chongye*



20 *Pelyül Namgyel Cangcup Ling Monastery*



21 *The monastery of Dorje Trak,*
where the Northern Treasures tradition was preserved



22 *The deities of the "Combined Means for Attainment of the Three Roots"*



23 *Painted scroll depicting Terdak Lingpa, with his hand prints and footprints in gold*



24 *Dudjom Rinpoche (centre) surrounded by his previous emanations*

8 *Orgyen Lingpa*

[557.5-563.5] Orgyen Lingpa of Yarje[1027] was the seventh incarnation of Lhase Chokdrup Gyelpo.[1028] He was born at Yarje in Tranang in Yoru in 1323 (water female pig year, fifth cycle) into an extraordinary family of mantra adepts. He lived as a venerable monk who upheld the mantra tradition, and was deeply learned in sorcery, medicine, astrology, and so forth.

In his twenty-third year he found an inventory of treasures in the Red Stūpa at Samye. Behind Crystal Rock (*shel-brag*) in Yarlung there was a wonderful crystal cave at the Pema Tsekpa Rock, where the great Orgyen had performed the means for the attainment of nectar-elixir (*bdud-rtsi sman-sgrub*), and where there were natural stone images of the host of peaceful and wrathful deities, of which the guardian of the gate was Khyapjuk Chenpo [i.e. Rāhula]. From the upper heads [of that image of Khyapjuk Chenpo] Orgyen Lingpa extracted the *Trio of the Guru, Great Perfection and Great Compassionate One* (*bla-rdzogs-thugs-gsum*) consisting of the *Stage of Creation for the Peaceful and Wrathful Guru, Three Cycles on the Two Teachings* (*bskyed-rim gu-ru bstan-gnyis skor-gsum zhi-drag*), the *Great Compassionate One, the Innermost Spirituality of Padma* (*thugs-rje chen-po padma'i snying-thig*), and a cycle of the Great Perfection, which included the *Means for the Attainment of Longevity according to the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen tshe-sgrub*), and the *Ati, Citi, Yangti*,[1029] and so forth (*a-ti spyi-ti yang-ti-la-sogs*); from the three lower heads, the *Great Ocean of Doctrine, the Gathering of the Transmitted Precepts of the Meditational Deities* (*yi-dam bka'-'dus chos-kyi rgya-mtsho chen-po*) in one hundred and thirty-two doctrinal topics; from the throat, the *Gathering of the Transmitted Precepts of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities* (*zhi-khro bka'-'dus*), *Cycle of Krodhakālī* and *Cycle of the Neuter Lord* (*mgon-po ma-ning*);[1030] from the heart, the *Great Injunction of Padma* (*padma bka'-yi thang-yig chen-mo*);[1031] from the lower serpentine tail, the tantra, means for attainment, and rites of the *Lord of Pristine Cognition with Many Deities* (*ye-shes mgon-po lha-mang*),[1032] a medical treatise, and profound instructions concerning the protectors of the

teaching; and from the hands and the tip of the serpentine tail, Orgyen Lingpa recovered the *Methods for Beneficial and Injurious Rites* (*phan-gnod-kyi las-thabs*), and manuals for arts and crafts (*bzo-rig patra*). Thus, having brought forth these and others, without limit, Orgyen Lingpa revealed a vast store of profound treasure.



Orgyen Lingpa

Moreover, from Yugong Rock in Tra he retrieved the *Great Sequence of the Path of Secret Mantra* (*gsang-sngags lam-rim chen-mo*), the *Short Biography of Padmasambhava* (*padma'i rnam-thar chung-ba*), the *Testament which Elucidates the Significance of Pacification* (*zhi-byed bka'-chems don-gsal*), and the *Gathering of the Quintessence of Auspicious Coincidence* (*rten-'brel yang-snying 'dus-pa*); from the various treasure sites at Samye, the *Fivefold Group of Injunctions* (*bka'-thang sde-lnga*);[1033] from the Stūpas of Zurkardo, the *Great Compassionate One, the Supreme Light of Pristine Cognition* (*thugs-rje chen-po ye-shes 'od-mchog*), and the *Glorious Tiger-riding Lord* (*dpal-mgon stag-zhon*);[1034] from the "tiger den" at Önpuk the *Cycles of the Wrathful Guru and the Protectors of the Teaching* (*gu-ru drag-po dang bstan-srung skor*); and from Trakpoche in Traci, the *Cycle of Yamāntaka, Lord of Life* (*gshin-rje tshe-bdag-gi skor*). Counting these and others, Orgyen Lingpa found more than one hundred volumes

of treasure doctrines; and it is said that the *Gathenng of Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-'dus*) alone comprised some thirty or so. However, because he was unable to establish their texts on the basis of the yellow scrolls, it is well known that he reconcealed them as treasures.

In short, Orgyen Lingpa discovered twenty-eight great treasure troves, along with related materials, as illustrated by an infinite number of images, sacramental objects, riches and treasures. None the less, having opened the gateway of this doctrine for the first time at Trhadruk Khyamtö, during the performance of the great preparation for the empowerment of the *Gathering of Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-'dus-kyi dbang-sgrub chen-mo*), he was harshly rebuked by Tā'i Situ Cangcup Gyeltsen of Neudongtse, because of a prophecy which contained an insinuation.[1035] For this reason, the rest of the auspicious coincidence was lost and the treasure-finder himself had to flee to the districts of E and Takpo. Not long afterwards, he passed away at Locung in the vicinity of E. His remains were transported to Takpo and placed whole into an earthen reliquary at the monastery of Zhapje.

Later, the worthy aristocrat Kurap heard the well-known [assertion that the flesh of] one born seven times [as a brahman] grants liberation when tasted. He asked for a tiny morsel of the flesh and, tasting it, blazed with mystical experience. He was able to move about one cubit above the ground and fly from one valley to another. Therefore, Orgyen Lingpa's mummified corpse became most valuable.

At a later date, Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo dispatched the preceptor Lama Trashi Özer from Dokam as a messenger to request some of the flesh; and he greatly multiplied it [by using it as] a continuous catalyst for sacramental substances which liberate when tasted. Afterwards, Temo Rinpoche, the regent of Tibet,[1036] had the mummified corpse transported to Pentsang Monastery in Neudong, and enshrined in a wooden reliquary. He kept twenty measures of pills made from the flesh in the Norbu Lingka [i.e. the summer palace in Lhasa].

Subsequently, the supreme conqueror, the Great Thirteenth [Dalai Lama] realised that the body would be excessively harmed by the plunder of its flesh, and that this would be detrimental to the merits of Tibet in general. He wanted to enshrine the precious mummified remains in the Tse Palace [i.e. the Potala in Lhasa], and sent Drön Kungtaṇgpa to transfer the body. But the Great Protector of the Doctrine at Samye unexpectedly possessed [his oracle] and swore that it would be improper to transfer the corpse from that southern region to another place.[1037] Consequently, it was left where it was.

While travelling in the southern districts, Dalai Lama XIII purposely visited Pentsang Monastery and, for the benefit of living creatures, gave to that monastery about four measures of the pills which had

previously been compounded from the flesh. All that remained was mixed with medicinal powder and, assisted by his tutor, Camgön Rinpoche of Phurbucok, the supreme conqueror used it to completely restore [the mummified remains] with his own hands. He enshrined it in a reliquary of fine wood which was covered with gilded copper from the base of the spire upwards. Between the spire and the dome he inserted the remains inside a lattice window and personally sealed the lattices.[1038] Later, he sent a letter to the residents of Neudong Fort and the monastic college of Pentsang, containing an enumeration of the various duties to be performed carefully and equally by those who supervised and venerated [the reliquary]. This letter, marked with the Dalai Lama's personal seal, consisted of seventeen pages in the form of a booklet folded back and forth, with each page sealed individually. I have had the good fortune to have actually seen that letter in the archives of the college at Pentsang. At some later time, when the relic-box containing the pills made of the flesh which the Dalai Lama had given to the monastery was opened, [it was found that] they had multiplied by four.

It is said that because Tā'i Situ had disturbed the auspicious coincidence, the dominion of the Phakmotrupa and their followers began to dwindle, like floodwaters at the end of autumn.[1039]

The family of this treasure-finder, Orgyen Lingpa, lived in Trap Tsangka and its environs. Although it is not clear how they served the doctrine it appears that they were a wonderful lineage of awareness-holders, all of whom could display various signs of accomplishment.

It is clear that among the cycles of his treasure doctrines the continuous lineages of empowerment and transmission belonging to the cycles of the *Supreme Light of Pristine Cognition* (*ye-shes 'od-mchog*), the *Wrathful Guru* (*gur-drag*), the *Means for the Attainment of Longevity* (*tshe-sgrub*), and the *Tiger-riding Lord* alone were preserved until the time of Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa.[1040] Still, they are not to be seen today. The continuous transmissions of the *Injunction of Padma which was Discovered at Crystal Rock* (*padma bka'-thang shel-brag-ma*), the *Fivefold Group of Injunctions* (*sde-lnga*), and the *Gathering of the Quintessence of Auspicious Coincidence* do still exist. In particular, as had been clearly prophesied in Orgyen Lingpa's own treasures, an ancient manuscript, containing a cycle summarising the essence of the *Great Gathering of Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-'dus chen-mo'i snying-po mdor-bsdus skor*) actually came into the hands of the venerable Pema Ösel Do-nga Lingpa. On the basis of some [of the text], which appeared in the symbolic script of the ḍākinīs, he established the continuous transmission of its maturation and liberation, and this, together with the necessary texts, is preserved in the *Great Store of Precious Treasure*. As it is made clear in the *Great Biography*

(*rnam-thar chen-mo*)[1041] and elsewhere, this is not merely a means for the attainment of the Guru (*bla-sgrub*) or [a teaching of] the *Eight Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-brgyad*) to which the name *Gathering of Transmitted Precepts* has been affixed. Rather, it sets forth the twenty-one maṇḍala clusters of the *Gathering of Transmitted Precepts* in direct language. Hence, it is established as an object of great conviction and wonder, and has rekindled the dying embers of the teaching.

9 *Ngödrup Gyeltsen, or Rikdzin Gödemcen*

[563.5-567.6] Ngödrup Gyeltsen, the great awareness-holder and treasure-finder, was the reincarnation of Nanam Dorje Düjom and one of the three supreme emanations. He was born, attended by extraordinary omens, on Tuesday 11 February 1337 (tenth day, month of miracles, fire female ox year, sixth cycle),[1042] into the household of Namolung, which hailed from the district of Thoyor Nakpo, to the north-east of Mount Trazang. He was the son of the master Düdül, who belonged to an unbroken lineage of accomplished masters of Vajrakīla, descended from the clan of the Horpa king Kurser.[1043] In accordance with a prophecy, when Ngödrup Gyeltsen was in his twelfth year three vulture feathers grew from the crown of his head, and five when he was at the age of twenty-four. Therefore, he became universally known as Rikdzin Gödemcen, the "Vulture-quilled Awareness-holder". During his youth he attained the limits of study, reflection, and meditation upon all the Nyingmapa doctrinal cycles which were the doctrines of his forefathers.

There was one Zangpo Trakpa of Manglam who had discovered, in Gyang Yönpolung, eight doctrinal topics, including the *Essential Inventory which Treats the Essence of the Esoteric Instructions in Seven Sections* (*snying-byang man-ngag gnad-kyi don bdun-ma*). He realised that these were required as ancillary texts for the treasures to be revealed at Lhadrak, and for this reason he offered them to the great awareness-holder Gödemcen, sending them through Tönpa Sonam Wangcuk. Accordingly, on Sunday 19 April 1366 (eighth day, snake month, fire horse year),[1044] on the summit of Mount Trazang, at the three stone pillars of Dzengdrak Karpo, Rikdzin Gödemcen found the key to three great treasures and one hundred minor treasures, and at that place he concealed a substitute treasure. That treasure ground, which was then left as it was, is known today as Lungseng, "Windy Hollow". Even at present, new shoots sprout there at the beginning of each new year.

At dusk on Sunday 14 June (fourth day, sheep month) of that same year [1366], in the cave of Zangzang Lhadrak, on the slopes of the rock mountain of Tukdrül Pungdra, Rikdzin Gödemcen discovered a great,



Rikdzin Gödemcen

profound treasure containing five treasure chambers in separate compartments inside a square, blue treasure chest. From the maroon core treasure chamber in the centre he extracted three paper scrolls and three kīlas wrapped in maroon silk; from the white conch treasure chamber to the east, the *Doctrine which Ascertains the Causal and Fruitional Aspects of Deeds, of which the Intention is Vast as Space* (*las rgyu-'bras la-zlo-ba'i chos dgongs-pa nam-mkha' dang mnyam-pa*); from the yellow gold treasure chamber to the south, the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Four Aspects of Ritual Service and Attainment which is Luminous like the Sun and Moon* (*bsnyen-sgrub rnam-pa bzhi'i chos-skor nyi-zla-ltar gsal-ba*); from the red copper treasure chamber to the west, the *Doctrine of Auspicious Coincidence which is like a Sandalwood Tree* (*rten-'brel-can-gyi chos tsan-dan-gyi sdong-po lta-bu*); and from the black iron treasure chamber to the north, the *Doctrine which Pulverises Enemies and Obstacles, and which is like a Poisonous Plant* (*dgra-bgegs thal-bar rlog-pa'i chos dug-gi sdong-po lta-bu*). In short, he found countless doctrines, the *Penetration of Samantabhadra's Intention* (*kun-bzang dgongs-pa zang-thal*) foremost among them, and sacramental objects. Because each of the five treasure chambers held one hundred doctrinal topics, there were

five hundred in all. He established their yellow scrolls, and those of their branches, and propagated them amongst worthy recipients. In this way, his doctrinal teaching pervaded all the regions of Tibet.

Generally speaking, all the profound treasures exist only as means to increase the happiness and felicity of [the people of] Tibet and Kham during this and future lives; but, in particular, this Northern Treasure (*byang-gter*) contains, without omission, everything that anyone might require for increasing the teaching, turning back invading armies, terminating infectious disease, the pacification of civil war, exorcism of Gongpo spirits,[1045] restoration of governmental authority, and the control of epidemics and plagues. It contains various ways to promote the happiness of Tibet, in general and in particular, from Khyunglung Ngülkar in Tö [western Tibet] to Longtang Drölma in Mekam [far eastern Tibet], and also the notices and keys for many sacred places and lands, foremost among which were seven great hidden lands. Therefore, this single treasure is universally known to resemble a minister who beneficially serves all Tibet and Kham.

In later life Gödemcen went to Sikkim and opened the gate to that sacred land. Chokdrupde, the king of Kungtang, revered him as his



Rikdzin III, Ngagiwangpo

guru and by doing so promoted the happiness and felicity of Tibet. When Gödemcen had arrived at the completion of such deeds, in his seventy-second year [1408], his intention dissolved into the expanse of reality, accompanied by many wondrous omens.

The doctrinal streams which came through the lineages of his sons, consort and disciples have continued until the present day without decline. Among these doctrinal lineages there were many who passed away in the rainbow body and many who became accomplished masters. During the time of Rikdzin II, Lekdenje, who was the second Gödemcen, and of Trashi Topgyel Wangpöide, the master of the Northern Treasure, who was the reincarnation of Ngari Paṇcen, the entire monastic community of their seminary became a wandering encampment, as a result of the depredations of Zhingshakpa, the governor of Tsang.[1046] Therefore, [its members] became known as Evaṃcokgarwa, the "Camp Troops of Evaṃ Tower". During the lifetime of Rikdzin III, Ngagiwangpo, who was the son of that master of the Northern Treasure, the seat was re-established in Central Tibet and became universally renowned as Thupten Dorje Trak. Rikdzin IV, Zhapdrung Pema Trhinle, greatly increased the enlightened activity of the three spheres [exegesis, attainment, and work] there, so that it became a fountain-head of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School. Up to the present day, the seat of Thubten Dorje Trak has been maintained by the successive emanations of Rikdzin Gödemcen and others. Accordingly, from Ladak in Tö Ngari, all the way to Dartsedo in lower Gyelmorong, there have been a great many centres of the doctrine which adhere to this doctrinal lineage.

10 *Sangye Lingpa*

[567.6-575.3] The great treasure-finder Sangye Lingpa, who was the emanation of Lhase Tamdzin Rölpa Yeshetsel,[1047] was born, attended by wondrous omens, in 1340 (iron male dragon year, sixth cycle) at Traksum Dorje Trak, above the cultivated valley of Kyingpu Yulung, one of Orgyen's places of attainment, in the Nyangpo district of Kongpo. His father, Khamzhik Taklung Nyönpa, was an emanation of Hayagrīva, and his mother, A-Hūṃ Gyen, had the marks of one who had been blessed by Vajravarāhī. The boy was given the name of Rikdzin. In his fifth year he received the vows of a layman from the preceptor Zhönupel,[1048] and had a pure vision of the Great Compassionate One. He learned to read and write the letters just by being shown the script and was quite clever; but his father passed away, his mother remarried, and, disliked by his stepfather, the boy experienced hardship.

During that time he received a prophetic declaration from a red woman, in compliance with which he went to meet the lord among conquerors, Rölpei Dorje [Karmapa IV], in the valley below Longpo Trongsar. At Cangcupling, a monastery near Tsāri, he was ordained as a novice by the preceptor Cangcup Dorje and the master Śākya Yeshe. The name Sangye Zangpo was conferred upon him. Therefore, when later he had discovered profound treasures, he became universally known as Sangye Lingpa. From those two, preceptor and master, he received many transmitted doctrines. Then, when the venerable Rölpei Dorje returned from Central Tibet, he said to Lama Cangcup Dorje, "Give this nephew of yours to me." He complied and the Karmapa, greatly delighted, prophesied that the boy would guide many living creatures.

When Sangye Lingpa arrived in Lhasa, he had visions of Avalokiteś-vara, and, above all, of the precious master Padmasambhava. Starting then, he had repeated visions and vowed to practise [in retreat] for three years. After the death of the lama Cangcup Dorje, Sangye Lingpa proceeded into the presence of the lama Chöki Lodrö, a learned and accomplished master at Tsāri, and became his spiritual son. At that

time, while that guru went to Central Tibet, he remained behind in solitary retreat in the upper valley of Lhündrup Teng.

One night the treasure protector Tsengö Chenpo actually presented him with three paper scrolls. They contained an inventory of treasures, prophecies, and instructions on the way to attain the treasures. Accordingly, Sangye Lingpa's guru offered provisions so that he could perform the means to attain the treasures in the prescribed manner. Then, Padmasambhava of Oḍḍiyāna, along with a host of ḍākinīs, gave him



Sangye Lingpa

empowerment and permission to fulfil the prophecies. On Friday 23 August 1364 (twenty-fifth day, seventh month, wood male dragon year),[1049] from the great cavern of Puri he extracted the texts and esoteric instructions of the *Intermediate Gathering of Transmitted Precepts, the Gathering of the Guru's Intention* (*bka'-'dus bar-ba bla-ma dgongs-pa 'dus-pa*), which is unique among all the subterranean treasures of Tibet, together with the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Great Compassionate One* (*thugs-rje chen-po'i chos-skor*). Sangye Lingpa showed these books to his guru, who was much delighted. He then studied and and cultivated them experientially, and so became the first master of these doctrines.

Then, beginning that year, Sangye Lingpa gradually discovered treasures at Karzuk Trhang, Jeworong, Tsecen Trak, Longpo Cangde Bumpa, Longpo Kada Trhang, and Kyengi Karteng Trhang. In these locations he found the *Heart Essence of the Attainment of Kīla* (*phur-sgrub thugs-kyi nying-khu*), the *Black Tortoise Divination Chart* (*gtad-khram rus-sbal nag-po*), *Black Hayagrīva* (*rta-mgrin nag-po*), and also the *Great Compassionate One, Utterly Secret and Unsurpassed* (*thugs-rje chen-po yang-gsang bla-med*). Further, he discovered material treasures, including sacramental objects and pills, a mask of Orgyen, a gold-filled copper vase, an iron kīla, and twenty-one multiplying remains of the Tathāgata.

When Sangye Lingpa discovered the treasures at Kongpo Chimyül, the treasure-finder Trime Lhünpo was also summoned there by a prophetic declaration of the ḍākinīs. Together, they extracted the *Blue-robed Vajrapāṇi* (*phyag-rdor gos-sngon-can*), the *Wrathful Mantra which Halts All the Mönpa Spirits* (*ngan-sngags mon-pa dgu-rdug*), the *Enlightened Mind of Orgyen and His Consort* (*o-rgyan yab-yum-gyi byang-sems*), et cetera. At Puri Rincen Barwa he discovered the *Doctrinal Cycle of Sublime Avalokiteśvara* (*'phags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs-kyi chos-skor*); and at Cagöshong, the *Great Compassionate One* (*thugs-chen*), the *Alchemy Cycle* (*bcud-len skor*), and the *Wind-Lasso of Īśvara* (*dbang-phyug rlung-zhags*). In this last treasure trove he also found the *Prophecy of Cangcup Lingpa Pelgi Gyeltsen* (*byang-chub gling-pa dpal-gyi rgyal-mtshan-gyi lung-bstan*). A person who was sent to investigate in Latö, met the treasure-finder [prophesied therein], and became convinced. Moreover, from Tsāri, Sangye Lingpa extracted the *Means for the Attainment of the Nāga King Sugrīva* (*klu-rgyal mgrin-bzang sgrub-thabs*); and from Gyer Cemakarpo, the *Means for the Attainment of Longevity which Conjoins the Sun and Moon* (*tshe-sgrub nyi-zla kha-sbyor*), among others. And from Gyala Shinjei Badong he brought forth the *Yamāntaka, Lord of Life* (*gshin-rje tshe-bdag*), the *Charm which Overthrows when Hurled* (*thun-phog 'gyel*), and the *Ceremony for Brandishing the Ritual Kīla of Orgyen* (*o-rgyan-gyi las-phur gdengs-chog*), and so forth, in co-operation with the treasure-finder Trime Lhünpo.

Furthermore, in a retreat cave of Orgyen, Sangye Lingpa found the *Essential Epitome of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen snying-po bsdus-pa*). At Kongpo Tamrül he discovered the *Six Root Tantras of the Gathering of Intentions* (*dgongs-'dus rtsa-ba'i rgyud-drug*); in Samye Chimpu an especially sublime image of Orgyen; and in Orshö Lungdrom a jewel called "Tiger-Meat God", a ḍākinī's body ornament, and so on. In this way, Sangye Lingpa found eighteen great treasure troves between his twenty-fifth and thirty-second year. In addition, it is not possible to describe the countless minor treasures he discovered.

Those occasions were constantly marked by rains of flowers, canopies of rainbow light, sounds of music, or the appearance of ḍākinīs. In accord with the prophetic declaration of Vajravarāhī and the twelve

ḍākinīs [of her circle], Sangye Lingpa divided the *Gathering of Intentions* precisely into thirteen volumes with the edges dyed red, a custom that has been maintained down to the present day.[1050]

It says in a *Prophetic Declaration* (*lung-bstan*):

> One hundred billion will become firm in the stage of creation.
> Eight hundred thousand will actually reveal signs of accomplishment.
> Ninety thousand will be liberated in the incorruptible apparitional body.
> Ten billion will obtain sundry accomplishments.
> Those in whom the seed of liberation is planted will be countless.
> Not confined to one age, this will occur in a gradual lineage.

Exactly so, it is well known that there were, above all, twenty great streams which continued the succession of the *Gathering of Intentions* alone. There were countless masters of the various other treasure doctrines of Sangye Lingpa. The foremost among them were the lord among conquerors, Karmapa IV, Rölpei Dorje; Zhamarpa Khacö Wangpo; the great lord of Neudong [Tā'i Situ Cangcup [Gyeltsen]; the Sakyapa lama Tampa Sonam Gyeltsen; Yakde Paṇcen; the great preceptor of Coten, Sonam Zangpo; and Drigung Chöki Gyelpo. The other aristocrats, great gurus, and impọrtant men who followed him were countless.

Particularly, when the Great Ming emperor of China invited Karmapa V, Tezhinshekpa,[1051] he made the following written request: "Please bring with you an immaculate treasure doctrine of Padmākara, the accomplished master from Oḍḍiyāna." The doctrine master Tezhinshekpa brought the profound doctrine of the *Gathering of Intentions*, a miraculous, dark-blue vase, and a golden vajra [emblematic] of the commitments, which he presented to the emperor, who rejoiced and, as is well known, offered the Karmapa a privy seal[1052] and special robes.

Sangye Lingpa founded the monastery of Decen Samdrup in Nyipu and made it his principle seat. When he performed the attainment of nectar-elixir (*bdud-rtsi sman-gyi sgrub-pa*), the signs and miracles which actually appeared were more sublime than those of others. The catalyst [which he compounded at that time] has remained potent to the present day.[1053]

After infinitely benefitting the teaching and living creatures in these ways, on Saturday 8 April 1396 (thirtieth day, third month, fire male mouse),[1054] during his fifty-seventh year, while he was residing at Cangcupling, Sangye Lingpa's intention dissolved into the expanse of reality.

The second incarnation of Sangye Lingpa took birth in Nelpa Meu as the son of Töndrup Gyelpo, but passed away in childhood. The third incarnation was born in Longpo Kying. Trülku Sangye Pelden [as he was known] returned to his predecessor's seat and is known for having widely served the teaching and living creatures.

Afterwards, there was no clear lineage of incarnations, but the lineage of Sangye Lingpa's descendants continued until later times. From his son Yeshe Dorje and Cakyungpa Pelden Senge, who was foremost among the disciples who were the masters of his doctrine, lineages of descendants and disciples, in which there were successive learned and accomplished masters, emerged. The lineage was also transmitted through [the hierarchs of] the earlier and later Tsele,[1055] the elder and younger Tabla,[1056] et cetera. Thus, the profound treasures of Sangye Lingpa, and the *Gathering of Intentions* above all, were extensively propagated throughout Tibet in general, and in the districts of Dokam in particular.

At a later date, Zhapdrung Thucen Ngawang Namgyel of Bhutan[1057] became the master of the doctrine of the entire maturation and liberation of the *Gathering of the Guru's Intention*, which he had received from Kong Rikdzin Nyingpo, the seventh generation descendant of Sangye Lingpa. In the monastic communities of the forts [of Bhutan] of which the foremost was his own seat of Dewachenpo in Punakha, he established the elaborate practice of worship on the tenth day [of each lunar month],[1058] in connection with the great attainment of the *Gathering of Intentions*. This enlightened activity of the ceremony for the fulfilment [of commitments, *skong-chog*],[1059] and so forth, has continued to spread throughout the southern districts [of Bhutan and Sikkim].

11 *Dorje Lingpa*

[575.3-580.3] Dorje Lingpa was the third kingly treasure-finder and the actual presence of the great translator Vairocana. He was born in 1346 (fire male dog year, sixth cycle) at a place called Tranang Entsa in Central Tibet. His father was Khutön Sonam Gyeltsen, who came from a line of mantrins who were holders of indestructible reality, and his mother was Karmogyen. They gave him the name Orgyen Zangpo. The signs and wonders associated with his awakening to the genuine enlightened family were inconceivable. In his seventh year he received the vows of a novice from one known as the all-knowing Trhapa Śākya at Pangshong Lharika. Under that guru, and others as well, he completed the study of sūtra and mantra doctrines, ancient and new.

In his thirteenth year he had seven visions of the precious Orgyen. Then, following an inventory, which had been discovered in the treasures of Guru Chöwang, he found his first treasure trove behind the image of Como [Tārā] at Trhadruk.[1060] It included the *Means for the Attainment of the Three Roots* (*rtsa-gsum sgrub-thabs*), minor means for attainment, inventories and their supplements, wrathful mantras, and instructions on alchemy, there being one hundred and eight of each, along with their particular prophecies. In his fifteenth year Dorje Lingpa opened the way to the treasures of Ökar Rock in the lower valley of Cing. Guru Rinpoche actually arrived inside that most spacious cave of attainment, constructed a maṇḍala and gave him empowerment. Preceding each separate scroll of yellow paper, he gave him the transmission and sacraments consecrated as treasures. Moreover, Dorje Lingpa also brought forth an image of Guru Rinpoche, four volumes that had been the King's,[1061] a hundred paper scrolls, four vases containing the water of life, amulets containing sacramental substances, et cetera. Among the treasures, he discovered such doctrinal works as the *Biographical Injunction in Eight Chapters* (*rnam-thar thang-yig le'u brgyad-pa*), the *Vast Expanse of the View, a Father Tantra of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen pha-rgyud lta-ba klong-yangs*), the *Sun which Illumines the Expanse, a Mother Tantra* (*ma-rgyud klong-gsal nyi-ma*), the *Further*

Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī, the Conjunction of Sun and Moon (*mkha'-'gro yang-tig nyi-zla kha-sbyor*), the *Ten Father Tantra Cycles of the Innermost Spirituality* (*pha-rgyud snying-thig skor bcu*), the *Four Cycles of the Gathering* (*'dus-pa skor bzhi*), the *Eight Appendices* (*zur-pa brgyad*), et cetera.



Dorje Lingpa

Then, gradually, Dorje Lingpa discovered forty-three great treasure troves at their respective treasure sites – one hundred and eight altogether if one counts the minor ones, subsections, and the subdivisions of the treasure sites. This began with his discovery of the *Ten Cycles of Experiential Guidance* (*nyams-khrid skor bcu*) and other texts at Mutik Shelgi Bamgong, and [continued] up to the time when Yeshe Tshogyel actually arrived in Longevity Cave at Campa Temple in Bumthang and gave him the water of life, spiritual elixir which had been produced at Yangleshö, the life-supporting turquoise ornaments of the religious king Trhisong and of Yeshe Tshogyel herself, a wish-fulfilling gem, doctrinal cycles, and many wrathful mantras. When he discovered treasure at Chimpu, he met Orgyen thirteen times. At Chuwori he emanated two bodies and, having publicly extracted treasure from two places at once, left behind impressions of his feet one cubit deep.

In the cave of Metsornyen at Zaplung, Dorje Lingpa received donations from both Thangla and Kangkar Shame [two protective divinities]. He assembled the many great gods and demons of the Land of Snows and undertook the great attainment of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-brgyad sgrub-chen*). To all of them he gave empowerment. He travelled emanationally to the eight great charnel grounds, where he met the eight awareness-holders, and received the *Instructions of the Eight Confidences* (*gding-brgyad-kyi gdams-pa*). When he discovered the treasure troves, Guru Rinpoche, Yeshe Tshogyel, Vairocana, and others actually appeared and bestowed empowerments and instructions upon him. By displaying a wonderful array of miraculous abilities he loosened all fetters of doubt and secured others in irreversible faith. He also left behind many impressions of his body, hands, and feet. In Zaplung, Kharcu, and Zhotö Tidro, respectively, he found one hundred and eight [rites for] empowerment, consecration, fulfilment [of commitments] and repentance, burnt offerings, and subjugation. Such are the examples of his extensive service on behalf of the happiness of Tibet.

The foremost among Dorje Lingpa's profound, vast and limitless doctrinal treasures was the *Trio of the Guru, Great Perfection, and Great Compassionate One* (*bla-rdzogs-thugs-gsum*). He found wonderful images such as that of Vajrasattva, which he discovered at Phungpo Riwoche, and the eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara and the sandalwood image of Tārā which he discovered in the "Vase Pillar" of Lhasa [i.e. in the Jokhang].[1062] He also discovered sacramental objects, such as [the flesh of one] born [as a brahman] seven times, and spiritual elixir; treasures of wealth, including the wish-fulfilling gem; such Pön works as the *Golden Surgical Needle of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen gser-thur*), and the *Greater, Medium and Lesser Aural Lineages of Tavihṛca* (*ta-bi-hri-tsa'i snyan-brgyud che-'bring-chung-gsum*). In addition, he profusely discovered texts on medical science and astrology, and his enlightened activity was extensive.

The family lineage descended from his son Chöyingpa, an emanation of Nupcen Sangye Yeshe, has existed up to the present day in the region of Mön.[1063] It is also said that Dorje Lingpa offered the *Cycle of Yamāntaka* (*gshed-skor*) and the *Cycle of the Jambhalas of the Five Families* (*Dzam-lha rigs-lnga'i skor*) to the lord among conquerors, Karmapa IV, Rölpei Dorje. He made his principle seat at Lingmokha. Also, he took charge of the monasteries of Lhodrak, Paro in Mön, Uke in Ze, and others, and so widely benefitted living beings. The name under which he is best known is Dorje Lingpa, but he is also called Pema Lingpa, Künkyong Lingpa, Yungdrung Lingpa, and Jampel Chöki Shenyen. When he had completed his service to the teaching and to living creatures, in his sixtieth year [1405] he delivered his testament, the *Great Prophetic Declaration* (*zhal-chems lung-bstan chen-mo*) and, accompanied by wondrous omens, he passed away at Traklong.

His corpse remained for three years [without decay], during which time it sometimes continued to benefit beings by speaking and reciting four-line dedications of merit. When Dorje Lingpa's remains were finally offered on the funeral pyre many divine images and relics appeared. With a roar of the flames his right foot flew from the crematorium to his spiritual son Trashi Jungne, and his left to Thokme Gyagarwa, as their shares of the remains. The relics from these multiplied many times, and it appears that they lasted until later times.

The lineage of Dorje Lingpa's descendants persisted until later with its seat at Orgyen Chöling in Mön Bumthang. The river of his profound doctrine has continued as a distant lineage until the present day without decline. Moreover, some [of his teachings] have been well preserved by the blessing of a close lineage, the succession of which fell to the venerable Khyentse Wangpo.

12 *Ratna Lingpa*

[580.3-583.4] The great emanational treasure-finder Ratna Lingpa was the reincarnation of Langdro Köncok Jungne. He was born on Thursday 2 August 1403 (fifteenth day, seventh month, water sheep year, seventh cycle)[1064] at Trushül in Lhodrak. His father was a wealthy man named Dode Tar, and his mother Sitar Men. From childhood he learned to read and write without difficulty. From about his tenth year onwards he had many pure visions. By the power of his training during past lives, he learned all the sciences easily and also studied the doctrine extensively.

When Ratna Lingpa was in his twenty-seventh year Guru Rinpoche emanated as an ascetic from Kham, wearing a yellow hat and robe. He actually gave him an inventory of treasures and instructed him. Accordingly, in his thirtieth year he extracted his first treasure trove from Khyungcen Rock. It consisted of the *Cycle of the Means for the Attainment of the Three Roots* (*rtsa-gsum sgrub-skor*), et cetera. From then on, he gradually discovered twenty-five treasure troves, of which the foremost were the *Attainment of Hayagrīva and Vajravārāhī as Consorts in Coalescent Union* (*rta-phag yab-yum zung-'jug-tu sgrub-pa*), found at Dritang Koro Trak; and the *Four Cycles of the Gathering* (*'dus-pa skor-bzhi*), the *Peaceful and Wrathful Guru* (*gu-ru zhi-drag*), the *Great Compassionate One as the Gathering of Secrets* (*thugs-chen gsang-'dus*), and the *Sun which Illuminates the Expanse of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen klong-gsal nyi-ma*), which were discovered at Namkecen in Lhodrak.

When Ratna Lingpa discovered the treasure at glorious Phukring in Kharcu he displayed inconceivable supernormal cognitive powers and miracles, including a wonderful array of magical feats. He met Orgyen Rinpoche [in visions] twenty-five times, visited the Copper-coloured Mountain in a vision, and so forth, as it is related in his *Biography of the Thirteen Stores* (*mdzod-khang bcu-gsum-gyi rnam-thar*). He often performed the *Attainment of Elixir [according to] the Attainment of Mind* (*thugs-sgrub sman-sgrub*) and the *Attainment of Medicinal Pills [from the Flesh of One] Born [as a Brahman] Seven Times* (*skye-bdun ril-sgrub*),



Ratna Lingpa

and when he granted them, or empowerments, guidance, and instruction, there were inexpressible wonders: rainbow lights shone, rains of flowers fell, and all was pervaded by the fragrance of incense. On none of these occasions was there even the slightest kind of obstacle.

Since the auspicious coincidence was utterly perfect, Ratna Lingpa found in a single [lifetime] the destined treasures of three lifetimes, and hence became known under three names: Zhikpo Lingpa, Drodül Lingpa, and Ratna Lingpa. From Mount Kailash to Gyelmorong in Kham he established innumerable living creatures in maturation and liberation.

Above all, during that era, the tantras of the Nyingmapa, the Ancient Translation School, were not included in the *Kangyur* owing to the following statement which is found in the *Denkarma Catalogue of the Kangyur* (*bka'-'gyur dkar-chag ldan-dkar-ma*, T 4364):

> Because of their great strictness the inner tantras of the secret mantras are not set forth here.[1065]

For this reason continuous lineages of both the texts and their transmissions had become exceedingly rare. Ratna Lingpa made great efforts

to collect textual traditions from all quarters, including the abbreviated set of the *Collected Tantras* which was preserved at Ukpalung. Realising that the complete, continuous lineage of their transmission was not to be found anywhere in Kham or in Tibet, except with Megom Samten Zangpo of Tsang, his heart could not bear the approaching end of the continuous line of transmission. Although the venerable Megom was exceedingly aged, the master and disciple both made great efforts over a long period of time and thus he received it. Later, Ratna Lingpa arranged the *Collected Tantras* altogether at Lhündrup Palace in Trushül, and had new copies prepared, the earlier ones in ink, and the later ones in gold. In connection with this he propagated the continuous transmission many times. Therefore, it is certainly only by the compassion of this great treasure-finder that today we can still enjoy these secret tantras, which are like wish-fulfilling gems. Thus, he was uniquely most propitious to the teaching of the Ancient Translation School, in general.

After bringing such deeds to completion, Ratna Lingpa, then in his seventy-sixth year [1478], passed away into the Palace of Lotus Light, accompanied by the most wonderful miracles. Many fine lineages of his sons and disciples, including those of the four spiritual sons dear to his heart, have continued until the present day, and the enlightened activity of his profound doctrine has been preserved without decline.

13 *Pema Lingpa*

[583.4-588.2] Orgyen Pema Lingpa,[1066] who was hailed as the fourth of the five kingly treasure-finders, was the last of the five pure incarnations of the royal princess Pemasel.[1067] His birth at Mön Bumthang in 1450 (iron male horse year, eighth cycle) was attended by many omens. His father was Töndrup Zangpo of the Nyö clan, and his mother Trongma Peldzom. Since, in his previous life, he had been the all-knowing Trime Özer [Longcenpa], he awoke to the genuine enlightened family during his childhood. He learned several scripts, the crafts, and so forth, without having been taught.

In particular, on Wednesday 31 July 1476 (tenth day, seventh month, monkey year),[1068] in the place called Yige Trukma, Pema Lingpa actually beheld the visage of Orgyen Rinpoche, who blessed him and placed in his hands an inventory of one hundred and eight great treasure troves. Accordingly, in his twenty-seventh year he brought forth the first of all his profound treasures, namely, the *Cycles of the Luminous Expanse of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen klong-gsal-gyi skor-rnams*), from the famous Lake Mebar, where the Tang River meanders in the form of a knot near Naring Trak. Surrounded by a multitude of people he entered the lake without hesitation, holding a burning lamp in his hand. Then, when he re-emerged, the lamp in his hand was unextinguished, and he carried under his arm a great treasure chest, about the size of a clay pot. Everyone was amazed and became established in the faith of conviction. Consequently, Pema Lingpa's indisputable reputation covered the land like the sun and moon.

In the same way, he discovered the *Great Perfection, the Gathering of Samantabhadra's Intention* (*rdzogs-chen kun-bzang dgongs-'dus*) at Samye Chimpu. Moreover, from their respective treasure sites he brought forth the *Cycle of the Small Son which is a Non-Dual Tantra of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen gnyis-med-rgyud bu-chung-gi skor*); the *Guru, an Ocean of Gems*; the *Great Compassionate One, the Lamp which Dispels Darkness* (*thugs-rje chen-po mun-sel sgron-me*); the *Eight Transmitted Precepts, the Mirror of Mind* (*bka'-brgyad thugs-kyi me-long*), the *Kīla*

which is the Utterly Secret Vital Razor (*phur-pa yang-gsang srog-gi spu-gri*), the *Cycle of the Attainment of Nectar-Elixir* (*bdud-rtsi sman-sgrub-kyi skor*), [which three cycles together constitute] the *Trio of the Transmitted Precepts, Kīla, and Elixir* (*bka'-phur-sman-gsum*); [the teachings of] *Vajrapāṇi as the Subduer of the Arrogant and as Slight Rage* (*phyag-rdor dregs-'dul dang gtum-chung*); the *Greater, Medium, and Lesser [Teachings of] the Wrathful [Guru]* (*drag-po che-'bring-chung-gsum*); the *Guidance on Longevity, the Vajra Garland* (*tshe-khrid rdo-rje phreng-ba*); the *Attainment of Longevity, Integrating Gems with the Path* (*tshe-sgrub nor-bu lam-khyer*); the *Black Trilogy* (*nag-po skor-gsum*); the *Cycle of Minor Rites* (*las phran-gyi skor*); and many others. Likewise, the profusion of sacramental objects, and of images, books and stūpas, including [the flesh of one] born seven times [as a brahman] which liberates when tasted, and representative images of Guru Padmasambhava [that he discovered], surpasses the imagination.

In particular, in a ravine this treasure-finder unearthed the temple of Lho Kyercu, which had not previously been visible, and which was similar to the temple of Peltsap Sumpa [at Samye].[1069] That temple may be visited by everyone at the present day. Among the riches Pema



Pema Lingpa

Lingpa discovered as treasures were the life-supporting turquoise gems of the religious king Trhisong Detsen called "Blazing Light", "Blazing Light of a Thousand Mountains", and "Red House Snowpeak"; the seamless robes of the Princess;[1070] a clairvoyant mirror; and many other especially sublime riches of the royal dynasty.

Although an inventory of one hundred and eight treasure troves had come into Pema Lingpa's hands, he could not discover more than half of them. Later, when the treasure-finder was approaching death, his son asked for permission to find the others, but the master said, "It will be hard for you to find the treasure doctrines. But if you purely guard your commitments and pray to me, you may possibly find some minor ones." Accordingly, his spiritual son Dawa is known to have brought forth some treasure troves, too.[1071]

Moreover, the vastly wonderful deeds of Pema Lingpa were inconceivable. He prophesied that in the future he would become the buddha named Vajragarbha in the Buddha-field of the Lotus Array, and said that all those presently associated with him, as well, would be reborn in that realm and become the disciples of that buddha.

Concerning the host of disciples who were his spiritual sons, there is a prophetic declaration among his treasures:

> Ten thousand will be associated by [the force of] past deeds.
> One thousand and two will be associated by aspiration.
> Those associated through the profound essential point
> will be eleven.
> Seven will be maṇḍala-holders.
> And three will be spiritual sons, dear to his heart.

In conformity with this prophecy, an inconceivable number of disciples appeared. Among them, the foremost were the six emanational treasure-finders; the six great accomplished masters; the six great sons who had manifestly disclosed the signs of accomplishment; Tshültrim Peljor, the great preceptor of the Conangpa residence [Phüntsoling], Nangso Gyelwa Töndrup, and Trülku Chokden Gönpo, who were the three spiritual sons whose intention was the same as that of the treasure-finder himself; and his four physical sons, who were emanations of the Lords of the Three Families. Of these, his spiritual son Dawa, who was the emanation of Avalokiteśvara, had inconceivable, expressive powers of blessing. He realised the intention of his father and as a result his enlightened activity became extensive. He was praised as a great, holy individual and revered as a guru by Sakya Dakcen, Drigung Rincen Phüntsok, Zhamarpa Köncok Yenlak, Pawo Chögyel Töndrup, and others. He was also supplicated by all sorts of important persons from Central Tibet, Tsang, and Mön in the south, and his enlightened

activity in the service of others became inconceivable. None the less, he practised the way of yoga in secret.

The transmission of Pema Lingpa's profound doctrines was gradually passed down and propagated by Trülku Natsok Rangdröl and Umdze Töndrup Pelbar, who were renowned as the two incomparable doctrine-masters, as well as by his own speech emanations and the emanations of his spiritual son [Dawa], who occupied the seat at Lhalung in Lho-drak. Up to the present day the lineage has been spread throughout the regions of Mön in the south, Central Tibet, Tsang and Dokam. The entire stream of its empowerments, transmissions, and guidance continues without decline.

14 *Karma Lingpa*

[588.3-589.4] The treasure-finder Karma Lingpa, an emanation of the translator Cokro Lüi Gyeltsen, was born sometime during the sixth cycle [24 January 1327 to 20 January 1387] at Khyerdrup, above Takpo.



Karma Lingpa

He was the eldest son of the great accomplished master Nyinda Sangye, and he lived as an upholder of the mantra tradition. Karma Lingpa was endowed with innumerable attributes and dwelt as the very embodi-

ment of unimpeded supernormal cognitive power and enlightened activity.

In his fifteenth year, the prophetic declaration and the auspicious coincidence came together. From Mount Gampodar, which resembles a dancing god, he extracted the *Peaceful and Wrathful Deities, the Natural Liberation of Intention (zhi-khro dgongs-pa rang-grol)*; the *Great Compassionate One, the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities of Padma (thugs-rje chen-po padma zhi-khro)*; and other treasures. He gave the complete doctrinal cycle of the *Peaceful and Wrathful Deities of Padma (padma zhi-khro'i chos-skor)* to fourteen great disciples, who were the masters of his doctrine. But he gave the doctrinal cycles of the *Natural Liberation of Intention* to his son, Nyinda Chöje alone; and he sealed the lineage with an injunction that for three generations it should be transmitted to only a single person. Because he did not form the auspicious connection with the consort prophesied for him, Karma Lingpa passed into another realm after not very long.

The *Peaceful and Wrathful Deities, the Natural Liberation of Intention* was vastly propagated by Namka Chöki Gyamtso, the third generation successor. The continuous lineage of its empowerment, transmission and guidance is found throughout Central Tibet, Tsang and Kham, and, in particular, in the southern and northern districts of Dokam. The enlightened activity of the *Great Liberation by Hearing during the Intermediate State* [*bar-do thos-grol chen-po*, i.e. the so-called "Tibetan Book of the Dead"] continues to be extensively propagated in most places up to the present.[1072]

15 *Thangtong Gyelpo*

[589.4-593.1] The mighty lord among accomplished masters, Thangtong Gyelpo,[1073] was the combined emanation of Avalokiteśvara and the glorious Hayagrīva, who came forth as if Guru Padmasambhava had taken birth from the womb. He incarnated at Ölpa Lhartse in upper Tsang in 1385 (wood ox year, sixth cycle). Adhering to more than five hundred tutors, he pursued study and reflection without limit. Although he was a naturally arisen, mighty lord among accomplished masters, by virtue of necessity he received the Northern Treasures in their entirety from Künpang Tönyö Gyeltsen and the Shangpa doctrines from the lama Dorje Zhönu;[1074] and he revealed the attainment of accomplishment in both of these traditions. Through the disciplined conduct [of an adherent of the secret mantra] he journeyed to all parts of Jambudvīpa and its subcontinents and, in particular, to such places as the Lotus Light Palace on Cāmaradvīpa, where he heard the doctrine from Guru Rinpoche and numberless accomplished masters; and the ḍākinīs and doctrine protectors did him obeisance.

Thangtong Gyelpo built many temples at geomantic focal points, which repelled invading armies from Tibet.[1075] He bound all the venomous gods and demons under oaths of allegiance. From Samye Chimpu he extracted five paper scrolls, including the *Attainment of Longevity, the Giver of the Glory of Immortality* (*tshe-sgrub 'chi-med dpal-ster*). From Trampagyang he brought forth the *Attainment of Mind, Utterly Secret and Unsurpassed* (*thugs-sgrub yang-gsang bla-med*); from Druptso Pemaling, the *Jewel Hoard of Esoteric Instruction* (*man-ngag rin-chen gter-spungs*); from Taktsang (the "tiger den") at Paro in Mön, a ten-span-long paper scroll which combined the profound, essential points of all the sūtras and tantras; from the Palace of Secret Mantra in Tsāri, the *Cycle of Profound Doctrines which are Mind Treasures* (*zab-chos thugs-gter skor*); and from Zilcen Phuk in Tsāri, the *Illuminating Lamp which Contains the Prophecy of the Great Accomplished Master Himself* (*grub-chen-nyid-kyi lung-bstan gsal-ba'i sgron-me*) and the *Means for the Attainment of Kṣetrapāla* (*zhing-skyong-gi sgrub-thabs*). He dis-

covered many other profound treasures as well, and, in exchange, he concealed many treasure troves [at those sites].

Thangtong Gyelpo subdued an evil extremist king, who resided at Kamata in India, and barbarian tribes on the borders of Tibet; and he introduced them to the doctrine. The array of such miraculous abilities was immeasurable. He produced uncountable [images, books, and stūpas] representing the buddha-body, speech and mind, surpassing the range of the intellect. He built fifty-eight iron suspension bridges and established one hundred and eighteen ferry-crossings.[1076] These and other inconceivable deeds are universally renowned. Above and beyond that, on these occasions, in order to encourage virtuous conduct, he depicted the lives of the past bodhisattvas, religious kings, and others in dramatic performances. This theatrical tradition, which today is known as *Ace Lhamo*, originated as [an aspect of Thangtong Gyelpo's] perfectly wonderful, enlightened activity, so meaningful to behold.[1077]



Thangtong Gyelpo

Finally, when the master reached his one hundred and twenty-fifth year [1509], he passed away bodily, in the way of a sky-farer. At that time his spiritual son Nyima Zangpo sang a lament, at which he returned

and conferred his extensive testament. Then he passed away at glorious Riwoche.[1078]

There was one Tshültrim Zangpo, a great accomplished master from Ngari who lived to the age of one hundred and thirty and whose body, in the end, passed away in a mass of light.[1079] He and the accomplished master called Char Thülcen of Dokam seem to have been physical projections of this great accomplished master Thangtong Gyelpo.

Until the present day, many worthy persons have been favoured by the body of his pristine cognition. The host of his disciples was infinite, and, in particular, owing to the auspicious circumstance of this great accomplished master's attainment of the state of a deathless awareness-holder, who could control the duration of his own life, there were many holders of his lineage who attained the accomplishment of longevity.

It appears that the continuous transmission of the profound doctrine, the *Great Aural Lineage of Thangtong* (*zab-chos thang-stong snyan-brgyud chen-mo*) has persisted and the *Attainment of Longevity, the Giver of the Glory of Immortality* pervades all schools, ancient and new. Later on, the venerable Pema Ösel Do-nga Lingpa was repeatedly favoured by the body of Thangtong Gyelpo's pristine cognition and blessed by him. Relying on that, he established an amazing group of doctrines, the *Innermost Spirituality of the Accomplished Master* (*grub-thob snying-thig*), a mind treasure which poured forth from the expanse of his intention and which includes: the *Profound and Vast Creation and Perfection of the Cycle of the Means for the Attainment of the Guru*, which is the root (*rtsa-ba bla-sgrub-kyi skor bskyed-rdzogs zab-rgyas*); and, as branches, the *Five Cycles of the Means for Attainment*, which are in harmony with the path of the *Magical Net*, belonging to the class of tantras (*rgyud-sde sgyu-'phrul-gyi lam dang mthun-pa'i sgrub-thabs skor-lnga*); and the *Essential Summarisation of the Tantras, Transmissions, and Esoteric Instructions of the Class of Means for Attainment, the Eight Transmitted Precepts* (*sgrub-sde bka'-brgyad-kyi rgyud lung man-ngag snying-por dril-ba*). These are preserved in the *Store of Precious Treasure* (*rin-chen gter-mdzod*).

16 *Ngari Paṇcen Pema Wangyel*

[593.1-598.3] The great paṇḍita of Ngari, Pema Wangyel Dorje, was a mind emanation of the religious king Trhisong, and the ninth reincarnation of Gyelse Lharje. He was born in 1487 (fire female sheep year, eighth cycle) in the district of Lowo Matang [present-day Mustang, Nepal].[1080] His father, Jamyang Rincen Gyeltsen, a great learned and accomplished master, hailed from a divine clan and was a later incarnation of lord Marpa, and his mother was Drocam Trhompagyen. He was named Pema Wangyel.

In his eighth year Pema Wangyel became a layman.[1081] From his father he obtained [the vow of] the cultivation of the enlightened attitude and studied fully, and trained himself in, the cycles of the transmitted precepts of the Ancient Translation School, the foremost being the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*. He practised many rites of service and attainment to the point of realising the signs [of success]. From master Norten Zangpo he received the Vinaya, sūtras, Kadampa cycles (*bka'-gdams-pa'i skor*), and so forth. Starting in his twentieth year, Pema Wangyel thoroughly mastered a hundred great textual traditions, of which the foremost were those of the Madhyamaka, logic, and Transcendental Perfection. Thus, he became meaningfully well known as a "spiritual benefactor".

In his twenty-first year he received the [empowerments which bring about] maturation and [the guidance which brings about] liberation for the *Red Yamāri* and so on, from Jamyang Chökyong, Tshültrim Pel, and others. Performing the rites of service and attainment, he actually beheld the visage of the wrathful Mañjuśrī. In particular, in his twenty-second year, he thoroughly resolved his doubts regarding the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Ancient Translation School under the tutelage of his holy, venerable father.[1082] When he performed the attainment of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts*, his father was inspired by extraordinary pure visions, and so praised him. Later, [the attributes praised by his father] became manifest.



Ngari Paṇcen Pema Wangyel

During the early and later part of his twenty-third year, Pema Wangyel twice received the Path and Fruit from Lowo Lotsāwa. In his twenty-fifth year he received complete ordination at the seminary of Samdrupling from Sonam Lhündrup, the great preceptor of Lowo,[1083] who was the emanation of Jamyang Sakya Paṇḍita, and who officiated as both preceptor and master of ceremonies. From then on Pema Wangyel adhered to the discipline of a total renunciate who remained on one seat.[1084] He properly mastered the practical applications of the Vinaya of the true doctrine, and consequently he became foremost among all those who held the Vinaya during that age. Moreover, under that great preceptor, Namgyel Pelzang, the great paṇḍita of Kuge, and Jamyang Lodröpel he studied grammar, logic, and many empowerments and tantras of the new translation schools of the secret mantra. Training himself in these, he came to be honoured with the crowning title of *Mahāpaṇḍita*.

Pema Wangyel also studied many of the Northern Treasures under Śākya Zangpo, the treasure-finder of Trangpo. In short, as illustrated above, he made efforts to study and to practise the rites of service and

attainment for most of the extant traditions of the empowerments, tantras, and esoteric instructions of secret mantra belonging to the new and ancient traditions. He also travelled to the Kathmandu Valley, where he attended on many Newari and Tibetan gurus. Due to his connection with the places of pilgrimage and his practice of contemplation, pure visions arose without limit.

Starting from his thirty-eighth year, Pema Wangyel brought down a great shower of doctrine, ancient and new, without bias: He decided to restore the doctrinal lineages of the ancient and new traditions which had deteriorated in Central Tibet and Tsang. Having obtained the permission of his father and all the lords of Lowo, he proceeded to Central Tibet via Zangzang Lhadrak, together with his younger brother, Lekden Dorje.[1085] On reaching the Emanational Temple of Lhasa [i.e. the Jokhang], he obtained a prophetic declaration.

At Zhungtrezhing, Pema Wangyel received the Maṇḍalas of Ngok (*rngog-dkyil*) and the cycle of *Red Yamāri* from Ngoktön Sonam Tendzin and Zhalu Locen of Tratang. Then he went to Samye and the propensities of [his previous life as] the religious king Trhisong were manifestly aroused. He performed the great attainment of the *Gathering of the Sugatas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts* in the middle shrine, and was favoured by Lhodrak Guru and others. From Trhengso Orgyen Chözang and Kongcen Namka Pelden he received the *Gathering of the Guru's Intention*. When he practised contemplation at Dra Yangdzong and Chimpu he had visions of many deities. Pema Wangyel was invited to Lhodrak by an eighth generation descendant of Guru Chöwang. He restored the deteriorating doctrinal tradition there and performed other acts of great kindness.

This master studied the *Gathering of the Sugatas of the Eight Transmitted Precepts* alone twenty-five times, of which the last, which he received at Lhodrak Gönkar from the peerless, great, accomplished master Namkei Neljor of the Jeu clan, had a genuine and reliable origin. In this way his intention was totally fulfilled.

In particular, concerning his discovery of profound treasures: In his forty-sixth year, from a secret chest lodged in the back of the image of Vairocana with four bodies [facing in four directions, *rnam-snang mi-bzhi*] in the upper hall at Samye, Pema Wangyel brought forth the *Final Gathering of the Transmitted Precepts which is the Doctrinal Cycle of the Entire Gathering of Awareness-holders, the Means for the Attainment of the Seven-Chapter Supplication* (*bka'-'dus phyi-ma rig-'dzin yongs-'dus-kyi chos-skor gsol-'debs le'u-bdun-ma'i sgrub-thabs*). He established most of it and it remains widely propagated even today.

He invited Drigung Rincen Phüntsok – Rikdzin Lekdenje having brought them together – and the three of them, master and disciples, reconsecrated Samye. This greatly aided the temporal and spiritual well-being of Tibet and Kham. After Pema Wangyel had thus limitlessly

benefitted the teaching and living creatures in Central Tibet, he departed, in his fifty-sixth year, from Ön Möntang for the great, glorious Copper-coloured Mountain.

Generally speaking, this holy individual's inconceivably learned, dignified and accomplished career is elucidated in his own verse autobiography. Furthermore, he composed the terse but profusely meaningful *Treatise which Ascertains the Three Vows (sdom-gsum rnam-par nges-pa'i bstan-bcos)*. The kindness of this act alone was inconceivable. Up to the present day this work has been the necklace of those who hold the teachings of the Ancient Translation School.

So it was that Pema Wangyel became well known as a great promulgator who, directly and indirectly, clarified the teachings of the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Ancient Translation School. In the lifetime immediately following he returned as the master of the Northern Treasures, Trashi Topgyel, or Chögyel Wangpöide, whose career as an accomplished treasure-finder surpasses the imagination.[1086] The transmission of Pema Wangyel's profound doctrine, too, has continued without decline.

17 *Rikdzin Jatsön Nyingpo*

[598.3-604.3] The great holder of indestructible reality, a monk renowned in one body under three names – those of the treasure-finder Letro Lingpa, the awareness-holder Jatsön Nyingpo, and the mantra adept Hūṃnak Mebar – appeared as an emanation from above of the compassion of Nyangben Tingdzin Zangpo. Nyangben had completely realised the fruit and was supreme among the one hundred and eight disciples of the great master Orgyen who had attained the incorruptible body of light.[1087]

Jatsön Nyingpo was born in 1585 (wood female bird year, tenth cycle) as the sun entered into the constellation Puṣyā,[1088] at Waru Namtsül in Kongpo. His father was Chökyong Gönpo, and his mother Namlung Putri. From childhood he was endowed with the propensities of the doctrine. From his third year he learnt to read just by being shown the script. Many times, too, he left impressions of his hands and feet in stone. From his twelfth year until his twentieth he studied general subjects, medical science in particular, and so reached the summit of scholarship.

During that period Jatsön Nyingpo repeatedly met Orgyen Rinpoche in reality, visions, and dreams. Inspired with renunciation and intense disgust at the world he fixed his mind one-pointedly on the true doctrine. He looked upon all saṃsāric states and associations as fire pits, and so, for the sake of the doctrine, escaped into the presence of the doctrine master Mipham Trashi Lodrö. That master had a dream in which some women brought him an old stūpa that had been built by the master Padmasambhava, saying, "It has to be reconsecrated." When he performed the consecration, the stūpa blazed into light. So, he realised that [his new disciple] was fortunate. Jatsön Nyingpo was ordained as a novice and given the name Ngawang Chögyel Wangpo. He received numberless instructions, including the empowerments, guidance, and transmission of the way of secret mantra, and he passed the time exclusively in one-pointed practice. Moreover, he received all the sūtra and mantra transmissions of the ancient and new traditions from Zhapdrung Norbu Gyenpa, the all-knowing Drukpa, Nyame Lhatsewa, and

others, until it was as if there was nothing he had not studied. In particular, he received full ordination from Lhatsewa, and thus attained to the status of a monk.



Rikdzin Jatsön Nyingpo

Jatsön Nyingpo spent seventeen years in a clay-sealed hermitage, and thus hoisted up the banner of attainment. At that time he obtained many prophetic declarations concerning treasure, but he disregarded them. When he had recited the ritual service of Vajrapāṇi one hundred million times, he once more received a prophetic declaration, and was encouraged by the most precious doctrine master Mipham Trashi Lodrö, whereupon on Thursday 13 February 1620 (tenth day, first month, iron male monkey year) he found a treasure inventory, written in the hand of Yeshe Tshogyel, inside a chick-sized garuḍa image of cast iron. It concerned the first of the treasures he was to discover. Accordingly, from the iron gate of Homtrang in Traklung he extracted the *Utterly Profound Gathering of All Precious Jewels* (*yang-zab dkon-mchog spyi-'dus*) and others as secret treasures; and he completely fulfilled the attainment of his treasures and their secret seals.[1089]

Then, successively, from Pucu in Kongpo, the entrance to the pilgrimage place of Jönpalung which is called Cang Trhengdze, Nyemo

Lhari, Kongtrang Gendüne, Zha Temple in Uru, and from elsewhere, Jatsön Nyingpo brought forth many profound treasures, including the *Great Compassionate One (thugs-rje chen-po), Hayagrīva and Varāhī, the Wish-fulfilling Gem (rta-phag yid-bzhin nor-bu)*, the *Peaceful and Wrathful Deities, the Nucleus of Definitive Meaning (zhi-khro nges-don snying po)*, the *Attainment of Longevity, the Thunderbolt Vajra (tshe-sgrub gnam-lcags rdo-rje), Dorje Trolö (rdo-rje gro-lod)*, the *Cycle of the Glorious Neuter Lord (dpal-mgon ma-ning skor)*, and the *Guidebook to the Pilgrimage Place of Pemakö (padma-bkod-kyi gnas-kyi lam-yig)*. Some of his treasures, such as the *Gathering of All Precious Jewels* were secret treasures, but most were discovered in public.

Jatsön Nyingpo developed boundless supernormal cognitive and miraculous powers. He discerned concealed facts without obscuration, and he could even traverse waters and ravines without impediment. When he discovered the treasure on Mount Nyemo Lhari, in particular, Tratiwa of Kongpo and other irrational persons feared that the essences of the earth would be diminished.[1090] They tried to guard the treasure site with an army, but the treasure-finder became exhilarated and rode on his horse at a gallop right over the great rock abyss. Its faces were mirror-like, such as might allow none but a bird to escape, but Jatsön's horse left a hoofprint on the stone surface. The master extracted the treasure in an instant and departed displaying his discipline and great miraculous abilities. The soldiers were terrified. They all became confused, but then he established them on the level of the faithful. By his inconceivable occult power and force he could subdue Tamsi spirits, repel armies, and so forth.

So it was that Jatsön Nyingpo's manifold enlightened activities increased the [temporal and spiritual] well-being of Tibet, both in general and in particular. He favoured many fortunate disciples and bestowed on them the nectar of maturation and liberation according to the many doctrinal traditions belonging to the transmitted precepts and treasures of the ancient and new traditions. The master himself was dignified and maintained the conduct of total renunciation without transgressing his status as a monk. He also guided those he trained in such manners, so that they remained absorbed in the genuine path and established upon it.

At the isolated and lofty place called Pangri Jokpo, a location which he had opened up himself, he founded a retreat centre. It has been maintained and preserved, without decline, until the present day by the lineage of his successors, emanations, and others.

The first master of Jatsön's doctrine was Gampo Zhapdrung Norbu Gyenpa, who opened the way for the enlightened activity [of those treasures]. From then on, Jatsön Nyingpo extensively gathered [disciples] from Central Tibet, Tsang, and Kham, among whom were the black-hat and red-hat Karmapa [i.e. the Karmapa and the Zhamarpa],

Gyeltsap Trakpa Töndrup,[1091] Drigung Chöki Trakpa,[1092] Drukpa Paksam Wangpo,[1093] Dorje Trak Rikdzin Ngagiwangpo, Tsele Natsok Rangdröl,[1094] Lhatsün Namka Jikme, Rikdzin Trhinle Lhündrup, Kangyurwa Gönpo Sonam Chokden, Puwo Baka Trülku Rikdzin Chöki Gyamtso, Künga Gyamtso the accomplished master of Derge, the great treasure-finder Düdül Dorje, and Tabla Padmamati. He bestowed on them the nectar of his profound doctrine in its entirety, and so formed the auspicious circumstances for the enlightened activity [of his treasures] to spread throughout all quarters.

When Jatsön Nyingpo had reached the limits of such deeds he overtly displayed, during his seventy-second year [1656], signs and miracles at Pangri Jokpo and, as befitted his supernormal cognitive powers, revealed his passage to a great pure land. In his doctrinal lineage there were many, earlier and later on, who accomplished the body of light, such as the two who did so at Takpo solely during the time of Miwang Sonam Topgyel.[1095]

In brief, although this emanational treasure-finder possessed the last of the four kinds of auspicious coincidence – superior, middling, inferior, and most inferior – which are spoken of in the prophetic declarations, none the less, because his enlightened aspiration and the force of his training were especially sublime, he reached the limits of the experiential cultivation of his own profound treasures. On the basis of this, the enlightened activity of his treasure doctrines was propagated and spread throughout the area from India and Nepal in the west to the shores of the ocean in the east; and so it has remained, without decline, down to the present day.[1096]

18 *Rikdzin Düdül Dorje*

[604.3-610.6] The great treasure-finder and awareness-holder Düdül Dorje, a later incarnation of Drokben Khyeucung Lotsāwa, was quite clearly prophesied in about thirteen ancient treasures. Accordingly, he was born in 1615 (wood female hare year, tenth cycle) on the shady side of the well-known [valley of] Ngülpunang, in the Derge district of Dokam. His father was a learned physician of the Ling clan named Ludrup, and his mother was called Poluma. He studied writing, reading, and medical diagnosis under his father, and from his sixth year on experienced many pure visions. He spent his childhood at the seminary of glorious Lhündrup Teng, where he offered a lock from his crown to Künga Gyamtso, the accomplished master of Derge who was an emanation of Rikdzin Gödemcen; and he received the name Künga Sonam Chöpak. He left his footprint on a boulder which even today rests behind the eastern door of the great assembly hall.

Then, while learning, training himself in, studying, and reflecting upon all sorts of texts of the glorious Sakyapa, Düdül Dorje searched for the nucleus, the meaning of pristine cognition, like a thirsty man craving water. As a result, he proceeded to the hermitage of Muksang, where he studied the Great Perfection and many other profound doctrines under Drenpa Köncok Gyeltsen. By cultivating them experientially, the spacious expanse of realisation poured open. Then he travelled to the Central Tibetan districts. At Nyangpo he met the great accomplished master Trashi Tsheten, and received many maturational and liberating instructions. At Trakar Lhacu he abandoned food and, relying on alchemy alone, perfected himself in the profound path of yoga associated with the energy channels, currents, and seminal points. By virtue of the auspicious connection made when he first entered the doctrine, he went to the monasteries of Sakya and Ngor in Tsang, where he received the *Oral Transmission of the Path and Fruit* (*gsung-ngag lam-'bras*), and so forth. Then, during the return journey, he supplicated the great awareness-holder Jatsön Nyingpo at Pangri, and received, in their entirety, many empowerments, esoteric instructions, and much

guidance, Jatsön's own profound treasures first and foremost among them.

Above all, during this period Düdül Dorje received a prophecy declaring him to be fortunate with regard to treasure. Complying with it, he proceeded to Puwo, where, at Phodrang Yutso, he persevered in the attainment of Ratna Lingpa's *Utterly Secret and Unsurpassed Kīla* (*rat-gling phur-pa yang-gsang bla-med*). At that time ḍākinīs transported him in a dream to the glorious Copper-coloured Mountain, where, as he experienced it, he remained for twenty-eight days. He received the maturational [empowerment] and liberating [guidance] from Guru Rinpoche in their entirety, and was given prophetic declarations concerning



Rikdzin Düdül Dorje

treasure. This and more is elucidated in the master's own *Mighty King of Pure Vision* (*dag-snang dbang-gi rgyal-po*). Düdül Dorje then went to meet the glorious Orgyen Tendzin, who, reflecting on that dream, was utterly delighted and had Düdül Dorje enthroned as a master of indestructible reality with perfect honours. Thereafter, he lived as a great mantra adept and holder of indestructible reality.

His first profound treasure was in conformity with the inventory which had come into his possession. In his twenty-ninth year he took

Pemakyi, who was of the enlightened family, to be his seal of action (*karmamudrā*), and then, from Yutso Rincen Trak he brought forth an inventory, and from the Decen Sangwa Cave at the Dongcu in Puwo, the cycles of the *Gathering of the Entire Intention of the True Doctrine* (*dam-chos dgongs-pa yongs-'dus*). These were foremost among his profound treasures. He himself said that all those he discovered later were its supplements.

Then, gradually, Düdül Dorje found the *True Doctrine, the Innermost Spirituality of the Body of Emanation*, together with [the rites of] the protector of this transmitted precept, *Kṣetrapāla* (*dam-chos sprul-sku'i snying-thig bka'-srung zhing-skyong dang-bcas-pa*), at Tshawa Drodrak; the *Profoundly Significant, Secret Innermost Spirituality* (*zab-don gsang-ba snying-thig*) and the *Cycle of Glorious Cakrasaṃvara and the Four-armed Protector of Transmitted Precepts* (*dpal bde-mchog bka'-srung phyag-bzhi-pa'i skor*) at Puri Takdzong; the *Innermost Spirituality, the Trio of Amitāyus, Yangdak Heruka, and Vajrakīla, with the Cycle of Its Protectress, Ekajaṭī, the Self-Arisen Queen* (*snying-thig tshe-yang-phur-gsum srung-ma e-ka-dza-ti rang-byung rgyal-mo'i skor*) at Puri Shelgi Yangdrom; the *Guidebook to the Secret Land of Pemakö* (*sbas-yul padma bkod-pa'i gnas-yig*) at the rock on the north bank of the Dongcu in Puwo; and the cycles of the *Trio of Meditational Deities: Red Yamāri, Black Yamāri, and Bhairava* (*yi-dam dmar-nag-'jigs-gsum-gyi skor*) at Trhomzil Trhomkaryak in the Derge district of Dokam. But, except for the *Cycles of the Attainment of Peaceful Mañjuśrī* (*'jam-dpal-zhi-sgrub-kyi skor-rnams*), he does not appear to have established the others. Although Düdül Dorje also discovered the *Cycle of the Attainment of the Glorious Four-faced Protector and of Mahādeva* (*dpal-mgon gdong-bzhi-pa dang lha-chen sgrub-skor*) at Capu Cakpurcen; the *Guru as the Gathering of Awareness-holders* (*bla-ma rig-'dzin 'dus-pa*), the *Attainment of Longevity, the Hot Sunbeam* (*tshe-sgrub tsha-ba dmar-thag*) and the *Cycle of Zhanglön and Pomra, Protectors of the Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-srung zhang-blon dang spom-ra'i skor*) in the central shrine of Samye; and the *Crown Ornament of the Aural Lineage, the Cycles of the Wish-fulfilling Gem* (*snyan-brgyud gtsug-rgyan yid-bzhin nor-bu'i skor-rnams*) in the upper shrine in the west wing of the Rasa Trhülnang Temple [the Jokhang in Lhasa], it is certain that he did not establish them.

From Düri Namcak Barwa in Puwo the yogin Tungtrengcen brought forth the cycles of the *Peaceful and Wrathful Deities of the Magical Net* and of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts* along with the protectors of these transmitted precepts (*sgyu-'phrul zhi-khro dang bka'-brgyad skor bka'-srung bcas*), and from the Stone Stūpa of Ratsak he brought forth the *Cycle of the Glorious Tiger-riding Lord* (*dpal-mgon stag-zhon skor*); and these he offered to Düdül Dorje. Moreover, it is clearly stated in his *History of the Treasures* (*gter-'byung*) that he discovered many profound treasures, sooner or later, at Shinje Dongka in Yutso, Rikdzin Sangpuk,

Serakcok, Nabün Dzong, Tashö Kyilkor Thang, and elsewhere. He opened up many great pilgrimage places in Central Tibet and the frontier regions, the foremost of them being the secret land of Pemakö. Together with the aforementioned treasure troves he extracted an inconceivable number of images, symbolic objects, and sacramental substances. In short, just as it was said that he would be the successor to a hundred sites and their treasures, as well as to a thousand substances which liberate when tasted, he disclosed the majority of them.

In his forty-second year Düdül Dorje was invited by the lama of Derge, Campa Phüntsok, and his nephew. In the former monastic residence of that master he built the famous Düdül Shrine and fulfilled, thereby, a prophecy of benefit to both the teaching and the state. He visited all the seats of the Nyingmapa, the Ancient Translation School, as far as Katok Dorjeden; and he favoured many fortunate disciples. The cottage where he stayed for a long time practising contemplation at Nopki Phutak Phudrak-ring, near Dzing Namgyel, exists even today.

Düdül Dorje travelled to the residence of the royal house of Ling (*gling-tshang*) and established an excellent patron-priest relationship with the king of Ling.[1097] When he manufactured [sacramental substances by means of] the vase attainment of the *Great Compassionate One as the King of Space* (*thugs-rje chen-po nam-mkha'i rgyal-po'i bum-sgrub*),[1098] there were wonderful signs which surpassed the imagination. [Sacraments] derived from those manufactured then continue to exist at the present day.

The master was gradually invited to Parkam, Putö,[1099] Parma Lhateng, Riwoche, and so on, where he infinitely benefitted the teaching and living creatures. In particular, at Pornetrak he met with Namcö Mingyur Dorje.[1100] They exchanged doctrines and otherwise formed an auspicious connection. The encounter had been arranged by the great accomplished master Karma Chakme,[1101] who scattered flowers of praise on Düdül Dorje.

Düdül Dorje established his seats at Decen Thang in Putö and at Yuri Gango, and he dwelt in these places for a long time. He clarified, in a general way, the gateway to the pilgrimage centre of the secret land of Pemakö. Afterwards, when he had completed his personal deeds, he departed for the great Palace of Lotus Light during his fifty-eighth year, in 1672 (water male mouse). At that time there were sounds, lights, rains of flowers, and numberless other wonderful miracles. Particularly, most of his corpse dissolved into light. What remained, which was about one cubit in length, was offered to the flames, from which a mass consisting of five great remains and many relics was recovered.

This master's foremost personal disciples, who became the masters of his teaching, were Lhatsün Namka Jikme, Rikdzin Longsel

Nyingpo,[1102] Baka Trülku Chöki Gyamtso, Dzokcen Pema Rikdzin,[1103] Künzang Khyapdel Lhündrup, the great accomplished master Pema Norbu and many other holders of indestructible reality in the vicinity of Tawu. Thus, his disciples were numberless. The enlightened activity of Düdül Dorje's doctrinal lineage was preserved without decline, in particular, by Gyelse Norbu Yongdra and others who successively appeared in the lineage of his descendants.

19 *Lhatsün Namka Jikme*

[610.6-614.2] Lhatsün Namka Jikme was simultaneously the embodiment of the compassion of the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra and of the all-knowing Trime Özer [Longcenpa]. He was born in 1597 (fire female bird year, tenth cycle) into the family of Lha Tsepo in the district of Caryül, in the south. He possessed many wonderful features; for example, the space between his eyebrows, his tongue, and the tip of his nose were all very clearly marked with the syllable A.[1104] He was ordained as a novice by Trülku Orgyen Peljor at the hermitage of Sungnyen, and the name Künzang Namgyel was conferred upon him. At first, Lhatsün pursued varied study and reflection at the college of Thangdrok. From many holders of indestructible reality he gradually received the maturational [empowerments] and liberating [guidance] of many profound instructions, including such transmitted precepts and treasures as the *Eight Transmitted Precepts* and the *Gathering of Intentions* (*bka'-dgongs*). Having perfected the practice of the rites of service and attainment of his favoured deity, Lhatsün mastered the accomplishments and enlightened activities. In particular, he attended on Sonam Wangpo, an adept of the Great Perfection, for seventeen years and received the entire cycle of the instructions of the *Innermost Spirituality* (*snying-thig-gi gdams-skor*). He experientially cultivated it and so plumbed the depths of realisation.

To derive the full profit [from his practice] Lhatsün received all the esoteric instructions of the path of desire (*chags-lam-gyi man-ngag*) from the venerable Ngawang Mikyö Dorje. He trained himself until he mastered the pristine cognition of bliss and emptiness [by means of] the yogas of "one's own body as the means" (*rang-lus thabs-ldan*) and "another's body as the seal" (*gzhan-lus phyag-rgya*), whereby his recognition of the four delights dissolved as it arose, and all things seen and heard matured into the inner radiance of co-emergent delight.[1105] Lhatsün practised the disciplined conduct of awareness[1106] in all the great pilgrimage centres of Tibet, such as Caryül, Takpo and Kongpo, and Uru, Yoru and Tsang, and thus he reached a high level of accomplishment. He unravelled the

knot of the energy channels in the throat centre, so that everything he said was always refined in word and meaning.

Lhatsün subdued an extremist king in India and established him in the Buddhist teaching. In Tibet, he encouraged all the gods and demons to assist him, and made them restore Samye Monastery. He was endowed with mastery over inconceivable miraculous powers: At Tsāri, for instance, he reversed a great mountain avalanche by exercising his gaze and the gesture of menace.



Lhatsün Namka Jikme

When Lhatsün was absorbed in contemplation at such great pilgrimage places as those of Zabulung, Rincen Shelri Mukpöi Gatsel, Pema Ja-ö Sheldzong, and Shelri Lhei Dingkang in Yarlung, he experienced inconceivable pure visions. Consequently, the spacious store of his intention poured open and there emerged the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Spontaneous Song of the Clouds, the Nucleus of Indestructible Reality* (*rdo-rje snying-po sprin-gyi thol-glu'i chos-skor*), which is praised as the further innermost spirituality of all treasure troves, the essential point of the aural lineages, and [the cause of] liberation when seen, heard, thought of, or encountered. He established the text and bestowed its aural lineage on a few disciples of extraordinary fortune.

Encouraged by the injunctions of the awareness-holder Jatsön Nyingpo, the great treasure-finder Düdül Dorje, and others, and as a means to secure the happiness of all Tibet and Kham, Lhatsün proceeded on foot to Lhari Ösel Nyingpo in Sikkim in 1646 (fire dog), his fiftieth year. He opened up that place of pilgrimage and, complying with a prophecy, founded a temple and a hermitage. While residing, in accord with a prophetic declaration of the ḍākinīs, in the Dhāki-nying Cavern at Trakar Trashiding, the *Doctrinal Cycles of the Vital Attainment of the Awareness-holder* (*rig-'dzin srog-sgrub-kyi chos-skor-rnams*), which are the extraordinary instructions of Ati, the unsurpassed Innermost Spirituality, emerged in a pure vision. He established the text and bestowed the nectar of its maturation and liberation on fortunate disciples.

Moreover, Lhatsün maintained bountiful, enlightened activity which increased the teaching of the Great Perfection, until the reputation of the Sikkimese tradition of the Great Perfection (*'bras-ljongs rdzogs-chen-pa'i ring-lugs*) spread throughout all quarters. It is said that during this later age no one has subsequently surpassed this accomplished master in his attainment of the limits of disciplined conduct. The empowerments, transmissions, and esoteric instructions of the profound doctrine of the *Vital Attainment of the Awareness-holder* and the *Spontaneous Song of the Clouds* have been continually transmitted until the present day without decline. The enlightened activity of their doctrinal lineages has been propagated in most districts of Tibet and Kham and, particularly, in the secret land of Sikkim.

20 *The Fifth Dalai Lama*

[614.3-620.2] The Fifth Dalai Lama, a supreme conqueror renowned under the secret name Dorje Thokmetsel, who was prophesied in many old and new treasure troves as an emanation of the enlightened activity of the religious king Trhisong Detsen, was the actual embodiment of the compassion of Avalokiteśvara, the Lord of the Land of Snows. He was born with wondrous omens in 1617 (fire female snake year, tenth cycle). His father, who hailed from Chongye Taktse, was Miwang Düdül Rapten, a descendant of the royal line of Sahor, and his mother, Künga Lhadze, was the daughter of the myriarch of Yamdrok. In the year of his birth Cangpa Rikdzin Ngagiwangpo conferred on him the transmitted empowerment of the *Tent of Longevity* (*tshe-gur-gyi dbang-bka'*) in order to remove danger.[1107] This was the first auspicious occurrence [during his life]. The Paṇcen Lama, Lozang Chöki Gyeltsen,[1108] recognised him to be the reincarnation of the conqueror Yönten Gyamtso [Dalai Lama IV], and invited him to the great doctrinal centre of glorious Drepung. He offered the lock from the crown of his head, received the name Lozang Gyamtso, and was installed upon the lion throne.

Starting with the *Abbreviated Logic Course* (*bsdus-tshad*),[1109] the Dalai Lama studied all the great textual volumes under Köncok Chöpel of Lingme, whom the great master Padmasambhava had prophesied to be the emanation of the translator Ngok. He learned them all without difficulty. From the Paṇcen Rinpoche he received many empowerments, transmissions, and esoteric instructions. Under Möndro Paṇḍita and his son[1110] he studied poetics, grammar, prosody, synonymics, et cetera; and astrology and divination, the *Svarodaya* and many other works without limit, under Dumpopa and Zurcen Chöying Rangdröl. Thus, the Dalai Lama became a great *mahāpaṇḍita*, fully cognisant of the ten sciences. In his twenty-second year he received complete ordination according to the continuous lineage of vows stemming from Lacen Gongpa Rapsel from the Paṇcen Rinpoche, and was given the new name Ngagi Wangcuk.



The Fifth Dalai Lama

The Dalai Lama attended on many extraordinary learned and accomplished tutors, such as Khöntön Peljor Lhündrup of Phabongkha, Zhalu Sonam Chokdrup, Zurcen Chöying Rangdröl, Menlungpa Locok Dorje, and the king of the doctrine Terdak Lingpa. His own *Record of Teachings Received (gsan-yig)*, which fills four volumes and is held by all to be authoritative, describes how he completed study and reflection on most exegeses of the sūtras and mantras, and the empowerments, transmissions, and esoteric instructions of the mantra tradition, that continued to survive in Tibet during that period, of which the foremost were those of the Sakyapa, Gelukpa, and Nyingmapa. Through contemplation and experiential cultivation he perfected the skills of renunciation and realisation. At some point, too, he performed various wrathful rites of sorcery and the signs [of success] were made manifest.

In particular, his succession to the transmitted precepts of profound, pure visions [was foretold] in a prophecy from the treasures of the glorious Trashi Topgyel:

> Twenty-five [treasures] and five special treasures of mind
> Will be revealed, through pure aspirations,

By your fifth incarnation,
O present king of the black-headed race.

Accordingly, when the Fifth Dalai Lama went to glorious Samye the auspicious circumstances [for the discovery of] actual treasures arose, but, due to the time, place, and situation, he did not take possession of them. Later, when the myriad conquerors belonging to the three roots were actually revealed to him in a vision, he obtained a prophetic declaration and empowerment, in conformity with which he wrote down [the treasures forming] *Twenty-five Doctrinal Groups Sealed to be Kept Secret* (*gsang-ba rgya-can-du gsol-ba'i chos-sde nyi-shu rtsa-lnga*). Together with his orally composed supplement, they fill two volumes. He bestowed their maturation and liberation, in their entirety, on a supreme gathering, consisting mainly of holders of the tradition of the Ancient Translation School, such as the king of the doctrine Terdak Lingpa and Rikdzin Pema Trhinle. Therefore, his treasures came to be very widely propagated. Their lineage has continued until the present day without decline.

On the political front: When the Dalai Lama was in his twenty-fifth year [1641] the Mongolian Gushri Tendzin Chögyel captured the three provinces of Tibet through his military might. He offered all the religious and civil properties to the Dalai Lama as the subjects of his dominion. Afterwards, the Dalai Lama was invited to Peking by the great emperor of the east, and presented with, among other things, an imperial edict which proclaimed him the "Dalai Lama, Vajra-holding Master of the Teaching..." The emperor also venerated him as a *ti-shih*, or imperial preceptor, and established a patron-priest relationship.[1111]

The Dalai Lama built the great Potala Palace on Marpo Hill [in Lhasa]. As a king adhering to the vows of a monk, [an emanation of Avalokiteśvara], the sublime lord of the world, and of Trhisong Detsen, [the embodiment of] Mañjuśrī, he governed Tibet and Kham during the degenerate age as had been foretold in infallible indestructible prophecies. In this way, he was a great master who maintained, even down to the present day, the happiness of the whole kingdom of Tibet, by means of the two traditions [i.e. spiritual and temporal law].[1112]

On the doctrinal front: The Dalai Lama turned the infinite doctrinal wheel of the transmitted precepts and treasures of the ancient and new traditions of sūtra and mantra. His disciples included most of the holders of the teaching in Tibet, beginning with such great gurus as the glorious [hierarch of] Sakya and his disciples, [the hierarchs of] the Drigungpa, Taklungpa and Drukpa [Kagyüpa subsects], the supreme emanation of the Paṇcen Rinpoche, and the acting and retired throne-holders of Ganden. In particular, many extraordinary individuals, great promulgators of the Ancient Translation School who could uphold its philosophy, such as the king of the doctrine Terdak Lingpa, Rikdzin

Pema Trhinle, and Lhodrak-se Tendzin Gyurme Dorje, came before him; and so, directly and indirectly, the Fifth Dalai Lama was incomparably gracious to the teaching of the Ancient Translation School.

Moreover, among most of the great gurus and aristocrats from the River Ganges in India all the way to the land of Tongku [i.e. Tonkin] in the east, there was hardly anyone who did not become the Dalai Lama's personal disciple. In Central Tibet, Tsang and Kham, and as far as the lands of China and Mongolia, he founded countless new doctrinal centres. His eloquent and wonderful *Inner and Outer Collected Works* (*gsung-'bum phyi-nang*), exemplified by his commentaries on the texts of the sciences, contain more than thirty large volumes. Among the partisans of the new translation schools, he cherished above all the tradition of Jamyang Khyentse Wangcuk,[1113] and among those of the Nyingmapa, only that of Cangpa Trashi Topgyel. In particular, as had been prophesied, he made good the auspicious connection of priest and patron that existed between the great treasure-finder and the master of the doctrine of Mindröling [i.e. Terdak Lingpa and Locen Dharmaśrī] and himself. In these ways, he planted the roots of continuity for the government of the Ganden Palace.[1114]

Such was the legacy, in the three spheres, of the Fifth Dalai Lama, who, having brought to completion the inconceivable deeds of his outer, inner, and secret careers, became absorbed, during his sixty-sixth year, on Saturday 2 May 1682 (twenty-fifth day, third month, water dog year), in the contemplation of the transcendent lady Vidyā [Kurukullā] as an auspicious token of the enlightened activity of his future dominion[1115] and, in the great palace of the Potala, he passed into bliss.

The emanation immediately following, the awareness-holder Tshangyang Gyamtso,[1116] took birth in the family descended from Pema Lingpa of Mön. From that time until the present day, when the Great Fourteenth in this successive line of incarnations lives as a sovereign lord of the entire teaching of the Conqueror upon the earth, the succession of Dalai Lamas has been famed throughout the world.

21 *Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa, the Great Treasure-finder of Mindröling*

[620.2-636.6] Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa, or Pema Karwang Gyurme Dorje, was the speech emanation of the great translator Vairocana. When, at the time of his death, he had withdrawn from the body of his previous lifetime[1117] into the expanse of inner radiance, he was inspired to serve others by the ḍākinīs' song that is the pure melody of awareness. Consequently, the body of his pristine cognition assumed the form of a heruka and entered the womb. When he took birth at Targye Chöling in Tranang,[1118] on Monday 26 March 1646 (tenth day, second month, fire dog year, eleventh cycle), the earth shook, rainbow auras sparkled, and other wondrous omens occurred. His father was Nyötön Sangdak Trhinle Lhündrup, and his mother Lhandzin Yangcen Drölma of a noble family.

As soon as he was born he was blessed by his venerable father with an empowerment as an auspicious token of keen intellect, and for protection from obstacles. Even later, he would recall with extraordinary clarity of mind the surroundings and happenings at that time, as well as the yogin with a bluish complexion and topknot and the two beautiful women who continually served him from then up to his third year.

Even from the time he was being nursed Terdak Lingpa's expressions revealed him to be adept at contemplation; and during childish play, too, he had the virtuous manner of one in whom the genuine enlightened family had awakened. Thus, he inspired confidence in intelligent persons. At the beginning of his fourth year he received the empowerment of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts, the Consummation of Secrets* from his venerable father; and at that time all objective appearances were sealed with the maṇḍala circle, so that he perceived the foremost [figure of the maṇḍala] and the guru to be no different, and the seed of the four empowerments was sown in the stream of his mind. During the autumn of his tenth year, 1655 (wood sheep), while receiving the empowerment of the *Gathering of the Sugatas*, he was empowered and blessed by the great master Padmasambhava during a vision of inner radiance. Owing to this, [the aforementioned seed] grew, and he experienced [the fruit

of] the vase empowerment, whereby he established objective appearances to be apparitional.

Up to that time Terdak Lingpa easily mastered writing and reading, the memorisation of the ceremonies and rites, including the means for attainment, maṇḍala ceremonies, empowerments, permissory initiations, and consecrations belonging to his own tradition, and all their practical techniques. From then on, he became the regent of his venerable father, and maintained all kinds of enlightened activity.

In his eleventh year Terdak Lingpa offered a lock from the crown of his head to the all-knowing conqueror, the Fifth Dalai Lama, at glorious Drepung. The name Ngawang Pema Tendzin was conferred upon him. Because this coincided with the initial arrival of the natural image of the Sublime One of Kyirong,[1119] the Dalai Lama was delighted, and inspired him, saying, "This is an auspicious coincidence!" At that time, light rays emanated from the heart of the image of the Sublime One, which was clearly peaceful, smiling, and passionately engaged, and were absorbed into Terdak Lingpa's body. And when, in his seventeenth year, he met the venerable lord of conquerors, the Great Fifth, at Samye, he saw him in the form of Avalokiteśvara.



Rikdzin Terdak Lingpa

Successively, the all-knowing Great Fifth and his own venerable father, Sangdak Trhinle Lhündrup, had the perfect kindness to favour Terdak Lingpa as their personal disciple. Above and beyond that, he would later [i.e. after their deaths] be blessed by the bodies of their pristine cognition. For this crucial reason, they were his two incomparably gracious root gurus. Moreover, there were sixteen great holders of the teaching under whom he studied the profound paths of maturation and liberation, and thirty-five tutors from whom he received various profound doctrines. Attending on these, Terdak Lingpa, at various places and times, received the complete vows of a layman, the bodhisattva vows according to the three traditions, and, as stated above, the empowerment and introduction to the symbolic significance of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts, the Consummation of Secrets* which had been the first catalyst of his maturation [i.e. his first empowerment]. In this way, he grounded himself in the three vows.

Terdak Lingpa's studies of the doctrinal transmissions were infinite. It would be difficult to grasp even the titles, but they included all the transmitted precepts of the Ancient Translation School for which there exists a continuous lineage nowadays, such as the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, the *Three Traditions of the Mental Class* (*sems-sde lugs-gsum*), the *Buddhasamāyoga* and the cycles of *Yangdak Heruka*, *Vajrakīla* and *Yamāntaka*; most of the well-known treasures, as exemplified by the varied transmitted precepts of the class of means for attainment, the *Trio of the Guru, Great Perfection, and Great Compassionate One*, in general and in particular; the general transmitted precepts of the new translation schools, such as the *Vajra Garland* and the *Hundred Means for Attainment*, as well as such particular transmitted precepts as those of *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra*, *Kālacakra*, *Guhyasamāja*, *Yamāntaka*, and the Kriyā and Yoga empowerments, guidance, and exegetical transmissions, along with many works of the sūtra tradition; and the transmission of the entire *Kangyur*, which is the root of them all.

Starting in his thirteenth year, Terdak Lingpa memorised the *Root Tantra of the Secret Nucleus*, the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, the *Mind at Rest*, and the root text and commentary of the *Wish-fulfilling Treasury*; and from his venerable father he gradually received their oral exegeses. Later, he mastered the scriptures of the Nup tradition, the Zur tradition and of Rongzom Paṇḍita; Sakya Paṇḍita's *Analysis of the Three Vows* (*sa-skya paṇḍi-ta'i rab-dbye*); Comden Rikpei Reldri's *Definitive Order of the Tantrapiṭaka* (*bcom-ldan ral-gri'i spyi-rnam*); and the *Profound Inner Meaning* by Karmapa III, Rangjung Dorje (*rang-byung-zhabs-kyi nang-don*). In particular, by diligently investigating the scriptures of the great, all-knowing Longcenpa he obtained unimpeded powers of intellectual analysis, and thereby resolved his doubts about all things that there are.

He received the empowerments, instructions, and exegetical transmissions of the four rivers [of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*] in their entirety, including the seal of entrustment and the longevity empowerment for final support from Taktön Chögyel Tendzin who had opened forty-five maṇḍalas on the basis of the *Empowerment Ceremony of the Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions [entitled] the Jewel Rosary* (*'dus-pa mdo'i dbang-chog rin-chen phreng-ba*). Moreover, on the basis of the *Empowerment Ceremony [entitled] the River of Honey* (*dbang-chog sbrang-rtsi'i chu-rgyun*) he received [from the same guru] the complete empowerments, transmissions, and instructions, relying on twenty-one maṇḍalas painted on cloth. Again, from Rikdzin Pema Trhinle of Dorje Trak he received the full empowerments, instructions, and exegetical transmissions, based on the *Empowerment Ceremony [entitled] the Jewel Rosary*, relying on a condensed version [which utilised] twenty-seven maṇḍalas, of which the root maṇḍala was painted on cloth, and the surrounding ones laid out schematically.[1120] Both of these masters conferred on him the secret name Gyurme Dorjetsel.

The connection formed by his aspirations being awakened, the transmitted precepts of the profound treasures fell to Terdak Lingpa as follows. He discovered the treasures of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Awareness-holder* at Yamalung during his eighteenth year, on Friday 15 June 1663 (tenth day, fifth month, water hare); of *Yamāntaka, the Destroyer of Arrogance* (*gshin-rje-gshed dregs-'joms*) at Sheldrak, having displayed his miraculous powers, during his twenty-second year, on Saturday 24 September 1667 (eighth day, *khrums* month, fire sheep); of the *Wrathful Guru* (*gur-drag*) and the *Atiyoga and Vajrasattva Cycles* (*rdor-sems a-ti'i skor*) at Ökar Rock during his thirty-first year on Saturday 19 December 1676 (full moon day, tiger month, fire dragon); and of the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Great Compassionate One as the Universal Gathering of the Sugatas* (*thugs-rje chen-po bde-gshegs kun-'dus-kyi chos-skor*) in public at Shawuk Tago during his thirty-fifth year, on Friday 23 August 1680 (twenty-ninth day, sixth month, iron monkey).

On various different occasions, both before and after those just mentioned, Terdak Lingpa remained in retreat for periods of one year, six months, three months, or one month, at Trakmar Chimpu, Yamalung and other wonderful and great centres of accomplishment, and in the solitudes of such hermitages as his quarters at the old and new seats,[1121] and his cottages at Öseltse and Samtentse. There, he performed the rites of service and attainment for about thirty-five meditational deities, including the peaceful and wrathful Guru [Padmasambhava], Vajrasattva, the Eight Transmitted Precepts, the Great Compassionate One, Yangdak Heruka and Vajrakīla, Yamāntaka, Hayagrīva, and Khecarī. Taking the experiential cultivation of Cutting Through Resistance in the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-pa chen-po khregs-chod*) as the very heart [of the teaching], he also experientially cultivated All-Surpassing Reali-

sation (*thod-rgal*),[1122] the yogas of the energy currents, et cetera, during the appropriate crucial times [to practice those teachings].[1123] In this way, he attained stability in the stage of creation, which eradicates impure vision, and so accomplished all the four rites without any obstruction. As for the stage of perfection: The pulses or rhythms of the energy channels, currents, and seminal points having become purified in the *dhūti* [the central energy channel],[1124] the pristine cognition of the "bliss of melting" blazed as his seal.[1125] The naturally manifest and impartial intention of the Great Perfection being born within him, every trace of subjective grasping dissolved as it arose. He mastered the contemplation in which the inner radiance is continuously present, without differentiation, during both meditative equipoise and its aftermath.[1126]

All appearance and conduct having arisen as the play of pristine cognition, many paṇḍitas and accomplished masters of India and Tibet, such as the great master Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Hūṃkara, Buddhaguhya, Vairocana, Yeshe Tshogyel, Nyang-rel Nyima Özer, and the all-knowing lord of the doctrine [Longcenpa] actually appeared in the bodies of their pristine cognition. They created emanational maṇḍalas and empowered Terdak Lingpa in many transmitted precepts and treasures, as exemplified by his own treasures; and they amply commented upon and taught all the essential instructions of the profound path. He also beheld in visions, and was empowered and blessed by, many meditational deities including Vajrakumāra, Vajrasattva, Yangdak Heruka, the Great Compassionate One, the peaceful and wrathful deities, and Vajrayoginī. He traversed many pure lands, such as Sukhāvatī and the glorious Copper-coloured Mountain on Cāmaradvīpa, and so mastered the contemplation of the total purification of the realms. All his acts were unimpededly accomplished by the ḍākinīs and doctrine protectors, and they made prophetic declarations to him. Thus, he had limitless wonderful visions. Since he was endowed with unhindered and unimpeded supernormal cognitive powers, his prophecies regarding the changing patterns of time later turned out exactly as he had foretold them. There appear to be many convincing proofs of this, but I will not elaborate here.

Up to his thirty-first year, the seed of maturation which had been planted in Terdak Lingpa's mind-stream gradually grew, so that his experience of the vase empowerment was such that he established all objective appearances to be radiant and empty, like apparitions.[1127] Therefore, this was the time to act on behalf of living creatures preeminently by means of buddha-body. He travelled to many different districts, north and south, such as Shöcen and Kyilung, where, planting the seed of liberation, without bias, in the minds of numberless persons requiring training, who merely beheld the maṇḍala [of his person] he made an end to saṃsāra.

In his thirty-second year, beginning in March 1677 (second month, fire snake),[1128] his experience of the secret empowerment arose as the radiance and emptiness of intrinsic awareness, whereby subject and object dissolved in the expanse [of reality]. Therefore, this was the time to act on behalf of living creatures pre-eminently by means of buddha-speech. So he continually turned the profound and vast wheel of the doctrine for a host of disciples of superior, moderate and inferior fortune.

Starting in September/October 1683 (*khrums* month, water pig year),[1129] Terdak Lingpa's thirty-eighth, the experience which was born in his mind of the real pristine cognition, exemplified by the "bliss of melting" and of the four delights associated with awareness and emptiness, supreme bliss, co-emergence, and immutability, steadily increased by means of the path of a messenger.[1130] Therefore, it was the time to act on behalf of living creatures by means of buddha-mind. Despite the fact that henceforth he would continue to teach the doctrinal transmissions in general, without bias, he especially assumed responsibility for, above all, guiding fortunate disciples by forcible means to behold the face of naturally present, pristine cognition, having implanted directly within their minds instructions for whatever profound guidance would mature them.

In these ways, he came to embody the savour which is identical for the three indestructible realities of all buddhas.[1131] Therefore, it was the time to act all-pervasively, through enlightened activity on behalf of living creatures equally. In all his actions, he became utterly free from the entanglements of self-interested thought and passed the time engaged in the wholly positive activities of exegesis, attainment and work, with great courage. He held in his heart only the temporal and spiritual well-being of the teaching and living creatures.

Concerning that exegetical activity: The all-knowing supreme conqueror, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, pre-eminently studied all sorts of profound and extensive doctrinal cycles under Terdak Lingpa, including the *Precious Collected Tantras of the Ancient Translation School* (*snga-'gyur rgyud-'bum rin-po-che*), and conferred on him the title of *Ti-shih*. Exemplified by this, Terdak Lingpa's teaching activity was such that he continuously conferred many approaches to the doctrine, including the empowerments, guidance, and exegetical transmissions of the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Ancient Translation School, the mantras of the new translation schools, and the cycles belonging to the sūtras. [He did so] in accord with the respective intellectual needs of his fortunate disciples, high and low, who faithfully gathered from Central Tibet, Tsang, Kham, Kongpo, Mön to the south, Ngari and elsewhere, without number. Among them were many great individuals, who occupied the high positions of Sakya, Phakmotru, Drigung, Taklung, and so forth; aristocrats, including governors and district adminis-

trators;[1132] and the sons of his body and the many holy sons of his speech, who were spiritual benefactors elucidating the teaching. Thus, he clarified and extended the teaching that is without peer. In order that it might endure for a long time he also composed wonderful treatises of unprecedented eloquence, which include the means for attainment, maṇḍala rites, empowerment ceremonies, and so on, for the cycle of transmitted precepts, and the ceremonial arrangements and so forth for the exceptional older treasures, the *Earlier and Later Treasure Troves* foremost among them. These works occupy some thirteen volumes.

Concerning his activity in connection with attainment: As the master himself never strayed from continuous contemplation, both in meditative equipoise and its aftermath, he directly introduced those to whom he gave meditational guidance to awareness itself, not leaving them with a merely academic understanding. When he granted empowerment, the blessing of his pristine cognition actually penetrated the minds of his disciples; and he caused all the myriad rites of service and attainment to be applied practically, not left to be merely exegetical.

Concerning his activity belonging to the sphere of deeds and work: Terdak Lingpa did not lock up in a treasury all the things bestowed upon him from above by His Holiness [the Fifth Dalai Lama] and others, or offered up by the faithful. At the monastic centre of Orgyen Mindröling he newly gathered some three hundred members of the *saṃgha* who, binding themselves to the three vows, spent the time engaged in exegesis and attainment. He continuously ensured that they would not be bereft of the appropriate requisites and so [provided them with] their quarters, images, books, stūpas and other items of worship, and the supplies and provisions required for the rites of attainment and worship during the four seasons. Moreover, he commissioned many paintings and sculptures; more than five hundred volumes in gold and silver, including the *Kangyur*; numerous xylographs for the commentaries, exegeses, ceremonies, rites, et cetera, of the Ancient Translation School; and many stūpas, of which the foremost was the "Great Shrine of a Hundred Thousand Images which Liberates when Seen" (*sku-'bum mthong-grol chen-mo*). Because Terdak Lingpa was endowed with perfect liberality, he gave generously so that those who received his impartial worship and charity might amass the two provisions. In these and other ways, his was a wonderful, marvellous career, during which he undertook only those great deeds which increase the spiritual and temporal well-being of the teaching and of living creatures.

When Terdak Lingpa had, for the while, completed such deeds that are associated with inconceivably secret [activity], in February/March 1714 (first month, wood horse), during his sixty-ninth year, he seemed to become somewhat ill. Beginning on Sunday 11 March (twenty-fifth day), in particular, he bestowed his final instructions on his immediate family members. From that time onwards, those who remained to serve

him constantly heard the extremely harmonious sound of a shawm,[1133] which seemed to come from the western side of the outer wall. Simultaneously, the scent of camphor completely pervaded his bedroom, inside and out. Then, on the morning of Saturday 17 March (second day, second month), he said, "I must take seven steps toward the east." He rose and, after moving seven steps, sat down cross-legged and, as his *Dying Testament* (*'da'-ka'i zhal-chems*), said:

> Sights, sounds and awareness are deities, mantras,
> and the disposition of the body of reality,
> Spreading forth infinitely as the play of buddha-body
> and pristine cognition.
> In the experiential cultivation of the great, profound
> and secret yoga,
> May they become indivisible, of one savour in the
> innermost point of mind!

Afterwards, he said, "Now the ḍākinīs have arrived to usher me on!" He moved his hands in the gesture of playing the hand-drum and bell, and adopted a [contemplative] gaze. At that moment, he manifestly revealed wondrous omens and great miracles, and so demonstrated his passage to the great terrestrial pure land of Lotus Light.[1134]

Terdak Lingpa's disciples, exemplified by his spiritual sons and the sons of his speech, are described in a prophetic declaration from a treasure (*gter-lung*):

> As for the disciples of the doctrine master
> Who will maintain their commitments:
> They will include later incarnations of the king
> And his subjects who have attained the levels,
> Such as the present sovereign and his son.[1135]
> Thirty-five will have the power to benefit living
> creatures.
> One hundred and eight will benefit themselves.
> Two thousand will form doctrinal connections.
> Fifty thousand will have connections through his
> aspiration.
> Sixty-seven will be connected through deeds.
> Seven meriting parasols will be found in his
> following.
> Three aristocrats will increase his sphere of
> influence.

Accordingly, the foremost of the personal disciples who drank the nectar of his speech were: the supreme conqueror, the precious Fifth

Dalai Lama, and his regent Sangye Gyamtso,[1136] who were the sun and moon [among those with whom he enjoyed] a patron-priest relationship; Rikdzin Pema Trhinle of Dorje Trak; Sakya Trhicen Künga Trashi; the Zhapdrung along with his successor and the other great personages at the earlier and later seats of Tsedong [i.e. Tsetang and Neudong]; the Tshurpu Gyeltsap and the Trehor Choktrül, among holders of the Kamtsang [i.e. Karma Kagyü] teaching; Drigung Köncok Trhinle Zangpo; Taklungpa Tendzin Sizhi Namgyel; [the rebirth of] the all-knowing Drukpa Paksam Wangpo; the Gampo Choktrul Zangpo Dorje, and his descendants; Chamdo Gyelwa Phakpa Lha; Ngawang Chöki Trülku; Ngawang Künga Tendzin of Dokam; the former and later Tabla; the Katok Gyelse [Sonam Detsen]; and the second Dzokcen Pema Rikdzin Gyurme Thekcok Tendzin. As exemplified by these, among the majority of great famous gurus who were holders of the teaching, there seem to have been none who did not supplicate him.

Terdak Lingpa's sole, inner spiritual son was his younger brother Locen Dharmaśrī, an emanation of Yudra Nyingpo. The offsprings of his body were his sons Pema Gyurme Gyamtso, Zhapdrung Yizhin Lekdrup, Trincen Rincen Namgyel, and his daughter, the venerable lady Mingyur Peldrön.[1137] Furthermore, his attendants Gejong Losel Gyamtso, Ngak Rapjampa Orgyen Chödra, and Bumrampa Orgyen Kelzang and others were disciples who could uphold the great pillar of the teaching. These and the great perfect gathering [which assembled around Terdak Lingpa] vastly increased the enlightened activities of exegesis and attainment.

This great treasure-finder, directly and indirectly, was most gracious to the entire teaching, ancient and new. More than that, he maintained the vitality of the instructions of the minor doctrinal traditions, such as the Conangpa, Shangpa, Pacification and Object of Cutting (*zhi-gcod*), and Podongpa, both through his own powers and by encouraging others.

In particular, at that time the exegesis and attainment of the wonderful traditions which were the legacy of Trhisong Detsen and the priests he patronised, namely, the transmitted precepts of the Nyingmapa, the Ancient Translation School, of which the foremost is the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*, had almost become like a lamp that had run out of oil. Terdak Lingpa, with courageous and untiring great perseverance, sought out [those traditions], and restored the deteriorated teaching from its very foundations by means of exegesis, attainment, and work. In point of fact, because of the kindness of this most venerable master, his brother, disciples, and descendants, the *Sa-nga Nyingmapa*, or the "ancient school of secret mantra", has been equal to the meaning of its name, and its genuine, authoritative continuous lineage has increased, without decline, down to the present day. Therefore, none can match Terdak

Lingpa's wonderful kindness and legacy. For these reasons, we later Nyingmapa do not merely rely on ephemeral ceremonies and rites which are referred to as profound doctrines, but extensively maintain this tradition, which is a great treasure chest of teaching; and it is appropriate for us to make great efforts to spread it as well.

22 *Jikme Lingpa*

[636.6-646.1] The all-knowing Jikme Lingpa[1138] was the combined emanation of the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra, the religious king Trhisong Detsen and Gyelse Lharje. He was the immediate rebirth of Rikdzin Chöje Lingpa. As had been clearly prophesied in the treasures of Guru Chöwang, Sangye Lingpa, Chöje Lingpa and his disciple Ratön, and others, Jikme Lingpa was born on the morning of Monday 6 February 1730, the anniversary of Longcenpa's death (eighteenth day, twelfth month, earth female bird year, twelfth cycle) near Pelri Monastery in the district of Chongye, to the south of the Red Mausoleum of King Songtsen Gampo (*srong-btsan bang-so dmar-po*).[1139] His family was that of the heirs of Gyadrakpa, one of the six great spiritual sons of Chöje Drukpa.

From childhood he clearly remembered his previous lives as the great treasure-finders Sangye Lama and Chöje Lingpa. In this and other ways he awoke to the genuine enlightened family. During his sixth year, he entered the college of Pelgi Riwo [i.e. Pelri], where the venerable Prajñāraśmi's unblemished legacy in the three spheres was preserved.[1140] He offered a lock from the crown of his head to Ngawang Lozang Pema, an incarnation of Yeshe Tshogyel, and the name Pema Khyentse Özer was conferred on him in the presence of Nesarwa Ngawang Künga Lekpei Jungne.

Jikme Lingpa received the empowerments and transmissions of the *Point of Liberation* and the *Gathering of the Guru's Intention* from Neten Künzang Özer. In particular, in his thirteenth year he met Rikdzin Thukcok Dorje and received the *Great Seal, Liberation through the Vision of Pristine Cognition* (*phyag-rgya chen-po ye-shes mthong-grol*) among other teachings. This was the first cause of his spiritual maturation. Because he adopted Rikdzin Thukcok Dorje as his sole, supreme root guru, he later was taken into the following of the body of his pristine cognition as well. Furthermore, at various times Jikme Lingpa received all kinds of [empowerments, which bring about] maturation, and [guidance, which brings about] liberation, including the most im-

portant transmitted precepts and treasures of the Ancient Translation School. These included the foremost teachings of the transmitted precepts and of the *Earlier and Later Treasure Troves*, as well as those of the new translation schools. The many tutors from whom he received them included the great treasure-finder Trime Lingpa, Zhangom Dharmakīrti, Trupwang Śrīnātha of Mindröling, Tendzin Yeshe Lhündrup, Thangdrok-ön Pema Chokdrup, and Mön Dzakar Lama Targye. Incidentally, he studied some of the conventional sciences, including astrology.



Jikme Lingpa

His own writings demonstrate that his mind was bent on the attainment of the essential, and that he eschewed efforts to master the literary conventions, except in so much as he was naturally endowed from birth with talent for the hidden essentials of the great textual traditions of the sūtras and mantras, and for perfect poetic composition.[1141]

In his twenty-eighth year, starting in February/March 1757 (month of miracles, fire ox year) he firmly vowed to pass three years in the seclusion of the Gokang Tikle Nyakcik [Hermitage], which was connected with his own monastery of Pelri. Above all, Jikme Lingpa exclusively practised there the stages of creation and perfection of the

Point of Liberation, the Natural Liberation of Intention (*grol-tig dgongs-pa rang-grol*), a profound treasure of the great treasure-finder Sherap Özer, the succession of which had fallen to him through both close and distant lineages; and he obtained the special signs of "warmth".[1142]

Moreover, having completed the rites of service and attainment associated with myriad deities of many profound treasures, including both the *Earlier and Later Treasure Troves*, he measurably attained the condition of a holder of the awareness of maturation. When he mastered the yogas of the energy channels, currents and seminal points, the energy channels of the centre of rapture, situated in the throat, dissolved in a mass of syllables.[1143] He perceived all appearances as a book and the great treasury of the doctrine spilled open [in the form of] songs of indestructible reality and so forth, which were perfect in word and meaning. When he performed the rites of service and attainment for the *Gathering of the Guru's Intention*, the sound of a horse neighing burst forth from the crown of his head[1144] and the great Orgyen crowned him with the name "Pema Wangcen the Glorious". Through the power of being actually blessed by the master Mañjuśrīmitra he fully comprehended the pristine cognition which may be exemplified.[1145] Thereafter, he maintained in conduct the great discipline of a resplendently attired heruka.

In particular, during a vision of the inner radiance, the ḍākinī of the pristine cognition of the body of reality actually bestowed on him the inventory for the *Innermost Spirituality of Longcenpa* (*klong-byang*) in the symbolic script of the ḍākinīs at the Carung Khashor Stūpa [i.e. the Great Stūpa of Bodhnāth] in Nepal.[1146] Consequently, he reached an exalted level of learning and accomplishment, and became master of the great treasury of doctrine that is widely renowned as the *Great Perfection, the Innermost Spirituality of Longcenpa* (*rdzogs-pa chen-po klong-chen snying-gi thig-le*). But still he was not satisfied, and so, immediately after completing the three years [of retreat] in that place [Pelri], he proceeded to glorious Samye Chimpu. With great austerity he once more concentrated one-pointedly upon the essential attainment for three years in the cave of Sangcen Metok, at which time, in general, he had numberless pure visions, and, in particular, met three times with the body of pristine cognition of the all-knowing king of the doctrine, Longcen Rapjam Zangpo. The blessing of Longcenpa's body, speech and mind being actually transferred to him, Jikme Lingpa acquired his supreme authorisation and beheld the truth of the Great Perfection, the real pristine cognition of the sublime path. At the same location [Samye] he revealed, for the first time, the maturation and liberation of that great treasure of his mind to fifteen fortunate disciples. From then on, he widely propagated its profound meanings, so that he became the unique promulgator of the Innermost Spirituality of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs-pa chen-po snying-thig*).

After Jikme Lingpa had fulfilled his vow to remain in retreat for three years, the true meaning of the indestructible prophetic declaration made in the *Dialogue of Sky and Mountain* (*mkha'-ri zhu-lan*), a profound treasure of Chöwang Rinpoche, was revealed, for there it says:

In Chongye my emanation will come to serve the world.
Though no one will know who it is,
He will teach in a forthright manner.[1147]
At Chingwardo, or to the south of the Red Mausoleum,
He may found a monastery at the Lhabap Stūpa.

The body of the pristine cognition of Tsele Natsok Rangdröl actually entrusted this purpose to Jikme Lingpa. Relying upon many auspicious coincidences, such as his symbolic revelations, he then returned to his homeland. In the uplands of Tönkar Valley, in a hidden ravine to the south of the mausoleum of Songtsen Gampo in Chongye, he re-established the mountain hermitage of Pel Tshering-jong Pema Ösel Thekcokling, including both the physical buildings and their contents. Thereafter, he lived out his life as a hidden yogin, free from activities, with his seat established there. To numberless worthy disciples from all quarters of the Land of Snows, as far as Bhutan and India, he skilfully revealed the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Nyingmapa tradition in general. In particular, he taught the instructions of the Innermost Spirituality in its ancient and new recensions.[1148] So it was that his doctrinal activity was wondrous.

Jikme Lingpa profusely gave the gift of the doctrine without hoping for return or [profitable] fruition: He performed many myriad offerings to the three doctrinal centres[1149] and he ransomed countless living creatures from certain death.[1150] He presented a wheel of fine gold to the great temple of Samye and erected a silver image of the Conqueror Ajita [Maitreya]. He repeated the consecration of Samye and when the great Gurkha army, which was hostile to the teaching, advanced upon Tibet, he successfully performed the rites for the aversion of war.[1151] This illustrates his activities in the sphere of work and his wondrous deeds which ensured the well-being of the teaching and the world, for which even the Tibetan government granted him great esteem and veneration.

Above all, during that age the teaching of the Ancient Translation School had everywhere become sparse. Jikme Lingpa could not bear in his heart that the enlightened activity of the vast aspirations of the emanational religious kings, translators, and scholars should become fruitless and that their indescribable legacy should nearly disappear. He had copies made, using the finest supplies and materials, of all the precious tantras of the Nyingmapa tradition which were to be found at Mindröling, some twenty-five volumes, and had the first five pages [of each volume] written in [ink made of] the five precious substances,

and the remainder in black ink on a white background (*skya-chos*). Previously, there had been neither a detailed catalogue, nor a verified history, compiled on this topic, but, because his brilliance was profound and vast in connection with the three logical axioms (*gtan-tshigs-gsum*), this venerable master composed the *Narrative History of the Precious Collected Tantras of the Ancient Translation School, the Ornament Covering All Jambudvīpa* (*snga-'gyur rgyud-'bum rin-po-che'i rtogs-pa brjod-pa 'dzam-gling tha-grur khyab-pa'i rgyan*). The fine light of scriptural authority and logic which shines therein totally uproots all the confusions which arise from the darkness of perverted opinion and doubt.

Jikme Lingpa's collected works, which amount to nine volumes, include the basic root texts and elucidations of his mind treasure, the *Innermost Spirituality of Longcenpa* (*thugs-gter klong-chen snying-thig gzhung-rtsa-ba gsal-byed dang bcas-pa*); the *Vajrakīla according to the Tradition of the Tantra* (*phur-pa rgyud-lugs*) – a new redaction of the [Vajrakīla] transmitted precept based on the empowerment which had been conferred on him by Langcen Pelgi Senge[1152] in an emanational maṇḍala and the instructions which followed; and the root text and commentary of the *Precious Treasury of Enlightened Attributes*, which provides the sequential path for the entire teaching. This last composition was a treasure of intention given to him in the form of a treatise by the blessing of the all-knowing, great Longcenpa.

The disciples who attended directly on Jikme Lingpa's discourses included such great gurus and powerful nobles as Sakya Trhicen Ngawang Pelden Chökyong and his brother; the two Drigungpa emanations; the Supreme Emanation of the Dorje Trak Rikdzin; the Speech Emanation of Lhodrak and the Spiritual Son; Jora Trülku, the holder of the Podongpa teaching; the abbots of both the Shartse and Cangtse colleges of Ganden, who were holders of the tradition of Riwo Ganden [i.e. the Gelukpa tradition]; and Göntse Trülku of Tshona in Mön. There can be no counting, to their full limits, his disciples who were detached yogins, meditators, and monks. Also, most of the Nyingmapa gurus and emanations from the province of Kham came before his feet.

Jikme Lingpa's own enlightened activity, which embraced all quarters from the frontiers of India in the south, to China and Mongolia in the east, with the light of the doctrine, has been unrivalled during this late age. This, in particular, was due to the enlightened activity of his sole innermost spiritual son, Trupwang Jikme Trhinle Özer, an emanation of Prince Murup Tsepo,[1153] and also [to the activity] of Jikme Gyelwei Nyugu, a great bodhisattva,[1154] Jikme Kündröl, the learned and accomplished master of Mön, and others.

The master himself asserted that if he were to cultivate one-pointedly the enlightened mind for seven years in mountain retreat, the teaching would be increased and propagated. The truth of that prophecy has been realised in the present day, for the maturing empowerments,

liberating guidance, and experiential cultivation of the Innermost Spirituality appears to be spreading, as if to cover all directions.

When he had completed such actions associated with the three spheres, on Friday 12 October 1798 (third day, ninth month, earth horse), during his seventieth year, Jikme Lingpa passed away at his own seat, the hermitage of Namdröl Yangtse in Tshering Valley. The actual demonstration of signs and miracles indicated his passage to the great realm of Lotus Light. Previously, he had bestowed in detail the wonderful, indestructible words of his final testament. Accordingly, his last rites were undertaken by Ön Özer Trhinle and others, who completed extensive ceremonies to fulfil the master's final intentions.

23 *Chogyur Decen Lingpa*

[646.1-658.6] The great treasure-finder Chogyur Decen Zhikpo Lingpa[1155] was an emanation of Murup Tsepo or Yeshe Rölpatsel, who was the son of glorious King [Trhisong] and a holder of commitments. He was born on Monday 10 August 1829 (tenth day, sixth month, earth female ox year, fourteenth cycle)[1156] at Gomde Tranang in Yertö, southern Dokam. His father was Pema Wangcuk, the mantra adept of Gom, who belonged to the family of Acadru, the minister of Nangcen Chinghu.[1157] His mother was Tshering Yangtso. His birth was accompanied by rainbow light and other auspicious omens. From childhood he displayed the wonderful conduct of a holy person; and he learnt to read and write with little difficulty. For this reason he was nicknamed Norbu Tendzin, "Jewel, Holder of the Teaching". He also practised many contemplative sequences unprompted by others.

Once, when he was in his thirteenth year, he went to play at a place called Maṇikha ("Entrance to Jewels", or "Entrance to the Six-Syllable Mantra of Avalokiteśvara"). On that occasion, Orgyen Rinpoche actually appeared to him and pretended to ask the name of the place and so on. After he had answered each question, Guru Rinpoche prophetically declared, "Since the place is called Maṇikha, you Norbu Tendzin, and this country Ārya-Nang (Sublime and Inner), you will be especially sublime in the world!" So saying, he vanished like a rainbow. At about this time, he received the vows of a novice from Taklung Ma Rinpoche.

Pawo VIII, Tsuklak Chöki Gyelpo, made great efforts to confer on him the texts, transmissions, and blessings of the *Warm Sunbeam of the Attainment of Mind* (*thugs-sgrub tsha-ba dmar-thag*) and the *Beauteous Flower Garland Ritual Manual*, both from the *Gathering of the Guru's Intention*. He was advised that it would be well if he were to cultivate experience of them and was thus entrusted with the actual lineage of the treasures. At one point or another, under many tutors, including the hierarchs of the Karma and Drukpa Kagyü sects and their disciples, the supreme emanations of Drigung, and the preceptors and master of



Chogyur Decen Lingpa

the Zurmang seat, he received endless empowerments, transmissions, and esoteric instructions of the sūtra and mantra traditions, ancient and new, as well as their exegetical traditions and ritual practices. He also studied the arts of dance, iconometry, chant and instrumental music. With little difficulty, he showed himself to be extremely skilled in all of them.

In conformity with the inspiration of Guru Rinpoche's prophecy, in his twenty-fifth year Chogyur Lingpa proceeded to the seat of Pelpung, where he met Situ Pema Nyinje Wangpo.[1158] He offered [the kīla known as] the "Laughter of Kīla's Great Power" (*phur-pa dbang-chen bzhad-pa*) and other gifts, which Situ delightedly accepted, so that obstacles were removed and the auspicious circumstances for his continued longevity were established. Situ also gave him confidential advice concerning the need to complete the attainment of his treasures and their secret seals. Then, gradually, Chogyur Lingpa received some profound doctrines, such as concern the cultivation of an enlightened aspiration, from the great preceptor and bodhisattva Dapzang Trülku. From Jamgön Lodrö Thaye he heard most of the transmitted precepts of the Nyingmapa, of which the foremost was the empowerment and exegetical transmission

of the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Magical Net*, and many treasure doctrines, beginning with the *Great Compassionate One as the Universal Gathering of the Sugatas*.

Chogyur Lingpa was most clearly foretold in many outer, inner, and secret prophetic inventories. Among these, the *Established Confluence of Auspicious Coincidences* (*rten-'brel mdo-chings*), in particular, declared:

> An aspiring individual, who will reveal, not leave,
> The profound treasures concealed in the Store of the Sky,[1159]
> Will be your later incarnation, O royal son.[1160]
> In that age most of the translators and scholars,
> And the king and his subjects will assemble together.
> In particular, when the sovereign and his sons reunite,
> Assisting one another, their propensities will gradually
>   awaken,
> And they will encounter my ultimate instructions.
> In pure visions you will meet me in person,
> And effortlessly attain accomplishment
> By experiential cultivation
> Of my guidance which lays bare the practical application
> Of the instructions of secret mantra.
> Many disciples will emerge,
> Who will obtain the accomplishments!

Accordingly, during the ninth month of that year [October 1853] Chogyur Lingpa went to meet the venerable Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo. At that time the master [Khyentse Rinpoche] realised that he possessed a connection with the successive line of the incarnations of the sovereign Trhisong Detsen. Therefore, he initially bestowed on him the *Utterly Secret Razor Kīla* (*phur-pa yang-gsang spu-gri*), and, later, the great empowerment of *Vajrakīla according to the Khön Tradition* (*'khon-lugs phur-pa'i dbang-chen*). As a result, the outer, inner, and secret obstacles of Chogyur Lingpa were removed. During the empowerment of the *Further Innermost Spirituality like the Wish-fulfilling Gem*, he actually perceived the guru to be the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra. He experienced other extraordinary pure visions too, and thus was introduced to naked awareness. Then, when Chogyur Lingpa was entrusted with the vital heart-mantra of the protectress Ekajaṭī, he experienced a vast magnificence, reminiscent of an earthquake, and actually beheld her. She said, "If you, master and disciple, perform the three-year retreat together I shall grant you great accomplishment!" This presaged the later discovery of the *Three Classes of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen sde-gsum*).

In his twenty-seventh year, when he received the great empowerment of the *Nine-Deity Maṇḍala of Yangdak Heruka* (*yang-dag lha-dgu'i dbang-chen*), he felt that the guru [in the form of] Heruka dissolved into the

crown of his own head. As a result, the knots in the energy channels in his heart were unravelled, and from that time onwards songs of indestructible reality poured forth without impediment. He understood without difficulty the symbolic script of the *Attainment of Mind, the Dispeller of All Obstacles* (*thugs-sgrub bar-chad kun-sel*), which he could not properly decipher before. This teaching agrees not only in meaning, but also for the most part in language, with the *Attainment of Mind, the Gathering of the Sugatas* (*thugs-sgrub bde-gshegs 'dus-pa*), a profound treasure of the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche. Therefore, they established the two together without obstacle, just as a mother and child are united. They also performed the treasure attainment (*gter-sgrub*)[1161] together, whereby they experienced numberless pure visions, including one in which they were actually favoured by Guru Padmasambhava and his consort. They obtained the inventories of many treasure troves, and many other auspicious coincidences were established. Since they had confidence in one another, the venerable Khyentse, too, enjoyed the maturational and liberating nectar of these new treasures and authorised them. In this way, the two became like the sun and moon among treasure-finders, universally renowned and indisputable.

In the isolated hermitage of Yangkyil, Chogyur Lingpa remained absorbed in the rites of service and attainment for the *Utterly Profound Gathering of All Precious Jewels*. From then on, in accord with Guru Padmasambhava's prophetic declarations, he persevered in the contemplative sequences, above all, during three years of solitary retreat at Wokmin Karma. Arriving experientially at the culmination of creation, perfection, and Great Perfection, infinite signs and marks of accomplishment were disclosed. It was thus proven by direct perception that he was a great being who had mastery over the four rites of enlightened activity.

CHOGYUR LINGPA'S SEVEN SUCCESSIONS TO THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS

In particular, in the *Prophetic Declaration of the Three Classes of the Great Perfection* (*rdzogs-chen sde-gsum-gyi lung-bstan*) it says:

> The streams of seven successions of transmitted precepts
> Will fall to the sovereign and his son as their fortune.
> These are the unbroken lineage, transmitted from
> one to the next (i),
> The substantial profound treasures (ii), those of
> intention (iv),
> Reconcealed treasures (iii), treasures of recollection (v),
> Pure visions (vi), and the aural lineages (vii).

They will reap a great doctrinal harvest in this
degenerate age.
Profound and vast, they will outshine the sun.

In conformity with this, both of the two great treasure-finders, emanations of the sovereign and his son, were endowed with seven successions of the transmitted precepts of the profound doctrine, which were subdivisions of the three [basic types of transmission], namely, the transmitted precepts, treasures, and pure visions.

(i) [Concerning the transmitted precepts]: Chogyur Lingpa received most of the distant lineage of the transmitted precepts in existence nowadays. He taught and propagated the trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class* many times. Furthermore, among his profound treasures, there are those which uphold the doctrinal language and philosophical systems, just as they are found in the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and other texts of the transmitted precepts. These unprecedented and wonderful discoveries constitute his real succession to the transmitted precepts.

(ii) Concerning the earth treasures, which were his own fortune: In his thirteenth year Chogyur Lingpa began by discovering the *Twenty-four Means for Attainment which were the Prince's Contemplations* (*lha-sras thugs-dam sgrub-thabs nyer-bzhi*), and the *Skull-Mirror of Indestructible Reality, which is Indicative of the Transmitted Precepts of the Gathering of Intentions* (*dgongs-'dus bka'-rtags rdo-rje thod-pa me-long*) at Trakar Dzongcung. In his thirty-ninth year, after his venerable guru [Khyentse Rinpoche] had offered him an inventory and inspiration, he discovered, at Tsike Norbu Pünsum, the *Thirty-seven Supreme Treasures* (*mchog-gter sum-cu-rtsa-bdun*), which included the *Seven Cycles of the Jewel of True Doctrine* (*dam-chos nor-bu skor-bdun*), as well as a representative figure of Guru Rinpoche and the body ornaments of Senge Dradrok. At Dra Yangdzong he discovered the *Seven Cycles of Pacification* (*zhi-byed skor-bdun*), together with their inventories, supplementary inventories, essential inventories, quintessential inventories, et cetera, and also many minor material treasures.

Concerning Chogyur Lingpa's foremost treasures: He brought forth the *Attainment of Mind, the Dispeller of All Obstacles* from Danyin Khala Rongo; the *Great Compassionate One, Lotus Crowned* (*thugs-rje chen-po padma gtsug-tor*) from Nabün Dzong; the *Seven Cycles of Profound Contemplation* (*thugs-dam zab-pa skor-bdun*) from the area behind Wokmin Karma; the cycles of the tantras and transmissions which are its supplements, and also the *Root Attainment of Mind, the Gathering of All Intentions* (*rtsa-ba'i thugs-sgrub dgongs-pa kun-'dus*), along with two representative images from Yegyel Namkadzö; the *True Doctrine, Three Classes of the Great Perfection* (*dam-chos rdzogs-pa chen-po sde-gsum*) from the

Pemashel Cave in Marshödzam; the *Six Scrolls of True Doctrine* (*dam-chos shog-sde drug-pa*) from Mount Kongmo Wokma at Sengcen Nam-drak; the *Great Compassionate One, the Magical Net of the Lotus* (*thugs-rje chen-po padma sgyu-'phrul drva-ba*) and the *Churner of Saṃsāra's Depths* (*'khor-ba dong-sprugs*) from Khandro Bumdzong; the *General Summary of Mātaraḥ* (*ma-mo spyi-bsdus*) from Karmei Peldeu; the *Attainment of Mind, the Wish-fulfilling Gem* (*thugs-sgrub yid-bzhin nor-bu*) from Kela Norbu Pünsum, in conformity with the prophetic declaration of the venerable Khyentse; the *Eight Transmitted Precepts, the Universal Gathering of the Sugatas* (*bka'-brgyad bde-gshegs kun-'dus*) and the *Refined Gold of the Profound Great Perfection* (*zab-pa rdzogs-chen gser-zhun*) from Yubel Rock, south of Yegyel; the *Attainment of Mind, the Expressive Play of Indestructible Wrath* (*thugs-sgrub rdo-rje drag-rtsal*) and the *Five Innermost Cycles* (*snying-po skor-lnga*) from the "tiger den" of Rongme Karmo; and the *Saṃvara Buddhasamāyoga* (*bde-mchog sangs-rgyas mnyam-sbyor*) from Rudam Kangtrö.

All those are merely illustrative: From each treasure site there came forth an exceedingly large number of doctrines, sacramental substances, images and symbolic objects. Since most of them were found in public, they were visible to everyone's senses and hence indisputable. In short, just as it had been clearly prophesied that the succession of the transmitted precepts of a hundred treasures from the sites of buddha-body, speech, mind, attributes, and activities would fall to him, along with those of a hundred [doctrines of] Innermost Spirituality and many [substances providing] liberation when tasted, just so, Chogyur Lingpa discovered the *Dokam Inventory of the Twenty-five Great Pilgrimage Places of Dokam* (*mdo-khams gnas-chen nyer-lnga'i mdo-byang*) at the rock of Pawo Wangcen. In this way he made newly manifest many sites, their roots and branches. His wonderful miracles were also inconceivable; for instance, he discovered as treasure about three grades of material for representative images of Guru Rinpoche, but he multiplied the copies [of those images] many times.

(iii) Concerning the reconcealed treasures[1162] which supplement these: These were the *Wrathful Guru, the Innermost Spirituality of the Red HŪṂ* (*gur-drag hūṃ-dmar snying-thig*), a treasure of his own previous incarnation as the great treasure-finder Sangye Lingpa, which fell to him through the power of blessing; and the *Mother Tantra which Integrates the Secret onto the Path* (*ma-rgyud gsang-ba lam-khyer*) of the ḍākinī Künga Bumpa, which fell to him through a close lineage.

(iv) Concerning the profound treasures of intention: Relying upon the inspiration derived from the venerable Tārā's saying to him "It is good!" three times, Chogyur Lingpa established the *Innermost Profundity of Tārā* (*sgrol-ma'i zab-tig*).

(v) Concerning the recollections which supplement them: The master, having remembered his former life as Nup Khulungpa Yönten

Gyamtso, briefly set down in writing the *Transmitted Instructions of the Indestructible Array, which Nupcen [Sangye Yeshe] Conferred as his Final Testament* (*gnubs-chen 'da'-ka'i zhal-chems lung rdo-rje bkod-pa'i gdams-pa gnang-ba*), together with *Nup's Boast* (*gnubs-kyi kha-pho*), and he also recalled a way of reciting the *rulu mantra* and limitless choreographic arrangements. Relying on the recollection of his previous life as Sangye Lingpa he established, in detail, the step-by-step guidance for the *Yogic Exercises of the Nine Vigorous Skills according to the Gathering of Intentions* (*dgongs-'dus rtsal-sprugs rnam-dgu'i 'khrul-'khor*).

(vi) Concerning the pure visions: When he opened the entrance to the treasures situated at Riwo Wangzhu, he saw, in Vimalamitra's cave of attainment, the great paṇḍita himself, who gave him instructions. These are preserved as the *Innermost Profundity of Vimalamitra* (*bi-ma-la'i zab-tig*) and so forth.

(vii) Concerning the aural lineage: In a pure vision Chogyur Lingpa went to the glorious Copper-coloured Mountain, where he received from Orgyen Rinpoche the *Instructions of the Innermost Spirituality Concerning the Profound Significance of Ati* (*a-ti zab-don snying-thig-gi gdams-pa*), which he set down in writing, et cetera.

Such is the brief account of Chogyur Lingpa's liberating endowment of seven successions of transmitted precepts. In both early and later life he beheld the deities of the three roots and received their prophetic declarations; the protectors undertook to perform his enlightened activities; and he experienced many pure visions, long and short, in which he journeyed to the glorious mountain on Cāmaradvīpa. This much must suffice for illustrative purposes.

Chogyur Lingpa performed the great attainment,[1163] with the four branches of ritual service and attainment, about thirty-three times, including those which he undertook himself and the occasions on which he proceeded to act as "master of indestructible reality" (*vajrācārya*) at the assemblies of others. By his magnificent, overpowering commands [to the local deities] at the geomantic centres of Tibet and Dokam, including Samye Hepori and Pel Chuwori, and by his many invocations of blessing at the great places of pilgrimage, Chogyur Lingpa pacified the turbulence of military invasion, and so forth. He increased the prosperity of the kingdom and widely attained enlightened activities, just as had been predicted of him.

To the Kagyüpa, of whom the foremost were the Karmapa, Drukpa, Drigungpa, and Taklungpa [subsects]; to the Nyingmapa, of whom the foremost were the Mindröling, Katok, Pelyül, Zhecen, and Dzokcen [monasteries and their adherents]; and to the Sakyapa and other holders of the teaching, without bias, Chogyur Lingpa directly and indirectly conferred the maturation and liberation of the profound doctrine. His

gifts of [medicinal] substances which liberate when tasted covered all of Tibet and Kham, the centre and frontiers. In particular, there were ten root masters of his doctrine, most of whom had auspicious connections, so that the enlightened activity of his treasure doctrines, the *Attainment of Mind, the Dispeller of All Obstacles* foremost among them, was widely propagated. At Wokmin Tshurpu [the seat of the Karmapa] he instituted the annual performance of the *Great Attainment of Kīla [according to] the Seven [Cycles of] Profound [Contemplation]* (*zab-bdun phur-pa'i sgrub-chen*), along with the fundamental middle-length dances. As exemplified by this, he established rites of attainment and offering ceremonies, associated with the great and small doctrinal transmissions of his new treasures, at many monasteries.

Among the *Ten Doctrines which Secure the Happiness of Tibet and Kham* (*bod-khams bde-thabs chos-bcu*), Chogyur Lingpa established the *Doctrinal Cycle of Auspicious Coincidence* (*rten-'brel-gyi chos-skor*); and, in accord with its meaning, the wonderful ceremonies for the spread of exegesis, attainment, and work which are associated with the twofold teaching of sūtra and mantra as taught during the age of the preceptor [Śāntarakṣita], the master [Padmasambhava], and the religious king [Trhisong Detsen] were successively instituted at Pelpung, Katok and Dzokcen.[1164] At his own seats of Karmari, Neten Gang and Tsike Düdo, he founded temples, including the buildings themselves and the objects they housed. At the last two centres mentioned he established monastic communities and the continuous exegesis and attainment of the sūtras and mantras.

After bringing such actions to completion, Chogyur Lingpa's intention turned for the while to another great purpose, and in his forty-second year, 1870 (iron male horse), he seemed to fall ill. He had a pure vision in which he went to an utterly pure buddha-field. Then, on Wednesday 29 June 1870 (first day, fifth month),[1165] while demonstrating such wonderful miracles as earthquakes and rainbows, he became equipoised in the expanse of peace.

On Wednesday 7 December (fifteenth day, tenth month), during that same year, the venerable Khyentse Wangpo had a pure vision in which he met the great treasure-finder in the form of the bodhisattva Padmāṅkuśa, in the Lotus-covered Pure Land to the west. Khyentse Rinpoche received the bountiful nectar of his means for attainment, empowerment, and instructions, and concealed them for one month under a pledge of secrecy.[1166] Then, on Sunday 1 January 1871 (tenth day, eleventh month), when, in connection with a feast offering, he established them, a warmth suddenly descended on the land, turning the ice into streams. This auspicious omen appears to have been an extraordinary sign of blessing, made directly manifest to the senses.

24 *Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo*

[658.6-676.5] Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, or Pema Ösel Do-nga Lingpa, the fifth kingly treasure-finder,[1167] was the coalescent play of the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra and the religious king Trhisong Detsen. He was the thirteenth of Gyelse Lharje's incarnations, during which he was always a treasure-finder. Khyentse Rinpoche was born, with many wondrous omens, on Saturday 15 July 1820 (fifth day, sixth month, iron dragon year, fourteenth cycle), near Yaru Khyungcen Rock in the village of Terlung Tingo, Derge district, Dokam. His father was Trungcen Rincen Wangyel of the Nyö clan, and his mother was Sokza Sonamtsho.

From his very earliest memories, Khyentse Rinpoche was lovingly cared for repeatedly by the six-armed Lord of Pristine Cognition (*Jñānanātha*) and the mantra protectress Ekajaṭī. He had irregular recollections of many of his past lives. From childhood he awoke to the enlightened family of the greater vehicle and, in particular, his heart longed only for ordination. Endowed with incomparable intelligence and discrimination he learnt to read and write and so forth without difficulty. Just by seeing most books only once he mastered both the words and the meaning.

In his twenty-first year he was fully ordained by Rikdzin Zangpo, the preceptor of Orgyen Mindröling. From the Sakyapa Dorje Rincen and others he received [the vows of] the cultivation of the enlightened attitude, in connection with the traditions of the two promulgators [Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga]. He received *Cakrasaṃvara* and *Hevajra* from the brother of Thartse Khen Rinpoche;[1168] *Yangdak Heruka according to the So Tradition* (*so-lugs yang-dag*) and the *Innermost Spirituality of the Awareness-holder* from Gyurme Sangye Künga, the Trhicen of Mindröling; and the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *Magical Net*, along with its empowerment, from Gyurme Thutop Namgyel of Zhecen.[1169] In this way, the roots of the mantra tradition's vows were established.

Khyentse Rinpoche had completely uprooted arrogance in connection with his incarnate status and his noble and wealthy ancestry, and

endured great hardships. With tremendous perseverance and endeavour he attended on almost one hundred and fifty tutors from Central Tibet, Tsang, and Kham, amongst whom were included gurus who were holders of indestructible reality, as well as spiritual benefactors and learned masters of the sciences. He completed study and training in the exegeses of the well-known "ten sciences", which include art, medicine, grammar, logic and their branches; and in those of the dialectical texts, as exemplified by the Vinaya, the *Treasury of the Abhidharma*, Madhyamaka, and Transcendental Perfection. He received, in their



Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo

entirety, the maturational [empowerments] and liberating [guidance] of all the traditions of the past which had survived without decline, such as the transmitted precepts and treasures of the Nyingmapa; and also [the teaching of] the ancient and new Kadampa schools; the Sakyapa, Ngorpa and Tsharpa;[1170] the Kagyüpa subsects of Kamtsang, Drigung, Taklung and Drukpa; as well as the Conangpa, Zhalupa[1171] and Podongpa. He also received the existing exegetical traditions for tantras and treatises including the *Secret Nucleus of the Magical Net*, the *Kālacakra Tantra*, and the trio of the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra* and *Guhyasamāja* tantras, et cetera; and the transmissions of about seven

hundred volumes, comprising all the treatises of the Tibetan philosophical systems, without bias. Foremost among these were the *Precious Translations of the Transmitted Precepts of the Conqueror* (*rgyal-ba'i bka'-'gyur rin-po-che*), the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingmapa*, and the surviving continuous transmission of the *Tangyur* (*bstan-'gyur*).[1172] In short, Khyentse Rinpoche pursued study exclusively for about thirteen years. He heard most of the traditions renowned among those of the "Ten Great Pillars who Supported the Exegetical Lineages" (*bshad-brgyud 'degs-pa'i ka-chen bcu*).[1173] Just by glancing at a volume this master understood the depths of its meaning, and he possessed unfailing retention.

In order to reveal the career of one who did not belittle the doctrine, Khyentse Rinpoche did not abandon [all these doctrines] having merely studied them, but trained and cultivated himself in them to the limits, whereby he came to possess the unclouded eye of the doctrine. So it was that he knew in detail, and without adulteration, the essential points of the view, conduct and assertions of each philosophical system, whether or not their respective traditions and customs were free from deviation, and so forth. During the present day there is no one, high or low, with whom he might be compared.

Khyentse Rinpoche also expounded most of the sūtras, tantras, and treatises which he himself had studied, along with their maturation, liberation and supporting transmissions,[1174] many times each. There was nothing he did not teach at least once, whereby he fulfilled the hopes of each aspirant, from great, holy individuals down to common beggars, by his doctrinal gifts, which were free from materialism. He never amassed property by the perverse livelihood of performing household ceremonies which claim to benefit disciples and living creatures, or by begging for alms. Because the three blazes and the three gatherings shone outwardly, material wealth came to him without effort, and he did not squander any at all on impossible schemes. Instead, he commissioned about two thousand gold and copper images representing the buddha-body; published nearly forty volumes of texts, and had printed, or copied, some two thousand volumes in all, representing the buddha-speech; and as representatives of the buddha-mind, built more than one hundred stūpas of gold and copper, the foremost of which was the great Stūpa of Lhündrup Teng. To house them all he erected a fine array of some thirteen temples, large and small, and in these he established the periodic and daily ceremonies. He did not much concern himself with the difficulties of establishing [monastic and ritual] propriety in the new centres, owing to the adverse circumstances and time, but to those monasteries and centres which had been badly damaged during the later civil disturbances in upper and lower [Dokam] he offered more than three thousand bricks of tea, in accord with the size of the monasteries.[1175] He advised the officials of China and Tibet, as

well as the religious king and royal ministers of Derge, of the great importance of adequate support, owing to which monasteries which had declined were restored to their former condition and the appropriate ceremonies were sponsored. And through his admonishments, which conformed to traditional and local custom, he greatly increased them. Such was the great kindness which Khyentse Rinpoche conferred.

To the doctrinal centres, large and small, in the neighbouring districts, he annually provided donations to support [the rites connected with] dhāraṇīs, mantras, and dedications of merit. All told, at various times, his offerings for this purpose totalled some four thousand bricks of tea in value.

In general, because Khyentse Rinpoche had acquired firmness in the twofold precious enlightened attitude,[1176] and especially, because he was endowed with the vast power of pure vision and devotion towards all the philosophical systems, and was otherwise totally without bias and bigotry,[1177] his students were countless. They included all the well-known holders of the teaching, and great individuals among the Sakyapa, Kagyüpa, Nyingmapa, and Gelukpa, as well as spiritual benefactors, practitioners of retreat, poor mendicants, and adherents of the Yungdrung Pön tradition,[1178] without partiality. Among those who assembled continually everyday, without number, headed by the many great officials of China and Tibet, it was as if there was no one who did not obtain, in accord with his or her devotion, a connection [with the master], whether through the gift of the doctrine, the removal of misfortune, empowerment, or blessing. Free from the fetters of the eight worldly concerns, Khyentse Rinpoche eradicated the roots of such human behaviour as saving face and hope and fear, whether found in persons of high or low status. Thus, his career was that of a king among those who had renounced worldly activity and the cares of this life.

Khyentse Rinpoche spent about thirteen years, altogether, performing the rites of service and attainment for many of the favoured deities of the tantrapiṭaka of the ancient and new traditions. He experientially cultivated each and every one of the profound [systems of] guidance, and, above all, those of the *Hundred Systems of Guidance* (*khrid-brgya*)[1179] composed by Jetsün [Künga] Drölcok. The fact that he undertook to accomplish whatever commitments he had assumed alone renders his career incomparable with that of any other.

The foregoing remarks constitute but a brief summary of Khyentse Rinpoche's outer career, which deals with the three spheres of renunciation, study, and work.

In the Land of Snows, it is well known that there are eight lineages of attainment or great conveyances:

(i) The Nyingmapa, or Ancient Translation School, which orginated through the kindness of the preceptor [Śāntarakṣita], the master [Padmasambhava], and the religious king [Trhisong Detsen];

(ii) The Kadampa, which is the tradition of the venerable master, glorious Atiśa, and is endowed with seven divine doctrines;

(iii) The instructions of the Path and Fruit, which are the essential spirituality of the great accomplished master Virūpa, and have been transmitted through the glorious Sakyapa and their disciples;

(iv) The four great and eight minor subsects of the Kagyü, which are descended from Marpa, Milarepa, and Takpo Lharje, and have passed down instructions from the lineage of four transmitted precepts;[1180]

(v) The glorious Shangpa Kagyü [which maintains] the golden doctrines of the learned and accomplished Khyungpo Neljorpa;

(vi) The Six-limbed Yoga, which emphasises above all the yoga of indestructible reality, and which is the stage of perfection of the king of all tantras, the glorious *Kālacakra*;

(vii) The true doctrine of the Pacification of suffering, along with its branch, the Object of Cutting, which is the tradition of the great accomplished master Phadampa Sangye; and

(viii) The Service and Attainment of the Three Indestructible Realities, which the Vajra Queen actually bestowed on the great accomplished master Orgyenpa.

Khyentse Rinpoche had immeasurable faith and devotion towards each of these systems, of which the past traditions have been preserved in unbroken lineages. Therefore, scorning physical fatigue, and with fervent perseverance, he received in full, and without error, all their sequences of maturation and liberation from tutors connected with the sources of each tradition. By reflecting upon them he cleared his doubts; and while experientially cultivating them through meditation he received the blessings of the three secrets and the instructions of close lineages, both in reality and during various visions and dreams, from the learned and accomplished masters of India and Tibet, the peaceful and wrathful meditational deities and conquerors, and the host of ḍākinīs of the three abodes. In these and other ways he had limitless pure visions at each and every instant. But all this is just vaguely illustrative; for, in fact, Khyentse Rinpoche never proclaimed his visions and supernormal cognitive powers, or made other statements about supposed spiritual attainments. For this reason only so much may be known. Above all, having thoroughly mastered the two stages according to those eight conveyances, he became unimpeded in teaching, debate, and composition, and free from the taints of bewilderment; and thus he made fortunate disciples enter his following. This is merely the kernel of his inner career.

In particular, it says in an indestructible prophetic declaration of the great accomplished master Thangtong Gyelpo:[1181]

> Seven hundred years from now,
> In the middle of Dokam, during a dragon year,

A yogin no different from me,
Endowed with five characteristics,
Will emerge as an apparitional person.
He will be the son of Ga, an awareness-holder of Nyö.
His element will be iron. He will have a warrior's signs.[1182]
Being blessed by Pema Gyelpo, he will be Do-nga Lingpa,
Endowed with seven successions of transmitted precepts.
Being blessed by Vimalamitra,
He will be Ösel Trülpei Dorje.
Being blessed by the sovereign, Mañjuśrī's emanation,
He will be Chöki Shenyen.

In accordance with this, as well as with the *Prophetic Inventory of the Three Classes of the Great Perfection (rdzogs-chen sde-gsum lung-byang)*, which was cited above [p. 844], and others, Khyentse Rinpoche was repeatedly heralded by indestructible prophetic declarations as one who, having mastered seven successions of transmitted precepts, would greatly benefit the teaching and living creatures; and so he manifestly did.

When he was in his eighth year he fell gravely ill and was painfully afflicted. At that time Guru Rinpoche and Yeshe Tshogyel both revealed themselves, empowering and consecrating him in the maṇḍala of Vajrakīla. Having received their further advice he was victorious in the battle with his obstacles. In his fifteenth year, in a pure vision, he approached the Nine-Storey Pagoda at the Indestructible Seat in India. He climbed it storey-by-storey and, in the eighth, he met the great master Mañjuśrīmitra in the guise of a paṇḍita, surrounded by piles of books to the left and right. Khyentse Rinpoche bowed with great devotion and prayed, whereupon Mañjuśrīmitra took a volume from his left and showed it to him. It was a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Verse Summation of the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness*. He placed it on the crown of Khyentse's head and transmitted its intention, saying, "This is the complete transmission of all the dialectical doctrines." Then, he took a volume from his right and showed it to him. It appeared to be entitled the *Great Perfection, the Tantra of the Mirror of Vajrasattva's Heart (rdzogs-pa chen-po rdor-sems snying-gi me-long-gi rgyud)*. He placed it upon the crown of his head and transmitted its intention, saying, "This is the complete [transmission of] the words, meanings, and blessings of the secret mantra vehicle of indestructible reality in general, and of the three classes of the Great Perfection in particular." Then, after making some prophecies, Mañjuśrīmitra joyfully dissolved into light and vanished into the master himself. For a moment Khyentse Rinpoche expansively entered a non-conceptual contemplation. Having roused himself from it, he proceeded outside [the temple], at which point there was a great fire blazing in front of the door. Powerless to do otherwise he entered it and his gross, material body was burnt to

nothing. He was transformed into a radiant body of light, thinking, "I am Vimalamitra."

Moreover, during that same period, the mighty lord among accomplished masters, Thangtong Gyelpo, revealed himself in a dream, blessed Khyentse Rinpoche, and conferred on him instructions and further advice; but the master only wrote down the *Means for the Attainment of the Guru* (*bla-sgrub*). Later, he unsealed these transmitted precepts and gradually established the *Cycles of the Innermost Spirituality of the Accomplished Master* (*grub-thob thugs-tig-gi skor-rnams*), including the *Root Verses of the Six Stages of Perfection* (*rdzogs-rim drug-gi rtsa-tshig*), the *Five Cycles of Attainment* (*sgrub-skor lnga*), and the *Gathering of the Blood-drinking Sugatas* (*khrag-'thung bde-gshegs 'dus-pa*). He also had a vision and was blessed by the Lord of Immortality [Amitāyus] and his consort, whereby he received their extraordinary means for attainment. Among them, he established the *Root Text of Caṇḍālī, Mother of Life* (*tshe-yum tsaṇḍa-lī'i rtsa-ba*). Although he experienced these and countless other visions of the myriad deities of the three roots, he profoundly intended to preserve their secrecy. Therefore, others did not know even a bit about them.

In particular, though there appear to be many prophetic declarations among Khyentse Rinpoche's earlier and later [treasures], he himself stated:

> It is said that: "Treasure-finders are ruined by their prophecies..." Just so, once a so-called prophetic declaration is written down it becomes necessary to put its stipulations into practice. But no one at all puts them into practice, because of which [the prophecies] never exactly strike the mark. Too much prattle about them is an ingress for demons!

Therefore, he neither made prophetic declarations, nor delighted in those made by others. This appears to be a point of great consequence.

JAMYANG KHYENTSE WANGPO'S SEVEN SUCCESSIONS TO THE TRANSMITTED PRECEPTS

(i) Concerning Khyentse Rinpoche's succession to the transmitted precepts [of the distant lineage]: In his sixteenth year, at dawn on Saturday 6 May 1835 (tenth day, fourth month), he went to the Lotus Light Palace on Cāmaradvīpa in a pure vision. There, in a magnificent mountain range, in the midst of especially white clouds, he met Guru Saroruhavajra, surrounded by a host of ḍākinīs. The Guru intentionally blessed him, conferred symbolic empowerment, and greatly inspired him by foretelling his seven successions to the transmitted precepts. Finally, adopting a gaze, he said:

Untainted by graspable objects,
Untarnished by grasping thoughts,
Maintaining naked awareness and emptiness –
This is the intention of all buddhas!

Then, together with his retinue he vanished into the master himself, who consequently felt that the spirituality of the Guru had merged indivisibly with his mind. Henceforth, he acquired a natural security in the abiding nature of primordial purity. He became utterly enthusiastic and prayed one-pointedly to Guru Rinpoche, owing to which he effortlessly obtained all the transmitted precepts and treasures of the ancient and new traditions of the sūtras and tantras, along with their maturation, liberation, and supporting transmissions, as well as exceedingly rare continuous lineages. Through his experiential cultivation, teaching and propagation of them, he rekindled the dying embers of the teaching.

(ii) Concerning his earth treasures: In his twentieth year, when Khyentse Rinpoche went to Trakmar Drinzang, the ḍākinī of pristine cognition actually offered him a treasure chest. From it he extracted the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Great Compassionate One as Mind at Rest* (*thugs-rje chen-po sems-nyid ngal-gso'i chos-skor*) and the remains of twenty-one brahmans. From Damshö Nyingdrung he brought forth the *Cycle of the Means for the Attainment of the Guru's Four Bodies* (*bla-ma sku-bzhi'i sgrub-thabs-kyi skor*) and relics emanated from a tooth of Guru Rinpoche. These were brought out and offered to him by [the protector] Nyencen Thangla. At Singu Yutso he discovered the *Cycle of the Magical Net of the Three Roots* (*rtsa-gsum sgyu-'phrul drva-ba'i skor*); and at Terlung Pemei Shelri the *Cycle of the Universal Gathering of the Three Roots* (*rtsa-gsum spyi-'dus-kyi skor*), which was brought out by the magical power of the ḍākinīs and offered to him. In addition to these there were many others, but except for some of the root texts he was not permitted to establish them. As for the *Cycle of the Attainment of Mind as the Wish-fulfilling Gem* (*thugs-sgrub yid-bzhin nor-bu'i skor*) and the representative image [of Padmasambhava, called] "Blazing with the Glory of Accomplishment", which rested at Tsike Norbu Pünsum, he exhorted Chogyur Lingpa to extract and establish them.

In general, the *Four Cycles of the Means for the Attainment of the Guru* (*bla-sgrub skor bzhi-ka*), the *Three Classes of the Great Perfection which are the Innermost Spirituality of Vairocana* (*bai-ro'i thugs-tig rdzogs-chen sde-gsum*), et cetera, appear to have also been the combined treasure troves of this master and Chogyur Lingpa, [which they discovered] in common.

(iii) Concerning the reconcealed treasures which supplement them: In 1859 (*don-grub*, earth sheep year) Guru Rinpoche appeared to Khyentse Rinpoche in the form of the great treasure-finder Sangye

Lingpa, gave him a volume, and blessed him. With that extraordinary, pure vision as the inception, the careers of the treasure-finders and all their extant treasure doctrines shone clearly in Khyentse Rinpoche's mind; and he was authorised to be the successor to their transmitted precepts. In this way, most of the yellow scrolls which had been reconcealed as treasures by their respective previous discoverers were brought forth by the ḍākinīs of pristine cognition and handed down to him, whereupon he deciphered them. Some he established by glancing at the symbolic script, or because, without efforts, they were self-clarifying in the expanse of his intention. During these occasions Guru Rinpoche appeared in person, or in the forms of the various treasure-finders, and bestowed upon him the maturation and liberation [of the treasures] in their entirety, all at once. With most wonderful perseverance, his eminence Jamgön Lodrö Thaye implored Khyentse Rinpoche again and again to rediscover even a portion of the ancient treasures of which the lineages had been broken altogether. Accordingly, he found a great many close lineages of reconcealed treasure. These are preserved in the *Store of Precious Treasure.*

(iv) Concerning his profound treasures of intention: In 1848 (earth monkey), his twenty-ninth year, while *en route* to Central Tibet, Khyentse Rinpoche performed the feast offering of the tenth day at Cangdrok Gegyel. Guru Rinpoche actually revealed himself to him and gave his blessing. When Khyentse Rinpoche offered worship before the representative image of Saroruhavajra at Samye, which had been discovered among the treasures of Nyang-rel Nyima Özer, the image actually turned into Saroruhavajra and gave him blessing and instruction, on the basis of which he brought forth the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Innermost Spirituality of Saroruha, which is the Secret Attainment, among the Three Cycles of the Means for the Attainment of the Guru* (*bla-sgrub skor-gsum-gyi gsang-sgrub mtsho-skyes snying-thig-gi chos-skor*). In January/February 1855 (*rgyal zla-ba*, wood tiger), during his thirty-fifth year, when he performed the rites of the service and attainment of the Immortal Wish-granting Wheel [*'chi-med yid-bzhin 'khor-lo*, the name of a form of White Tārā] he actually beheld the visage of the sublime Tārā, who harmoniously chanted her ten-syllable mantra and blessed him.[1183] Later, when he had also been blessed by three masters who had accomplished immortality,[1184] he brought forth the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Innermost Spirituality of the Sublime Lady* (*'phags-ma'i snying-thig-gi chos-skor*). The origins of the *Cycle of the Innermost Spirituality of the Accomplished Master* have already been described [p. 804]. These treasures of Khyentse Rinpoche are supreme among the treasures of intention, for they comprise verses of indestructible reality which are no different from the tantras, and are beyond the conceptions of ordinary people.

(v) Concerning Khyentse Rinpoche's recollections: Once, while travelling in Tibet, when he passed through the lower valley of Uyuk

in Tsang, he remembered precisely the place and time at which, formerly, as the great Cetsün, he had passed away in the body of light. On the basis of this, he established the *Innermost Spirituality of Cetsün (lce-btsun snying-thig)*.[1185] Then, when he remembered his previous life as Langdro Könjung, he brought to light the *Attainment of Longevity, the Innermost Spirituality of Vairocana* (*tshe-sgrub bai-ro'i thugs-tig*), the *Alchemy of White Siṃhavaktrā* (*seng-gdong dkar-mo'i bcud-len*), et cetera.

(vi) Concerning his pure visions: As exemplified by the aforementioned *Cycle of Instructions on Caṇḍālī, Mother of Life, from the Innermost Spirituality of Immortality* (*'chi-med thugs-tig-gi tshe-yum tsaṇḍa-lī'i gdams-skor*), a recension of the *Means for the Attainment of the Guru according to the Innermost Spirituality of Longcenpa, [entitled] "Sealed with the Seminal Point"* (*klong-chen snying-thig-gi bla-sgrub thig-le'i rgya-can-gyi yig-cha*),[1186] and the *Means for the Attainment of the Guru Chogyur Lingpa, the Gathering of the Families of the Three Bodies* (*mchog-gling bla-sgrub sku-gsum rigs-'dus*),[1187] there were undoubtedly many, but he confined the actual propagation to those alone.

(vii) Concerning the aural lineage: While Khyentse Rinpoche was residing in the great pilgrimage centre of Dzongshö Deshek Düpa, he had a pure vision in which he approached the Śaṅkarakūṭa Caitya. There, in each of the eight directions there were arrayed the Eight Emanations of the Guru, and, at the centre, all of them gathered together as Guru Rinpoche. They bestowed upon him, as an aural lineage, the heart of the maturation and liberation of the *Eight Transmitted Precepts of Great Attainment*, the *Peaceful and Wrathful Deities of the Magical Net*, and so forth; and he established them.

All the above constitutes merely the essence of Khyentse Rinpoche's secret career.

In his seventy-third year, after completing, for the while, such marvellous and wonderful deeds, on the morning of Monday 18 April 1892 (twenty-first day, second month, water male dragon year),[1188] Khyentse Rinpoche scattered some flowers and gave many benedictions, after which, equipoised in contemplation, he withdrew from the array of his physical body into the expanse of the great master Vimalamitra's intention. Thereafter, just as had been prophesied, his emanational basis at Mount Wu-t'ai-shan made simultaneously manifest the array of five emanational bodies.[1189] So it is that [as the several Khyentse Rinpoches] he has performed, and continues to perform, inconceivable acts on behalf of the teaching and living creatures.

25 *Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Thaye*

[676.5-693.6] Jamgön Yönten Gyamtso Lodrö Thaye[1190] was the actual presence of the great translator Vairocana. The Buddha himself clearly prophesied him in both name and deed, as it is said in the *Sūtra of the King of Contemplation*:

> I prophesy one Lodrö Thaye,
> Who will do much to benefit sentient beings,
> Like the conqueror Maitreya, of infinite fame,
> In whose hand rests supreme contemplation.

Also, it says in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.10, v.803):

> In the period following that,
> A guide who is called Lodrö
> Will teach five knowledges
> And come forth as a great warrior.

Moreover, he was clearly and genuinely heralded by Orgyen, the king of the doctrine, in the indestructible prophecies found in many ancient and new treasure troves. In conformity with these [it is known that in the past this master] had arisen as the play of many great learned and accomplished promulgators of India and Tibet, including the Teacher's attendant Ānanda and the great translator Vairocana, who was the emanation of [the Buddha] Vairocana; and thus he had elucidated the teaching of the Conqueror.

Then, this magical emanation took birth, as had been indicated, in the hidden valley of Rongyap at the approach to Pema Lhartse in Drida Zelmogang, Dokam, at sunrise on Thursday 2 December 1813 (tenth day, tenth month, water bird year, fourteenth cycle).[1191] His father was Tendzin Yungdrung of the kingly Khyung clan of accomplished masters, and his mother was the yoginī Trashi Tsho. He had wondrous abilities beyond the range of ordinary persons, and many supreme and holy visionaries prophetically declared that he would become a great man, who would maintain the teaching. All his childhood games re-

flected only such refined actions as conferring empowerment, teaching the doctrine, and reciting mantras. From his fifth year he mastered the alphabet, among other [topics for] study and reflection, by just being shown the script. Undivided regard for Orgyen Rinpoche was effortlessly born within him, and, in reality, contemplative experiences, and dreams he had only pure vision.

From about his tenth year, Jamgön Kongtrül awoke to the propensities of his previous training, and, with a firm resolve to enter the true doctrine, he learned art, medicine, and the other sciences at just a glance. His temperament was straightforward and gentle, and he did not transgress his vows. The expressive power of his knowledge expanded boundlessly. In these and other ways, he clearly revealed the attributes of a holy individual within the perceptual range of all. Without striving after necessities, he accumulated them through the power of great merit.

Under many learned and accomplished tutors, such as Gyurme Thutop Namgyel of Zecen, a paṇḍita who knew the five sciences, Jamgön Kongtrül's studies surpassed the ten common sciences. Among the uncommon, inner sciences, he studied many transmitted precepts



Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Thaye

and commentaries on the intention of the dialectical vehicle, of which the foremost were the Madhyamaka, Transcendental Perfection, Vinaya, the *Treasury of the Abhidharma*, and the *[Five] Doctrines of Maitreya*. He also studied all the utterly uncommon transmitted precepts and treasures, which are the great tantrapiṭaka of the ancient and new traditions. His learning, which was not dependent on others, became like the expanse of sky, whereby he obtained the exalted level to which the renowned title of *Sarvajñānamahāpaṇḍita*[1192] is meaningfully applied.

Jamgön Kongtrül took the revered Camgön Tā'i Situ Pema Nyinje Wangpo as the crown of his enlightened family [i.e. as his root guru]. It was this Situ Rinpoche who disclosed to him the ultimate and definitively secret pristine cognition of co-emergent supreme bliss, as exemplified by the nectar of the three vows; and, in doing so, granted him dominion over the essential true lineage.

In particular, in the presence of more than fifty spiritual benefactors,[1193] without partiality, the foremost of them being Khyentse Wangpo, the embodiment of Mañjuśrīghoṣa, Jamgön Kongtrül pursued all the traditions of the paths of the eight conveyances, the lineages of attainment, which had survived in the Land of Snows; and he completely received the entire profound essence of their maturation, liberation, and instructions. Not leaving any of these as subjects to be studied once, he experientially cultivated each of them and so, with fervent perseverance, raised the banner of attainment until he had accomplished the attributes which are signs of [success on] the path, just as they are described in the texts. In this way he fully mastered the two accomplishments.

When the vase of Jamgön Kongtrül's mind had been filled with textual exegeses and oral explanations of the transmitted precepts, treatises, tantras, transmissions and esoteric instructions, along with their rituals, practical techniques, and fine points, he too composed treatises. These form the wonderful legacy of his studies, reflections, and meditations:

(i) The *Store which Embraces All Knowledge* (*shes-bya kun-la khyab-pa'i mdzod*) excellently presents the entire corpus of the sūtra and mantra traditions, from the paths of the common sciences all the way up to the uncommon Great Perfection, or Atiyoga, which is the culmination of the nine vehicles.

(ii) The *Store of Precious Instructions* (*gdams-ngag rin-po-che'i mdzod*) brings together the essential roots of the eight great conveyances, which are lineages of attainment, and the utterly profound essences of their maturation and liberation.

(iii) The *Mantra Store of the Lineages of Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-brgyud sngags-kyi mdzod*) gathers together the means for attainment and maṇḍala ceremonies, and the maturation and liberation, of the trio of

Yangdak, *Kīla*, and *Yamāntaka* (*yang-phur-gshin-gsum*) and other transmitted precepts of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School, and those of the tantrapiṭaka cycles of the new translation school of Marpa and Ngok.

(iv) The *Store of Precious Treasure* distils the elixir or refined essence of the ocean of profound treasures derived from the sixfold lineage of the Ancient Translation School.

(v.a) The *Uncommon Store* (*thun-mong ma-yin-pa'i mdzod*) forms the secret, special wealth of Jamgön Kongtrül's own profound treasures, including the yellow scrolls and sacraments, which will be explained below.

(v.b) The *Extensive Store of Transmitted Precepts* (*rgya-chen bka'-mdzod*) compiles the various opuscules which he composed, and which are connected with [the other *Stores*] mentioned above.

In this way Jamgön Kongtrül newly brought forth five great stores or conveyances, which were unprecedented in the world. These are not merely the so-called "collected works" of one who, having obtained some general understanding derived from study and thought in each field, was urged on by the desire to be a writer and the desire to compose, and so authored a few texts devoid of praiseworthy merits. Rather, it is as if they have prolonged the vitality of all continuous transmissions of the teaching, without bias, as their death approached. So if we examine Jamgön Kongtrül's career, which produced over ninety volumes of wonderful scripture, it is as if he spent his whole life as an author.

None the less, if one thinks of his teaching and propagation of the empowerments, guidance, esoteric instructions, recitational transmissions, and so forth, of the ancient and new sūtras and tantras, and transmitted precepts and treasures, without bias, it is as if he spent his whole life teaching and propagating. And, if one investigates how, beginning with the preliminary yogas of accumulation and purification, he experientially cultivated the stages of creation and perfection associated with inconceivable myriads of maṇḍalas, it seems as if he passed the length of his life in a retreat house sealed up with mud.

Likewise, if one considers how Jamgön Kongtrül expanded the new monastic communities at the places of attainment in Tsandra Rincen Trak[1194] and Dzongshö Deshek Düpa, and how he renovated many old establishments, commissioned inconceivable numbers of new representations of the buddha-body, speech, and mind, performed more than one hundred and fifty rites of great attainment involving maṇḍala clusters, offered worship to the Three Precious Jewels and venerated the monastic community – in short, his legacy in connection with the ten modes of doctrinal conduct – it is as if he passed his whole life diligently engaged in the sphere of work and activity. In these ways [his career] was inconceivable, within only the reach of those who are truly sublime.

Above all, concerning Jamgön Kongtrül's succession to the transmitted precepts of profound treasures: When the master was in his fifteenth year he met Guru Rinpoche in a pure vision and received his blessing. On that basis many profound, pure visionary doctrines and numerous successions to the transmitted precepts of the earth treasures came to him, but he remained indifferent to them. Hence, for the time being, the auspicious coincidence was lost, owing to which it so happened that inwardly there were signs of the ḍākinīs' agitation, and outwardly, too, he appeared to be extremely ill. At that time [his consciousness] transferred out of his body, whether in reality or in a dream he could not tell. He met Guru Rinpoche and his consort and conversed with them a great deal. Finally, they advised him to retake his incarnate existence, at which he experienced himself to be back in his own physical frame. Encouraged by that dream omen, and by the venerable Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, he established the *Prayerful Offering to the Gracious Goddess* (*bka'-drin lha-mo'i gsol-kha*), whereupon a most radiant spherical canopy of rainbows arose in the cloudless sky, and his physical constitution, too, became clear [i.e. free from ailment].

When Jamgön Kongtrül was performing the rites of service and attainment for the *Gathering of the Guru's Intention*, in a dream he met Guru Rinpoche who conferred on him the blessing of the four empowerments, along with the syllables of the mantra, saying "This will remove obstacles to your life during this [astrologically inauspicious] year. Later, in a few years, we shall meet in reality and my instructions and advice will come forth gradually." [How] the meaning intended [came to pass will be revealed below].

During his fortieth year Jamgön Kongtrül met the great treasure-finder Chogyur Lingpa for the first time, and their minds were merged together. He applied in practice the special prophetic inventories which he was given. Furthermore, when they opened the place of pilgrimage at Dzongshö Deshek Düpa, the all-seeing Khyentse Rinpoche and the great treasure-finder Chogyur Lingpa together requested the master to be seated upon the lofty throne of the doctrine in Citta Sangpuk (Secret Cave of Mind). There, they presented him with great offerings as an auspicious token, in connection with which they rang the great bell proclaiming his enthronement under the title Chime Tenyi Yungdrung Lingpa, which had been conferred upon him by Orgyen, the knower of the three times. Afterwards, they offered him fervent requests, in connection with prayers for his continuing longevity, concerning the need to restore the auspicious circumstance [for the discovery] of profound treasure, which previously had declined. In this way, the door of good auspices was opened wide.

Then, gradually, as had been predicted by the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche, the inventory of treasure at Lhamdo Burmo Trak came into Jamgön Kongtrül's possession and the master himself developed ex-

traordinary clear visions. In his fifty-eighth year he extracted the doctrines of the *Gathering of the Three Roots' Intention* (*rtsa-gsum dgongs-pa 'dus-pa*) from Decen Pemakö in Lhamdo Burmo. From Kumcok Decen Cave he brought forth the yellow scroll of the *Doctrinal Background for the Gathering of the Three Roots' Intention* (*rtsa-gsum dgongs-'dus-kyi rgyab-chos shog-ser*), the secret robe of Hūṃkara, et cetera; from Üri Jetsün Cave in Pema Lhartse, a representative image of Guru Padmasambhava called "Blazing with Good Fortune's Glory", longevity pills which Guru Rinpoche had compounded at Māratika, the great preceptor Śāntarakṣita's robe, the religious king Trhisong Detsen's sash and so forth; from Marong Trugu Trashi Terdzong, the *Doctrinal Background for the Ḍākinī Section of the Gathering of the Three Roots' Intention* (*rtsa-gsum dgongs-'dus mkha'-'gro'i rgyab-chos*), the *Cycle of the Means for the Attainment of Caṇḍālī, Mother of Life* (*tshe-yum tsaṇḍa-lī'i sgrub-skor*), among others; from Ronka Sheldrak Ödzong, the yellow scrolls of the *Cycles of the Means for the Attainment of Amitāyus and Hayagrīva* (*tshe-dpag-med dang rta-mgrin sgrub-skor-gyi shog-ser*), the longevity pills of Mandāravā, et cetera; from Tsang-rok Trashi Tsekdzong the sacraments and yellow scrolls of the *Means for the Attainment of the Eight Closest Sons* (*nye-sras-brgyad-kyi dam-rdzas dang sgrub-thabs shog-ser*); and from the Secret Cave of Yeshe Tshogyel at Tsandra Rincen Trak, he brought forth the yellow scroll of the cycles of the means for attainment belonging to the *Transmitted Precepts of the Father Consort and the Transmitted Precepts of the Mother Consort of the Secret Innermost Spirituality* (*gsang-thig yab-bka' yum-bka'i sgrub-skor shog-ser*), the longevity pills of thirteen immortal awareness-holders,[1195] and so on. Together with each treasure trove he also found an indescribable number of exceedingly sublime sacramental objects.

Moreover, there were still certain treasures which did not come into the master's possession by dint of time and circumstance, though they were within his dominion. But due to the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche's proclamation of commitments to the treasure guardians, the treasure-finder Lerap Lingpa[1196] was commissioned and discovered some; and others, too, were extracted by the great treasure-finder Chogyur Lingpa. These were then handed over to the master [Jamgön Kongtrül] himself.

On such occasions as these, at the outset, in conformity with the prophetic inventories, the two Jamgöns would begin by collaborating in the performance of various rites to clear the way. When the profound treasures came into his possession, Jamgön Kongtrül gave them all to the venerable Khyentse Wangpo to inspect. The latter, too, before and after, arrayed many ceremonial feast offerings and maṇḍalas of material offering. In particular, when Jamgön Kongtrül was bringing forth the great doctrinal treasure of the *Gathering of the Three Roots' Intention* Khyentse Rinpoche made profuse offerings of gifts. Previously, when

Chogyur Lingpa had unearthed the doctrinal treasure of the *Attainment of Mind, the Dispeller of All Obstacles*, but had not been able to establish its yellow scroll, Khyentse Rinpoche had helped by assisting with the establishment. So, on this particular occasion, too, he promised to help Jamgön Kongtrül with the establishment of the *Gathering of the Three Roots' Intention, the Group of Doctrines which Gather Together the Five Great Stores in their Entirety* (*rtsa-gsum dgongs-'dus mdzod-chen rnam-lnga yongs-'dus-kyi chos-sde*). Then, gradually, the mantra protectress Ekajaṭī clearly revealed in visions on two occasions the decipherment of the symbolic scripts, the time to release the sealed transmitted precepts, and so forth.

Once, especially, during the evening of the twenty-ninth, [month and year unspecified], the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche experienced a pure vision of the guru, Jamgön Kongtrül himself, manifested in the form of the accomplished awareness-holder Hūṃkara, whereupon there arose within him a visionary clarity in which he was given the empowerments, guidance, and esoteric instructions of the *Gathering of the Three Roots' Intention*. He said that owing to this the entire significance of the yellow scroll clearly emerged from his mind.

Also, among [the texts of] the *Gathering of the Three Roots' Intention*, the two Jamgöns together catalogued the *Group of Doctrines of the Supreme Attainment of the Guru, the Awareness-holder* (*bla-ma rig-'dzin mchog-sgrub-kyi chos-sde*). It appears that if they had followed the great decipherment of the symbolic script of the ḍākinīs this text would have turned out as long as Sangye Lingpa's *Gathering of the Guru's Intention*. None the less, they agreed that if they were to follow the medium decipherment it would be of a suitable intermediate length, and that this would be best. They had established only about six chapters when they were interrupted by the visit of certain aristocrats and the venerable Khyentse Wangpo fell ill. That the time to discover the remaining portion was lost appears to have been the fault of the feeble merits of the world at large.[1197]

During that period, whatever first arose in the venerable Jamgön Kongtrül's mind subsequently developed effortlessly, like the flow of a river. Ḍākinīs congregated and many other extraordinary omens occurred. Once, at dawn, he experienced a clear vision in which there appeared a perfectly arrayed temple. Inside of it sat one who, he thought, was Guru Rinpoche in essence, but the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche in form, and whose body of light, [the coalescence of] appearance and emptiness, revealed no definite form. Jamgön Kongtrül bowed down in reverence and repeated after Khyentse Rinpoche the refuge, cultivation of the enlightened attitude, and sevenfold service according to the *Daily Yoga of the Awareness-holder* (*rig-'dzin rgyun-gyi rnal-'byor*). Khyentse Rinpoche, having performed the creation of the deity and the invocation of blessing, then took up a vase and placed it on the

crown of Jamgön Kongtrül's head. He conferred on him the secret empowerment consisting of the "enlightened mind" [produced] in union with a consort. In the empowerment of discerning pristine cognition, he entrusted him with awareness in the form of a woman. Then, Khyentse Rinpoche projected forth from his heart a crystal and showed it to Jamgön Kongtrül, saying, "All things are primordially pure, clear from the depths, like a piece of crystal. Whatever arises is the expression of luminosity, spontaneously present, just like the luminous glow of a crystal radiating outwards." Having conferred introduction on him that way,[1198] his body vanished. Then, reappearing in the form of an active heruka, he instantly summoned the protectors of the transmitted precepts and treasures, so that it was as if [the place] was seething with their presence. At Khyentse Rinpoche's order Jamgön Kongtrül was entrusted with their transmitted precepts. Then, after Khyentse Rinpoche had granted permissory initiation and the entrustment of his instructions, Jamgön Kongtrül heard many verses, which seemed like prophetic inventories, at the end of which he was roused from this spiritual experience. During the song of indestructible reality at [a subsequent] feast offering blissful heat forcefully arose within him and he grew exhilarated. Other signs marking the great descent of blessing also emerged.

The yellow scroll of the *Father Consort and Mother Consort, [Transmitted Precepts] of the Secret Innermost Spirituality* (*gsang-thig yab-yum*) was also established with the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche. Jamgön Kongtrül himself established the *Seven Chapters on the Profound Path* (*lam-zab le'u-bdun-ma*) and had a pure vision of one Pema Rikdzin, in the guise of Guru Padmasambhava, who thrice conferred on him its recitational transmission.

When Jamgön Kongtrül reported to the venerable guru [Khyentse Rinpoche] that he had reason to discover, at Dagam Wangpuk, the *Doctrinal Cycle of the Means for the Attainment of the Seven Lines* (*tshig-bdun sgrub-thabs-kyi chos-skor*) in the form of a pure vision and aural lineage, he was offered representative symbols of the five wheels of inexhaustible ornament, as well as writing materials, and was encouraged to establish it. Accordingly, when he had mostly completed its establishment the two masters together performed the feast offering of the emanational body, Saroruhavajra, and the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche experienced extraordinary visions.

When he established the *Means for the Attainment of Trolö* (*gro-lod sgrub-thabs*) at the "tiger den" of Rongme Karmo, the two masters performed feast offerings together, at which time the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche had a vision of two huge scorpions, white and black. He said that it was a portent of great severity.[1199]

Clear visions arose in which the "palaces" of both Tsandra Rincen Trak and Dzongshö Deshek Düpa appeared to be great places of pil-

grimage, and, in conformity with them, Chogyur Lingpa was encouraged [to discover] the guidebooks to these pilgrimage places and to open their gates. Hence, at Padrak he discovered the *Dokam Inventory of the Twenty-five Great Pilgrimage Places*, due to which he was able to open the gates to those places of pilgrimage, and so forth. Moreover, following the orders of the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche, all the conditions of the places of pilgrimage at Alöi Peldeu and the great place of pilgrimage of Pewar, which is an adjunct of Tsandra, were indicated by the supreme Jamgön Kongtrül.

The empowerments and transmissions of the doctrinal collections established by Jamgön Kongtrül spread far and wide among all his worthy disciples, who were headed by the supreme individuals [in the lineages of] Katok, Pelyül, Zhecen and Dzokcen, along with adherents of the Sakyapa, Gelukpa, Drigungpa, Taklungpa and Karma Kamtsang schools. Directly and indirectly, his service to living beings, by that kindness and by means of the sacramental substances [he manufactured], expanded in all directions so that his enlightened activity opened wide the door for all connections with him to be meaningful.

During his empowerments, rites of great attainment, feast offerings, and so forth, there were various amazing omens which all could perceive in common: nectar boiled; *rakta*[1200] overflowed; the fragrance of elixir could be sensed at a great distance; there were canopies of rainbow clouds, showers of flowers, et cetera. In addition, he passed unobstructedly through the walls of houses and left impressions of his hands and feet in stone. Because he did not grasp appearances as truly existent, he lived as a destroyer of bewilderment. In particular, although it had been clearly stated in the prophetic inventory of his profound treasures that his life would be only a short one, by means of the yoga of indestructible reality and the powers of his energy channels and currents, he prolonged the duration of his life, so that when he reached his eighty-seventh year his complexion none the less became youthful and his eyesight grew clear again. In such ways, the signs of his accomplishment, his inner greatness, were manifestly proven.

In this manner Jamgön Kongtrül completed, for the while, his personal deeds. In his eighty-seventh year, on Thursday 28 December 1899 (twenty-sixth day, eleventh month, earth pig year),[1201] accompanied by many wonderful miracles, he withdrew from his bodily array into the expanse of the mind of the spiritual warrior Thöpei Tumbutsel in the western Citadel of Śāntapurī.[1202]

The number of disciples who issued from the speech and mind of this great master was inconceivable, but among them the foremost was the fearless master Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo. Since they both were as guru and disciple to one another, the harmonious reputation of

"Khyentse and Kongtrül who were both Jamgöns"[1203] has been as well known up to the present day as the wind, to everyone from learned scholars to simple cowherds, throughout the districts of Tibet and Kham.

Jamgön Kongtrül also entrusted his entire teachings to others who became his true regents, namely, to the holders of the Kagyüpa teaching, including [the masters of] the Karmapa, Drukpa, Drigungpa, and Taklungpa subsects, foremost among them being the fourteenth and fifteenth successive incarnations of the Karmapa, and the tenth and eleventh T'ai Situ; to the holders of the Sakyapa and Ngorpa teaching, including Thartse Pönlop Jamyang Loter Wangpo[1204] and Dzongsar Ngari Chöje Künga Jamyang; to the great holders of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School, such as Mipham Jamyang Namgyel, the treasure-finder Lerap Lingpa, and the lords of my own enlightened family [i.e. my own root gurus] – the venerable Gyurme Ngedön Wangpo and Jedrung Trhinle Campei Jungne; and also to many supreme individuals among the Riwo Gedenpa [Gelukpa school], including Yeshe Kongpel, the preceptor of Gyüme, and Trayap Dongtrül Khecok Ngawang Tamcö Gyamtso. In short, among all the innumerable major and minor learned scholars, realised and experienced masters, and spiritual benefactors during that era, throughout the region from Central Tibet and Tsang to the upper, lower and middle districts of Dokam, it appears that there was no one who did not become his personal disciple.

26 *Mipham Jamyang Namgyel Gyamtso*

[693.6-713.5] Mipham Jamyang Namgyel Gyamtso,[1205] the great promulgator of the teaching of the Ancient Translation School was born in 1846 (fire horse year, fourteenth cycle) at a place well known as Yacu Tingcung, on the banks of the slow-flowing [Yalung] River in Dokam. His father was Gönpo Targye of the Lha clan of Ju, and his mother was Mukpodongza Singcungma. His paternal uncle, Ön Lama Pema Targye, conferred the name Mipham Gyamtso as a crown upon him.

From his childhood he naturally possessed all the powers of the enlightened family of the greater vehicle, such as faith, renunciation, discriminative awareness, and compassion. From his sixth or seventh year he memorised the *Ascertainment of the Three Vows* and studied the preliminaries of astrology and divination. From about his tenth year on, he had an unobstructed command of reading and writing, and so he began to make all kinds of oral compositions. From the beginning of his twelfth year, he lived as an ordinary student and monk at Mehor Sa-nga Chöling in Ju, which was a branch monastery of Zecen [Zhecen] Tenyi Targye Ling, in the doctrinal lineage of Orgyen Mindröling. At that time he was praised by all as a learned young monk.

In his fifteenth year Mipham studied for some days an ancient text of the *Svarodaya* and he learned it completely after praying to Mañjuśrī. He propitiated Mañjuśrī in the form of Vādīsiṃha for eighteen months at the hermitage of Junyung and, by performing the pill rites (*ril-bu'i las-sbyor*),[1206] he obtained extraordinary signs [of accomplishment]. From then on he did not fail to master whatever texts he chanced to examine, including those concerning sūtras, mantras, and sciences. Therefore, he said that he did not have to study anything apart from simple exegetical transmissions.[1207]

When he was in his seventeenth year disturbances in Nyarong caused all the nomadic herdsmen to migrate to Golok, and the venerable Mipham went there, too.[1208] From about this time he became known for his great skill in arithmetic (*sa-ris*).[1209]

In his eighteenth year Mipham accompanied his maternal uncle Gyurzang on a pilgrimage to Central Tibet during which he attended a monastic college at Ganden Monastery for about one month. Then, when he went to Kharcu in Lhodrak, while on a side-trip during which he travelled to many of the pilgrimage places in the south, ordinary appearances were transformed and whatever appeared arose as the union of bliss and emptiness. For several days he experienced the warmth of bliss. He maintained that this seemed to be the blessing of that locale. On the road back north he had a pure vision in which a volume entitled the *Crystal Mirror of the Great All-Seeing Svarodaya* (*kun-gzigs dbyangs-'char chen-mo shel-gyi me-long*) came into his hands. How this took place is clearly stated at the end of that work.



Mipham Jamyang Namgyel Gyamtso

On his return he received the permissory initiation of *White Mañjuśrī according to the System of Mati* (*ma-ti 'jam-dkar-gyi rjes-gnang*) from Lapkyapgön Wangcen Gyerap Dorje. The signs of accomplishment which are described in that text actually arose, during both the conferral of the empowerment and the performance of the subsequent "bean-sprout rites" (*makṣa'i las-sbyor*).[1210] In this way the lotus of Mipham's discernment blossomed.

From Peltrül Orgyen Jikme Chöki Wangpo, Mipham received the discriminative awareness chapter of the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva* (Ch.9) in five days, whereupon he totally mastered the words and meaning of the text in its entirety. Later, he also composed the *Commentary on the Discriminative Awareness Chapter* (*sher-ṭīk*), and so forth.[1211]

In particular, practising the three means to delight the guru, he attended on the lotus feet of Pema Ösel Do-nga Lingpa, or Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, who was the lord of his enlightened family [i.e. his root guru] owing to connections established through the deeds of his former lives. This master regarded Mipham as his unique inner spiritual son; so, having first given him the permissory initiation of *White Mañjuśrī according to the System of Mati*, he opened for him the gateways of the doctrine. From that time onwards, as if filling a pot to the brim, Khyentse Rinpoche bestowed on Mipham many approaches to the ordinary and special textual traditions, the especially sublime texts of the sūtras and of the mantras which had come down through his close lineages, and all the maturation, liberation, supporting transmissions, esoteric instructions, practical techniques, and guidance which lays bare the teaching, for all transmitted precepts, treasures, and pure visions belonging to the most secret vehicle of indestructible reality.

Moreover, at one time or another, he received the ordinary sciences from Jamgön Lodrö Thaye, including the *Grammar of Candragomin* and the methods for refining mercury, as well as such special maturing empowerments and liberating instructions as those of *Mañjuśrī, Lord of Life, Iron-like and Iron-evil* (*'jam-dpal tshe-bdag lcags-'dra lcags-sdig*).[1212] From many spiritual benefactors, including Padmavajra, the preceptor of Dzokcen Monastery, he received limitless cycles of teaching concerning the sūtras, mantras, and sciences. He did not just receive these teachings and leave it at that, but he truly cultivated them experientially. Primarily because Mipham had trained himself well during innumerable lives and so possessed the cultivated potential of the positive enlightened family, and secondly, since [that potential] had been totally aroused by the guru's compassion and power to transfer the blessing of his intention, Mipham thoroughly mastered all the profound and vast topics of the Sugata's scriptures, by means of the four modes of genuine individual awareness, and without contradicting the four kinds of reliance. Thus, he mastered the vision of naturally present pristine cognition, which is extensive as the sky, and liberated the eight great treasures of brilliance.

From the spiritual benefactor Ju-ön Jikme Dorje, Mipham received the transmission of the root text of the *Verse Summation of the Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness*, and immediately afterwards he discoursed upon it for one month. Then, when he studied the

Introduction to the Madhyamaka under Ngawang Jungne, the spiritual benefactor of Bumsar, he requested only the exegetical transmission, so as not to trouble that master. On the very day the master completed the exegetical transmission, he ordered Mipham to sit for an examination. Starting from the very beginning, Mipham explained the *Introduction to the Madhyamaka* with the result that the spiritual benefactor praised him in the midst of the assembly, saying, "Though I have obtained the title 'spiritual benefactor', I do not even possess a fraction of his intellect!"

In the presence of Pönlop Loter Wangpo he studied the *Treasury of Logical Reason (tshad-ma rigs-gter)*; and from Sölpön Pema he received the exegetical transmissions of varied texts, including the *Doctrines of Maitreya* and the *Bodhisattva Level*, through their continuous lineages alone. Immediately afterwards, Mipham gave extensive discourses upon them. Illustrated in this way, all the meanings of the sūtras, tantras, and the commentaries on their intention poured forth spontaneously from his mind. He roamed freely, like a fearless lion, in the midst of the multitudes who propounded myriad textual traditions. That he was unimpeded in teaching, discourse, composition of textual commentaries, and so forth, was demonstrably visible to all. No one at all could deny it.

The master himself said:

> During my childhood there were many excellent spiritual benefactors of the ancient and new traditions alive, so it was like an era in which the wheel of the doctrine was turned. None the less, I did not study much apart from, in Peltrül Rinpoche's presence, the discriminative awareness chapter of the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva*. Later, by the kindness of my guru and that of my favoured deity, the hard points of texts would become unravelled without great difficulty when I merely read over them. Moreover, during the beginning of my studies I found it easier to learn the works of the new schools and the texts of the ancient schools seemed hard to understand. Still, this being solely due to my own lack of understanding, I thought that these profound texts of the lineage of awareness-holders certainly harboured great essential points of true understanding. Apart from that, I did not experience the arising of doubts even for a moment. In consequence, my own discriminative awareness came to be fully mature. Later, when I looked at them, I saw that all the profound essential points were only to be found in the doctrinal traditions which had been transmitted through the precious lineages of the Ancient Translation School; so especially great certainty was born within me.

During that same period, the lord of refuges and holder of indestructible reality, Khyentse Rinpoche, commanded me to compose some textbooks according to our own tradition. To comply with the guru's order, and to enrich my own intellect, holding only the precious teaching of the conquerors in my heart, I composed some textbooks on the sūtra cycles and so forth. While I was so doing, I emphasised the tenets of our own tradition, and expounded them to some extent. But [the adherents of] the other philosophical systems took them to be refutations and later many critical essays and so forth arrived from all quarters. Yet, in fact, I had been motivated to write in order to fulfil my guru's command, and with the hope of there being some benefit. During the present day the teaching of the Ancient Translation School has almost become like a painted butter lamp [which emits no light], and there are few who even consider and inquire as to just what are the essential points of our tradition's philosophical system; rather, most simply imitate other traditions. Apart from that, I never felt, even in dreams, such motivations as hostility towards other traditions, or self-congratulatory pride [in my own] – if even those who possess the eye of pristine cognition gaze upon me, I have nothing of which to be ashamed!

As for what I have written in response to my critics and so forth: Since I have not obtained the attributes of those who are sublime, how could I ever understand all the profundities of knowledge? None the less, if I state what may be proven, or disproven, by relying upon the immaculate transmitted precepts of the Sugata and the commentaries on their intention, which are the lamp-like words of the great promulgators of India and Tibet, and by examining for myself, too, what is reasonable, and what unreasonable, it may still be of some benefit to others, though I have no idea who can benefit whom. If I were to corrupt the profound transmitted precepts and the commentaries on their intention because of my own lack of understanding and wrong understanding, I would be closing the door to the path of my own liberation; and, because many others would be misled, I would only bring eternal ruin on them. There can be no greater fault that that. Therefore, if those who possess the eye of the doctrine refute me in accord with correct scriptural authority and logic, I should rely upon them like doctors. Such persons must never be refuted out of hostility. For these reasons, it is with a fair mind that I have sometimes entered into debate.

Therefore, when those who are most sublime repudiate the wrong understandings of others and so forth, in order to preserve perfectly the treasury of the true doctrine, it is done in association with a great purpose. Just so, after the debate between the supreme scholar Lozang Rapsel and this master, in which they had alternately sent one another refined gifts of eloquence, their minds merged, and they scattered the flowers of mutual praise.[1213]

When Mipham Rinpoche was looking over the *Exposition of Valid Cognition* he had a dream in which one who was Sakya Paṇḍita in essence appeared to him in the guise of a learned and accomplished master from India, the tip of his nose slightly crooked, and said, "What is there that you do not understand in the *Exposition of Valid Cognition*? It has two parts, refutation and proof." Then, he divided a volume of the *Exposition of Valid Cognition* into two parts and handed it to Mipham, saying, "Combine these two together!" No sooner had he combined them than they turned into a sword, and all things that may be known appeared before him. Swinging that sword once, it clearly appeared to Mipham that he cut through them all in an instant, without impediment. Consequently, he said, there was not a single word in the *Exposition of Valid Cognition* which he did not understand.

On perusing the *Root Text of the Vinaya Sūtra* for the first time, Mipham found it a little hard to understand. Later, when he was reading once over the books of the *Kangyur*, he read the thirteen volumes of the Vinaya one time, owing to which, he said, there was nothing at all which he did not understand in the *Root Text of the Vinaya Sūtra*.

Moreover, regarding such uncommon, profound points as the distinctions between the older and later [schools of] Tibet, without poring over books, and so forth, the channels of his awareness opened up when he was absorbed in the rites of service and attainment, and he was blessed by the guru and his favoured deity, owing to which [the knowledge of those topics] naturally arose in his mind. Therefore, he said that there was no way whatsoever for him not to write.

Once, on an auspicious day, the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche had volumes containing the fine texts of the sūtras, mantras, and sciences, of which the continuous transmissions were rare, and the subject-matter important, arranged on the altar; and then he made vast offerings. He had the venerable Mipham sit before them on top of a high throne covered with a *kaptse*[1214] and empowered him as master of the doctrine, saying, "I am entrusting the transmitted precepts of these books to you. Hereafter, you must preserve them without decline by means of teaching, debate, and composition. You must clarify the precious teaching of the Conqueror in this world system for a long time!" Then, he was given valuable offerings representing the buddha-body, speech and mind, including a scroll-painting of White Tārā and a handwritten prayer for his continuing longevity, which was based on his various

names; and, as a sign of this empowerment, the master himself gave him the long-eared paṇḍita hat which he personally wore, and so enthroned him as his true regent and praised him. Even afterwards, while speaking to others, the venerable Khyentse Rinpoche said, "At the present time there is no one on the earth more learned than Lama Mipham. If one wrote of the greatness of his successive lives and his attributes a text the size of the entire *Transcendental Perfection of Discriminative Awareness* would not suffice for it. But even though I could write it, he would be displeased by it now." This last story I heard from a reliable source.



Peltrül Rinpoche

Jamgön Yönten Gyamtso [Kongtrül Rinpoche] also spoke of him as the *mahāpaṇḍita* Mipham Gyamtso and received the exegetical transmissions of Mipham's own *Detailed Exegesis of the Exposition of Valid Cognition* (*tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi rnam-bshad*), the *Detailed Exegesis of the Eight Transmitted Precepts* (*bka'-brgyad rnam-bshad*), and so forth.

On one occasion Japa Do-nga, a great scholar of the new traditions,[1215] expressed the opinion that there were some invalid arguments in Mipham's *Commentary on the Discriminative Awareness Chapter of the "Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva"* (*spyod-'jug sher-le'i 'grel-*

pa). The best of learned, dignified and accomplished masters, Peltrül Rinpoche, was secured as a witness and they debated for many days. Ordinary persons could not tell who was the victor and who the loser, except to say which arguments agreed with their own opinions. At that point one Lama Rikcok asked Peltrül Rinpoche which of the two was victorious. He answered, "I neither know how to decide it, nor how to conclude it. There is a worldly proverb which goes, 'A son is not praised by his father, but by his enemy. A daughter is not praised by her mother, but by the neighbourhood.' Just so, during the early part of the dispute Do-nga's monks told me that they clearly saw a ray of light emanate from the heart of Lama Mipham's image of Mañjuśrī-ghoṣa, which is the representation of his meditational deity, and vanish into the lama's heart. That sums it all up."

At that time, too, Peltrül Rinpoche gave them this command, "Japa Do-nga has written a commentary on [the line]: *Great Perfection is the matrix of all pristine cognition.*[1216] It seems that some consider it to be refutable and others provable. Therefore, conduct a direct exchange on it."

The venerable Mipham was victorious, whereupon Peltrül Rinpoche authorised him to compose exegetical commentaries on the tantras, transmissions, and esoteric instructions. I actually heard this story from the lord of my own enlightened family, Ling Lama Chöjor Gyamtso, who was the personal disciple of both these masters [Peltrül Rinpoche and Mipham Rinpoche].

Later, at the king among places of attainment, the "tiger den" of Karmo, Mipham Rinpoche planted the banner of attainment for a period of thirteen years. Above all, when he performed the ritual service of Mañjuśrī-Yamāntaka, Lord of Life, the deity on whom, in accord with his fortune, his flower had alighted, it is said that there arose, without exception, all the signs which are described in the texts. Moreover, when he passed many years in retreat he never recited, he said, a single rosary mechanically, or with eyes distracted, but [remained absorbed] one-pointedly in the yogas of creation and perfection, as they are explained in the texts.

One time, Mipham went into Khyentse Rinpoche's presence. "How did you apply yourself to experiential cultivation when you stayed in retreat?" he was asked.

"While pursuing my studies", Mipham answered, "I made conclusive investigations, and while performing the ritual service of the meditational deity in retreat I have taken care to see that I have reached the limits of the stage of creation."

"Those are difficult. The great all-knowing Longcenpa said, 'Not doing anything, you must come to rest right where you are.' I have done just that. By so resting I have not seen anything with white flesh and a ruddy complexion that can be called the 'face of mind'. None

the less, if I were to die now it would be all right. I do not have even a grain of trepidation." So saying, Khyentse Rinpoche laughed aloud. Mipham [later] said that he understood that to be the guru's instruction.

By emphasising [the yogas of] the indestructible body, during the stage of perfection, the pulses of his active energy currents were, by and large, purified in the expanse of the central energy channel. Thereupon Mipham experienced the true inner radiance – the natural, co-emergent, pristine cognition that is supreme bliss – which is illustrated at its inception by the four delights and the four modes of emptiness [in which] bliss and emptiness [have coalesced]. Most of all, by relying upon the yogas of the Great Perfection, [namely,] Cutting Through Resistance in primordial purity (*ka-dag khregs-chod*) and the All-Surpassing Realisation of spontaneous presence (*lhun-grub thod-rgal*), he visibly reached the limits of reality, without leaving it to be an intellectual investigation. Thereby he came to hold sway over appearance and conduct as the play of buddha-body and pristine cognition.[1217] By the power of totally refining the internal structure of his energy channels into the "cloud-mass wheel of syllables" the discernment that is born of meditation burst forth from the expanse,[1218] and Mipham arrayed all that is profoundly significant, the treasures of his intention, in the form of treatises: the *Cycle of Eulogies and Narratives* (*bstod-tshogs dang rtogs-brjod-kyi skor*), which gives rise to faith, the entrance-way to blessing; the *Cycle of Common Sciences* (*thun-mong rig-gnas-kyi skor*), which removes doubts about knowledge in general; the *Cycle of the Sciences of Inner Meaning* (*nang-don rig-pa'i skor*), which is the profound and vast embarkation point on the path to liberation; and the *Cycle of Dedicatory Prayers and Benedictions* (*bsngo-smon shis-brjod-kyi skor*), which supports the prolonged existence of the teaching, and the permanence, pervasiveness, and spontaneous presence of all that is good.

The thirty-two volumes in which these four general topics, with their many subdivisions, are preserved – their number being equal to that of the excellent major marks – have, as it were, granted vital force to the teaching of the Conqueror, in general, and to the teaching of the Ancient Translation School, in particular, at the very point of death.

So it was that Mipham dwelt, above all, cultivating the two stages experientially, and, between sessions of practice, bestowing all sorts of esoteric instructions in the form of treatises. Then, on Friday 1 March 1912 (thirteenth day, first month, water mouse year), he left his retreat. Beginning on about 6 March (eighteenth day of that same month), he grew weary owing to certain unpleasant visitors, and, on the morning of Saturday 9 March (twenty-first day), he spontaneously wrote the following:

> *Namo Mañjuśrīsattvāya!*
> [Homage to Mañjuśrī, the spiritual warrior!]

Having mastered the oceanic conduct
Of the conquerors' sons
In Abhirati[1219] and other pure lands
I vow to maintain a compassionate mind
For living beings throughout space,
While space itself endures.
As a propounder of doctrine in this degenerate age,
Afflicted by deeds,
I have been sorely oppressed for seventeen years,
  without respite,
By a severe ailment of the inner energy channels.
Up to now I have dwelt in this world,
By relying on this wickerwork basket,
The body of apparition.
But now I perceive that it will be joyful to die,
So I will set my last discourse down as a letter...

Thus, he wrote out his testament and left it in concealment. Then, during March/May 1912 (second/third month, same year), Mipham recited the dhāraṇī of Akṣobhya about two hundred thousand times.[1220] He imparted some oral instructions to his attendant, Lama Ösel, and on one of these occasions said:

> Nowadays, if one speaks the truth, there is no one to listen. If one speaks falsely everyone holds it to be true. Therefore, I have not disclosed this to anyone before: I am no ordinary person. I am a bodhisattva who has taken birth by the power of his aspiration. In this present body I ought to have greatly benefitted the teaching and living creatures in general, and the teaching of the Ancient Translation School of the secret mantra in particular. But, because the merits of the Nyingmapa are feeble, as a rule, we are much afflicted by obstacles, and, owing to some critical circumstances, I have been greatly ailing, and so forth. Under such conditions, I have hardly thought to do anything beneficial. None the less, I have completed various commentaries, expositions, and so on. Though I would have liked to have written a clear and detailed general introduction to the Madhyamaka, I have not achieved it. But, none the less, it makes no great difference. If it had been possible ever to complete the *Cycle of Mind in its Natural State* (*gnyug-sems skor*) it would have been of great, vital significance, enlivening the entire teaching, without partiality. Although I thought I might achieve it, still it is not finished. Now, in this final age, the barbarians beyond the pale are close to undermining the teaching. For this and other reasons, there is no point whatsoever in my

> actually taking rebirth. If this were a past age, approximating that in which the brothers from Mindröling [Terdak Lingpa and Locen Dharmaśrī] were alive, I might well benefit the teaching and living creatures in all sorts of ways. But now, by dint of time, such things are difficult; so, after this, I have no reason to take birth in impure realms ever again. Remaining only in pure lands it is the nature of reality that, by the power of aspirations, sublime ones eternally and incessantly give rise to the dramatic play of emanation, which trains each in accord with his needs...

On about Wednesday 9 May (twenty-second day), he said, "Now that I have finally recovered from my nervous ailment I never have sensations of pain. Each day and night there only arise the visions of All-Surpassing Realisation – rainbows, light rays and points, and the manifestations of the bodies and realms [of the buddhas]."[1221]

He gave audience to his faithful disciples and benefactors, who had gathered from all directions, and said prayers. They asked him to prolong his life for the sake of the teaching and living creatures, but he replied, "Now, I certainly shall not stay, and I will not be born again. I have reason to go to Shambhala in the north."[1222]

On Friday 14 June 1912 (twenty-ninth day, fourth month, water mouse), during his sixty-seventh year, Mipham Rinpoche assumed the posture of a bodhisattva, with his left hand evenly placed in his lap and his right in the gesture of teaching; and his mind became meditatively equipoised in the expanse of the original ground, free from corruption. Afterwards, when his precious remains were offered up on the pyre, tents of rainbow light and other wonderful and excellent omens appeared to all those gathered, in common. Lama Ösel earnestly strove to perform the funeral rites following the master's demise in such a way as to fulfil all of his intentions.

Among the personal disciples of this master the foremost were Dodrup Jikme Tenpei Nyima, the treasure-finder Sogyel [Lerap Lingpa], Dzokcen Trülku V and the Dzokcen Gemang, Zhecen Rapjam and Zhecen Gyeltsap,[1223] Katok Situ,[1224] Pelyül Gyatrül, Andzom Drukpa,[1225] Trupwang Śākyaśrī,[1226] and the Ngor Pönlop, et cetera. In short, there were countless sons of his speech who included the emanations and great personages of the Sakyapa, Gelukpa, Kagyüpa, and Nyingmapa traditions from [the monasteries of] Katok, Pelyül, Zhecen, Dzokcen, Pelpung, Derge Göncen [and others] all the way up to Repkong;[1227] as well as their scholars who propounded myriad textual traditions, preceptors endowed with the three trainings, mantrins who were confident in the two stages, and ascetics who were free from activity, having

deliberately abandoned the cares of this life. The great personages among the guru's spiritual sons have continued to make great endeavours to propagate his enlightened activity.

Although this master actually made no attempt to discover earth treasures, many unprecedented works including esoteric instructions and ritual collections concerning the stages of creation and perfection, which were especially necessary, poured forth as the treasures of his intention, and he propagated them as treatises. Therefore, he was a supremely accomplished king among treasure-finders, one who held dominion over what is, in truth, the king of all treasures, the expansive store of profound intention.

Conclusion

So it is that the doctrinal collections of the close lineages of profound treasures preserve an inconceivable number [of teachings]. These are exemplified by the treasure troves, the foremost of which contain the *Eight Transmitted Precepts*, the *Gathering of Intentions*, and *Vajrakīla* (*bka'-dgongs-phur-gsum*), and each of which also includes [its own versions of] the *Trio of the Guru, Great Perfection and Great Compassionate One*. Because the accounts of the descent of so many lineages are indeed limitless, it is not possible to describe them here. If the reader wishes to know of them in detail, they may be learned from the histories of each respective treasure, from the records of the teachings received by their respective [masters], and so forth.

This completes the brief exposition of the accounts of the exceedingly profound, close lineages of the treasures, the sixth part of this book, *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra*, which is a history of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Seven
A Rectification of Misconceptions Concerning the Nyingma School

Introduction

[719.1-2] Now, the errors of those partisans who, in the past, have wrongly viewed the teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School must be refuted.

1 *General Reply to Criticisms of the Nyingmapa Tantras*

[719.2-736.1] There were a multitude of utterly profound tantrapiṭaka which arose in Tibet, in proportion to the authentic merits of those to be trained in that glacial land. They did so because of the extraordinary enlightened aspiration of Trhisong Detsen, the divine king of the Land of Snows who was an emanation of sublime Mañjuśrīghoṣa, and due to the blessings of the great accomplished master Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and others. Among them were the unsurpassed secret mantra derived from the three lineages, including [those derived from] the Indestructible Nucleus of Inner Radiance,[1228] which are the essence of the spirituality of many ḍākinīs and holders of awareness, and which are beyond the range of ordinary persons. Therefore, those [teachings] are worthy of approval, and the biographies of the ancient religious kings and of the great emanational translators and scholars ought to be respected.

So it was that [Trhisong Detsen], the emanational king, sought to kindle the lamp of the doctrine when Tibet was an abode of darkness, occupied by barbarians who did not possess even a reflection of the teaching, and who were miserable because, to their misfortune, they had to seek lasting refuge in those who preached a violent religion, granting only occasional, ephemeral happiness. Even then, the irresistible hurricane of strife's machinations, [instigated by] pernicious and unworthy beings, almost brought other forces into power. But at that time all the venomous deities and ogres were subdued by the compassion of the great master Padmasambhava who enabled the Tibetans to practise the doctrine as they liked. Temples were built, doctrinal centres were established, and with great endeavour the ways of the doctrine were instituted amongst the Tibetans, who had little aptitude even for learning the doctrinal terminology, which previously had been unknown.

At the outset [these masters] began by examining whether or not [the Tibetans] could maintain monastic vows, and they laid a firm foundation for the Buddha's precious teaching, the path of omniscience.

They translated an oceanic corpus of doctrines belonging to the Tripiṭaka and to the secret mantra. They collected fragments, corrected defective texts, established the ground, experientially mastered the path, and caused [the doctrine] to spread throughout the kingdom by means of study, exegesis, and meditation. This opportunity to practise freely the path to liberation and omniscience was due to the kindness of the ancient preceptor [Śāntarakṣita], the master [Padmasambhava], the religious king [Trhisong Detsen], and the emanational translators and scholars.



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For this reason it is no wonder that the learned proponents of philosophical systems and the translators of the later period also managed to follow, without difficulty, the path whose tradition had been established by those great ones of the past, and to contribute to it by means of their own intellects. None the less, some jealous persons created discord by, for example, declaring that certain of the ancient tantras had been composed in Tibet because they did not exist in India. However, the non-existence of those tantras in India did not prove them to be unauthentic. Even the tantras which did exist in India did not originate there: they were brought forth by great accomplished

masters from the domains of the gods, nāgas, yakṣas, ḍākinīs and so on, as well as from various great places of pilgrimage including the Sahor and Shambhala regions of Jambudvīpa, Mount Malaya in Laṅkā, Oḍḍiyāna, and the Drāviḍa country; and later they were introduced to India. Therefore, tantras are not unauthentic by definition merely because they did not exist in India. Even though some [of the ancient tantras] might have been found [in India], they would not have been seen by someone making just an occasional journey there [as the later translators did]. For, while the emanational translators and scholars of the past who were abiding on the sublime levels voyaged throughout the twenty-four lands[1229] and elsewhere by means of miraculous abilities, ordinary persons could not travel to them. This is why the great scholar Rongzompa, with whom even the great lord Atiśa had declared himself unable to discuss the doctrine, said that the ancient translations of the secret mantra were superior to the later translations in six ways:[1230]

> First, concerning the greatness of the benefactors who introduced them: Since the benefactors of the ancient translation period were the three ancestral religious kings, who were the sublime Lords of the Three Families in kingly guise, they were unlike the benefactors of the later translation period.
>
> Second, concerning the locations in which they were translated and established: Since the ancient translations were accomplished in such emanated temples as Samye and the other doctrinal centres of the past, high and low,[1231] they are unlike those translated in the monastic grottoes of today.
>
> Third, concerning the distinctions of the translators: Those doctrines were translated by emanational translators, the translators of the past such as Vairocana, Kawa Peltsek, Cokro Lüi Gyeltsen, Zhang Yeshe De, Ma Rincen-chok, and Nyak Jñānakumāra. Thus, they are unlike the translations made by the translators of today, who pass the summer in Mangyül and travel to India and Nepal for a short time during the winter.
>
> Fourth, concerning the distinctions of the scholars [who supervised the ancient translations]: Those doctrines were introduced by buddhas and sublime bodhisattvas abiding on the great levels, [namely,] the scholars of the past such as the preceptor Śāntarakṣita, Buddhaguhya, the great master Padmākara and the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra. Thus, they were unlike the scholars of today who wander about in search of gold.
>
> Fifth, concerning the distinctions of the blossoms [offered] as the basis for commissioning [the translations]: In the past the doctrines were requested with offerings of gold weighed

out in deerskin pouches, or by the measure. Thus, they were unlike the requests made [by disciples of] the present day with one or two gold bits drawn from under their own arms.[1232]

Sixth, concerning the distinctions of the doctrine itself: The translations of the past were completed at a time when the doctrine of the Buddha had reached its zenith in India. Furthermore, there were tantras which did not even exist in India proper, which were retained by bodhisattvas, accomplished masters, awareness-holders and ḍākinīs who had obtained their empowerments. They were taken from pure lands, and from regions of Jambudvīpa such as Siṅghala and Oḍḍiyāna in the west, through the arrayed miraculous powers of the great master Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and others, and then translated [in Tibet]. Thus, many [doctrines] which were completely unknown to the scholars and accomplished masters of India arrived to become the meritorious fortune of Tibet.

Furthermore, concerning the translations themselves: Since the translators of the past were emanations, they established the meanings correctly. For this reason their works are easy to understand and, on plumbing their depths, the blessing is great. But the translators of the later period were unable to render the meaning and made lexical translations following [merely] the arrangement of the Sanskrit texts. Consequently, their forced terminology is hard to understand, and on plumbing the depths the blessing is slight. Therefore, they are dissimilar.

During the later expansion of the teaching in Tibet, it became the fashion for everyone who possessed the intellectual skill and a little gold to travel to India and Nepal. If they had gone exclusively for the sake of the teaching and sentient beings it would have been admirable, but most of them were jealous men who set their feet in motion because they desired to become scholars, hankered after the possessions of others, sought to win fame, or were jealously competing with their own gurus, or with spiritual benefactors of similar fortune. This can be ascertained from the incident during Marpa's travels, when a companion threw all his books into the river.[1233] For these reasons, the all-knowing Rongzompa said:

When the doctrine of the Buddha was at its zenith, the emanational translators established [the texts of] the transmitted precepts without error. Then, they adorned those doctrines in many ways which served to complete them, and which established the actual condition of the knowable. But

> the charlatan translators of the present day made various reforms in the ancient translations, saying, "I am the better translator. My sources are more venerable!" And so, misrepresenting the transmitted precepts of the Buddha and the teachings of their gurus, they all compose their own doctrines. They heap abuse upon one another for their faults. Their doctrines are such that those of the father do not suit the son. [In all of this] they are unlike [the ancient translations].

These words of his are completely true. Orgyenpa Rincenpel,[1234] who attained accomplishment, also said:

> Some Tibetan translators claim that the Nyingma translations had no origin in India. Among them Chak Lotsāwa,[1235] a guru from whom I personally received empowerment, also said that the Nyingma tantras had no origin in India. Such was his small-minded opinion! How could that translator, who travelled for only a short time in East India, be certain of all the texts that existed in India? Above and beyond that, he could not even have been certain about which of them existed in Tibet! Moreover, because India is, in general, a very hot country, many books decay, and so the extent of the Buddha's transmitted precepts cannot be ascertained. How, then, can the translators of Tibet be certain of [all] the sources? Even though I journeyed to the land of Oḍḍiyāna in the west, I could not ascertain even the size of that land.[1236] Furthermore, in later times original Sanskrit manuscripts were mostly preserved in Nepal. Among them, an inconceivable number of different Nyingma tantras were preserved in one of the temples of a Newari *bahal.*[1237] I said to the Nyingmapa of Tibet that I would bring the paṇḍitas here along with the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Nyingmapa tradition, and that they should come to Kyirong to translate, using my services as a translator, but this did not come to pass. Even now it would be well to translate those Nyingmapa texts. Again, some inquisitive Tibetans also say that the Nyingmapa tradition's *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* is corrupt, having been composed by some old Tibetan mantrins.[1238] Such words are unworthy! If you were so knowledgeable, then each one of you should also compose such doctrines; the Buddha's transmitted precepts contain nothing better.

Similarly, it says in the *Biography of Lord Atiśa (jo-bo'i rnam-thar)*:[1239]

> Then, it occurred to the lord Atiśa that no one was more learned than he in the traditions of the way of secret mantra

> that were preserved in the human world; and this thought made him proud. But later, when he came to Tibet and opened the treasury of Pehar Ling [at Samye], he saw the Sanskrit manuscripts there, many of which he had neither heard of, nor seen before. His pride was shattered and he said, "I thought there was nothing I did not know in the secret mantra tradition of the greater vehicle. The ḍākinīs had even shown me countless celestial palaces and taught me many tantras, but these texts were not among them. There is no end to this secret mantra tradition of the greater vehicle!" He offered many praises to the [ancient] kings of Tibet, and said, "It appears that the teaching had been propagated in Tibet as it had not been even in India."

And [in the same biography it says]:

> By the kindness of that second Vajradhara, the master Padmasambhava, many secret stores of the ḍākinīs which were unknown in India were translated; and they were preserved in the treasury of Pehar at Samye.

The venerable Tāranātha said:

> In the Drāviḍa country the teaching was not actually present in former times. It was first established there by master Padmākara. Dīpaṃkarabhadra also went there and from that time, for a period of about one hundred years, it was visited by many holders of indestructible reality from Magadha, Oḍḍiyāna, Kashmir, and elsewhere. They made the mantra vehicle especially widespread. There are tantras such as those which, having been concealed in the past, during the reign of Dharmapāla, have declined in India, as well as those which had been brought forth from Oḍḍiyāna. There are many such tantras in Drāviḍa that are not to be found in India.[1240]

These well-stated arguments of fair-minded men expose at once all the defects of the false rhetoric and pious lies of those who claim that [the ancient translations] are not authentic and did not exist in India. By speaking in anger they themselves abandon the doctrine and consequently cause other dull-witted creatures of little merit to harbour doubts. Therefore, they tend only to bring schism to the teaching by acting in the way of the monk Mahādeva.[1241] Beyond that, their ideas are not conducive to the ultimate path.

Moreover, the later scholar Putön, who was disposed to maintain the tradition of the Ancient Translation School, practised the *Four-armed Lord according to the Treasures of Nyang (nyang-gter mgon-po phyag-*

bzhi) and other [Nyingmapa teachings]; and he had a vision of Guru Padmasambhava's eight emanations in which he received a prophetic declaration. It clearly follows from these and other actual reports that by advising equanimity towards the Nyingmapa tantras Putön intended to address the other partisan philosophers of that age. When Tshelpa Situ Mönlam Dorje prepared a set of all the scriptures translated in the Land of Snows and invited Putön to correct it, he inserted the Nyingmapa trilogy of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, the *Magical Net*, and the *Mental Class*, along with the [main] cycles belonging to the class of means for attainment into the collected tantras of the *Kangyur* (*bka'-'gyur*). He allowed them to remain there because he had validly proven them to be original texts of the tantras, but he removed many new tantras, including the whole [collection of] *Thirty-two Rali Cakrasaṃvara Tantras* (*ra-li so-gnyis*, T 383-414), and the *Non-Dual Victor* (*Advayasamatāvijayanāmavajraśrīvaramahākalpādi*, T 453), having contended that they were not the transmitted precepts of the Buddha.[1242]

When Śākya Chokden, the great paṇḍita of Zilung,[1243] taught in his *Golden Surgical Needle* (*gser-gyi thur-ma*) that the explicit intention of the *Analysis of the Three Vows* was of provisional meaning, some individuals with untrained intellects doubted him, and foolish bigots took [his work] as a support [for their own prejudices]. None the less, the great paṇḍita did make the following assertion:

> In general, if you presume to consider the Nyingmapa doctrine to be not authentic, it follows that you must consider everything translated before the time of the great translator Rincen Zangpo to be not authentic, including the texts of the Tripiṭaka, and the Kriyā, Caryā, and Yoga tantras which were translated by Kawa Peltsek, Cokro Lüi Gyeltsen, and Zhang Yeshe De. In particular, if you presume to consider the Nyingmapa Unsurpassed tantras of the way of secret mantra to be not authentic, you must also consider the glorious *Guhyasamāja*, the *Hidden Point of the Moon*, and the *Buddhasamāyoga* to be not authentic, for those three are foremost among the so-called *Eighteen Tantrapiṭaka* of the Nyingmapa tradition, and because the great figures of the past taught that by relying on those three roots the so-called Nyingmapa tradition arose in Tibet. In particular, too, even if you consider [merely] the *Yangdak* and *Vajrakīla* tantras to be not authentic, those tantras have been proven genuine by [the existence of] Sanskrit texts, the fact that they were translated by proven translators, and so forth.[1244] Especially, the great men who included various others that are known as Nyingmapa tantras in the *Catalogues of the Collected Tantras* (*rgyud-'bum-gyi dkar-chag*) have also proven that the

> *Yangdak* and *Vajrakīla* tantras are indubitable. This is claimed, for example, in the doctrinal histories of [Comden Rikpei] Reldri and Putön Rinpoche.[1245]

Having roughly stated the opinions of others, the essence of my own tenet is as follows. The master of this teaching, the Teacher and Lord of Sages [Śākyamuni Buddha], delivered [the doctrine], whether in the passionless form [of a monk], or in the guise of a universal monarch, for both are acceptable. By experientially cultivating the sequences of deities and mantras [taught by] that unique Teacher, master Padmasambhava obtained accomplishment, and with his disciples, who attained stability in the two stages and so reached the level of accomplishment, he subdued the venomous gods and demons who obstructed the growth of the true doctrine in Tibet. They taught the appropriate sequences of [practice associated with] the deities, mantras, and view in order that worthy recipients of the vehicle of indestructible reality might be secured on the level of the awareness-holders. Their disciples experientially cultivated the significance [of those teachings] correctly, and there appeared many awareness-holders who attained the level of accomplishment through them. They set down in writing the aural lineages and intentions that were in harmony with them, based on which this utterly pure doctrine renowned as the Nyingmapa developed. As for their authenticity: they do fulfil the definition of treatises which is stated in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, (Ch.5, v.19ab):

> There are some which are taught by undistracted minds,
> Referring solely to the Conqueror, the Teacher...

Because they fulfil that definition, the treatises delivered by master Padmasambhava are no different from the transmitted precepts of the Buddha, for it says in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.5, v.19cd):

> Conforming to the path which attains to liberation,
> Let them be reverently accepted in the manner of
> the Sage's transmitted precepts.

Thus, they are similar to the *Five Doctrines of Venerable Maitreya*, the *Abridged Tantra of Kālacakra*,[1246] and its commentary, the *Taintless Light*.

Moreover, some reject the doctrinal terminology of the Anuyoga and Atiyoga for the reason that it is not found in the tantrapiṭaka of the new translation schools. This is praise from those whose reproaches are unskilled, because, generally, it is the custom that the doctrinal terminology and exegeses of the higher scriptures do not occur in lower ones, the Conqueror having distinguished their superiority and inferiority for the sake of those to be trained. Thus, for example, the doctrinal

terminology of the vehicle of transcendental perfection is not found in the piṭaka of the pious attendants; that of the outer mantras is not found in the vehicle of transcendental perfection; and that of such Unsurpassed tantras as the *Guhyasamāja*, and *Cakrasaṃvara* is not found in the outer mantras. For this reason, the fact that the doctrinal terminology and exegeses of the Anuyoga and Atiyoga do not much occur in the *Guhyasamāja* and *Cakrasaṃvara*, and so forth, is a proof that the Great Perfection is the pinnacle of all vehicles. It will suffice [to say] that this may be elaborated in detail.

2 *On the View of the Great Perfection*

[736.1-758.2] Again, in the Great Perfection, a philosophy of freedom from deeds with respect to the disposition of reality, when the ultimate, definitive meaning of pristine cognition, which does not rest in the sphere of causal conditioning, is indicated directly, it is explained that there is no need to orient oneself to contrived doctrines that require efforts associated with the causes and effects of good and evil. Certain Tibetans have with some astonishment criticised [that view], saying that it implicitly agrees with Hoshang Mo-ho-yen's philosophy by its indifference to conduct.[1247]

None the less, the Sugata turned the doctrinal wheel three times. In the first turning he taught the infallibility of cause and effect with regard to virtuous and unvirtuous deeds. That promulgation has been established to be of provisional meaning because it was taught with reference to worldly needs. Both the intermediate and final promulgations are truly in agreement with one another concerning the characteristics of the three approaches to liberation. They are merely distinguished insomuch as they are [respectively] profound and exceedingly profound teachings of the abiding nature of reality, which is of profound, definitive meaning. It is well known amongst learned scholars, and has been proven, that the provisional and the definitive are distinguished with reference to the conditioned and the unconditioned, and that the expressed meanings [of the three promulgations] may be differentiated on the basis of the relative strength of those.[1248] For such reasons, the intermediate transmitted precepts temporarily assert that all things subsumed in consciousness are devoid of substantial existence, and, when the definitive significance is revealed, [it is maintained]:

> ...free from all referential activity with respect to anything, all discursive thought is abandoned. Nothing is referred to that is to be accepted, or rejected...

In short, because the characteristics of the three approaches to liberation are found in the abiding nature of reality, which is unconditioned



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and genuinely transcends the phenomena of subject and object, the adherent of the Great Perfection, during the phase of the ground, views saṃsāra and nirvāṇa as the same, and does not distinguish cause and effect. During the phase of the path he does not engage in discursive thoughts and so does not conduct himself with reference to the extremes of acceptance and rejection. And, during the phase of the result, with confidence that is free from hope and fear about the goal, he reaches the level on which all things are exhausted. Such is the nucleus of this philosophy. As it says in the *All-Accomplishing King:*

> If one maintains that there is cause and effect
> For Atiyoga, the yoga of the Great Perfection,
> One has not realised the meaning of Great Perfection.
> If one maintains the ultimate and relative to be two,
> One's statements exaggerate and depreciate;
> One has not realised that there are not two.
> The realisation of the buddhas of the three times
> Is gained in the sole determination that two are not seen.

This sort of great philosophical assertion is, in reality, also found to be the intention of the profound, definitively significant sūtras of the Buddha, the Transcendent Lord, who speaks not of twofold divisions. It says in the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with Brahmaviśeṣacinti*:

> What, one might ask, is it that is the nature of all things? The nature of all things is emptiness; they are without objective referent. The nature of all things is signlessness; they are free from idea and concept. The nature of all things is aspirationlessness; there is no acceptance, no rejection, no thought, no force, and total absence of substantial existence. It is naturally radiant. Whatever is the nature of saṃsāra is the nature of nirvāṇa. Whatever is the nature of nirvāṇa is the nature of all things. So it is that mind is naturally radiant.

Therefore, the view is free from assertions, meditation from deliberations, conduct from acceptance and rejection, and the result from hope and fear. But for those four, how else might one establish nakedly the experiential cultivation which is characterised by the three approaches to liberation? If you do not recognise this to be the "philosophy of the indivisibility of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa" which is taught by means of the esoteric instructions of the stage of perfection in many of the tantrapiṭaka which you [adherents of the new translation schools] yourselves accept to be valid, then there can be no occasion for bringing this [philosophy] together with the philosophy established by dialectical deliberations.[1249]

None the less, one might object by saying that while the above may be true from the perspective (*ldog-pa*) of the view, [the Great Perfection is still at fault], for it rejects the area of conduct. But, having established the view on the basis of seeing the undeluded abiding nature of ultimate truth, one transcends the bondage and liberation of contrived doctrines, whether good or evil, concerning the conditioned fundamental virtues, such as those of the three trainings, which depend upon mind and mental events. Therefore, freedom from acceptance and rejection is proven; and that remains the characteristic of aspirationlessness. As it says in the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with Kāśyapa, from the Sublime Pagoda of Precious Jewels*:

> That which is uncompounded is the enlightened family of the sublime ones. That which is the enlightened family of the sublime ones neither adheres to the training, nor transcends the training. That which neither adheres to the training, nor transcends the training neither moves, nor rests, nor rushes. That which neither moves, nor rests, nor rushes has neither mind, nor the properties which emerge from mind. That which has neither mind, nor the properties which emerge from mind possesses neither deeds, nor the ripening

> of deeds. That which possesses neither deeds, nor the ripening of deeds knows neither pleasure nor pain. That which knows neither pleasure, nor pain is the enlightened family of the sublime ones. That which is the enlightened family of the sublime ones possesses neither deeds, nor deed-forming volition.

And:

> There, virtue is empty; and nonvirtue, too, is empty. Virtue is void; and nonvirtue, too, is void. Virtue is unadulterated by nonvirtue; and nonvirtue, too, is unadulterated by virtue. There is neither basis, nor cause, for hankering after virtue and nonvirtue.

It says, too, in the *Hevajra Tantra* (Pt.1, Ch.5, v.11):

> There is no meditation, nor meditator.
> There is no deity, nor mantra.

Now, think as to whether this proclamation of the marvellous teaching, in such passages as these, is, in fact, the tradition of Hoshang Mo-ho-yen![1250]

In general, having realised discriminative awareness without error, skilful means becomes merely an aspect of discriminative awareness. This is the infallible intention of the buddhas. As the master Āryadeva has said [in the *Four Hundred Verses*, Ch.12, v.11]:

> Better that moral discipline may decline,
> Than should the view.

Having correctly realised the view which is here expounded, not only is one not fettered, regardless of conduct, but also one remains on the great highway of the conquerors' sons and obtains the fruit of liberation. Moreover, on this path of the Great Perfection, having established that there is nothing to accept, or to reject in the expanse of the great sameness of reality, one accomplishes one's purpose, but is not obscured by subjective conduct. This is a distinctive doctrine. As it says in the *Authentic Conduct of a Bodhisattva*:

> Ratnadatta declared:
>
> Do not abandon desire.
> Subdue not hatred.
> Don't think about ignorance.
> Do not behave so as to surpass your own body.
> Practice vice.
> Do not eliminate opinion.
> Don't teach about the entanglements.
> Grasp the components as whole.

Combine the psychophysical bases into one entity.
Indulge in the sensory activity fields.
Do not progress beyond an infantile level.
Think unvirtuously.
Renounce virtue.
Do not pay attention to the Buddha.
Do not reflect upon the doctrine.
Worship not the *saṃgha*.
Do not properly undertake the trainings.
Try not to pacify worldly existence.
Do not cross the river [of suffering].

Such are the instructions with which a novice bodhisattva should be instructed and advised. Why so? Because it is this abiding condition of the reality of things that alone abides.

Similarly, it says in the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness*:

Because you yourself are the divine maṇḍala,
naturally manifest to yourself,
Do not offer worship to the deity,
for if you worship you will be fettered by it.
By worship, gestures, and so forth,
the body [of the deity] is obscured.
Do not perform gestures, for if you perform them
a precious jewel will be destroyed.
Do not renounce saṃsāra, for if you renounce it
you will not attain buddhahood.
Because the Buddha is not elsewhere,
he is naught but awareness itself.
Saṃsāra is not elsewhere;
all is gathered within your own mind.
Do not practise conditioned fundamental virtues,
for if you do you will be fettered by them.
Renounce conditioned fundamental virtues,
such as [building] stūpas and temples.
There is no end to contrived doctrines,
but by leaving them be they will end.
Not renouncing the yoga of abandoning deeds,
should you renounce [deeds], you will become a
tathāgata.
So it is that you must know the path
of the authentic buddhas in everything.

Thus, when one is grasped by the view, which establishes itself in the significance of the great sameness of reality, of which the disposition

is free from all activity, then conditioned good and evil deeds, too, are literally revealed to be the same. The aforementioned tantra says:

> Virtue is not to be practised,
> nor sin to be renounced;
> Awareness free from both virtue and sin
> is the buddha-body of reality.
> Virtue is not to be practised;
> if practised there is no buddhahood.
> Neither is sin to be renounced;
> if renounced, buddhahood is not achieved.

Nowadays, in the Land of Snows, there are many who vehemently reject that tradition when they hear it. However, it is of no importance that the nature of these [teachings] has not penetrated their minds through lack of comprehension. As it says in the *Sublime Sūtra which Reveals the Relative and Ultimate Truth* (*Āryasaṃvṛtiparamārthasatya-nirdeśasūtra*, T 179):

> Mañjuśrī declared: "O son of the gods, that which is just what is, the expanse of reality, and the utterly unborn are ultimately equivalent; ultimately, they are even equivalent to the five inexpiable sins. That which is just what is, the expanse of reality, and the utterly unborn are ultimately equivalent; ultimately, they are even equivalent to opinionatedness."

It is not proven, merely by this teaching, that the area of conduct is left to fade away. In the *Refinement of Gold from Ore, a Great Tantra of the Mental Class* (*sems-sde rgyud chen-po rdo-la gser-zhun*, NGB Vol.1, 11.7-8), which is peculiar to our tradition, it says:

> Since she is the mother of the sugatas, none excepted,
> She is the sole path of all the conquerors,
> The foundation of the oceanic conduct
> Of moral discipline and the other transcendental
> perfections.

Accordingly, this great philosophy does not reject the area of methodical conduct as an aspect of discriminative awareness, and the relative truth is *not* provisionally rejected; for one is to be skilful with respect to means. But when one realises directly the proper essence of reality that is free from delusion and is the abiding truth, then all the doctrines pertaining to the truth of the path, which are allied with enlightenment, such as the ten transcendental perfections, are united herein, without falling into the alternate application of the two truths. This is taught in the *Tantra of the Great Natural Arising of Awareness*:

The spontaneously present buddha-body of reality is free
From the darkness in which clarity and obscuration appear.
It transcends both permanence and annihilation's limits,
Cannot be grasped by either darkness, or light,
Transcends uniqueness and plurality,
Transcends apparent, as well as invisible, things,
Is free from the terms of birth and death.
Where are deviation,[1251] obscuration, and egotism?
In thought itself they are unthinkable!
The ends of the perfection of discriminative awareness
Are subsumed in the body of reality, awareness and radiance.
The ends of the perfection of concentration
Are subsumed in the lamp's total presence.[1252]
The ends of the perfection of perseverance
Are subsumed in non-discursive, naturally present significance.
The ends of the perfection of patience
Are subsumed in cutting straight through appearances.
The ends of the perfection of moral discipline
Are subsumed in companionless solitary retreat.
The ends of the perfection of liberality
Are subsumed in the abandonment of saṃsāra's grasping attachments.
The ends of the perfection of aspiration
Are subsumed in neither hope for, nor fear of, appearances.
The ends of the perfection of means
Are subsumed in awareness' total presence.
The ends of the perfection of power
Are subsumed in sealing delusion's apparitions.
The ends of the perfection of pristine cognition
Are subsumed in its causeless appearance.
So it is that the meaning of the perfections
Is natural, all-pervasive, pristine cognition.

Equally, the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with Brahmaviśeṣacinti* says:

Not to grasp anything is liberality.
Non-rigidity is moral discipline.
Not to protect anything is patience.
Not to endeavour is perseverance.
Not to cogitate is concentration.
Non-referentiality is discriminative awareness.

It says, too, in the *All-Accomplishing King*:

> With respect to the genuine meaningful nucleus about
> which there is nothing to do,
> What great yogins see
> Is a divine maṇḍala resulting from its basis
> In the primordially pure maṇḍala of mind.
> Perfecting it by means of the four branches of service
> and attainment,
> It abides, spontaneously present, embodying emanation
> and absorption.

Now, one might say, if the abiding nature of all things is such that they do not abide in the sphere of the conditioned, and so transcend virtue and sin, bondage and liberation, then the discourses on good and evil deeds and the infallibility of cause and effect are unnecessary. However, those discourses were given with an intention directed to consciousness [rather than pristine cognition]. Thus, for example, with an intention directed to whatever good or bad appears in dreams, which, while true during dreams, seems fictitious on waking, [the Buddha] spoke of all things as dream-like and apparitional, to exemplify their fictitiousness. Just so, until the deluded appearances subsumed by consciousness are exhausted there is still acceptance and rejection, and the infallible ripening of good and evil deeds in accord with cause and effect. But when that delusion is exhausted those things do not appear to the pristinely cognitive aspect [of mind-as-such] which beholds the truth. Because there is then no subjective cognition engaged in the subject-object dichotomy, relative objects do not appear. This is certainly the stated intention of the buddhas and their sons. The intention of the great promulgators who, as prophesied, commented upon the profound definitive meaning also conforms with this, for it resides naturally in the minds of all who perceive what is supreme. The sublime Nāgārjuna says:[1253]

> Just as, for example, on falling asleep,
> A man sees by the power of dreams
> His son, wife, mansion and lands,
> But sees them not upon awakening,
> So it is that when those who know relative
> appearance
> Open the eyes of intelligence,
> Part from the sleep of unknowing,
> And wake up they no longer perceive it.
> Similarly, when those of genuine learning
> Overcome all propensities to unknowing,
> By means of the sunlight of knowledge,

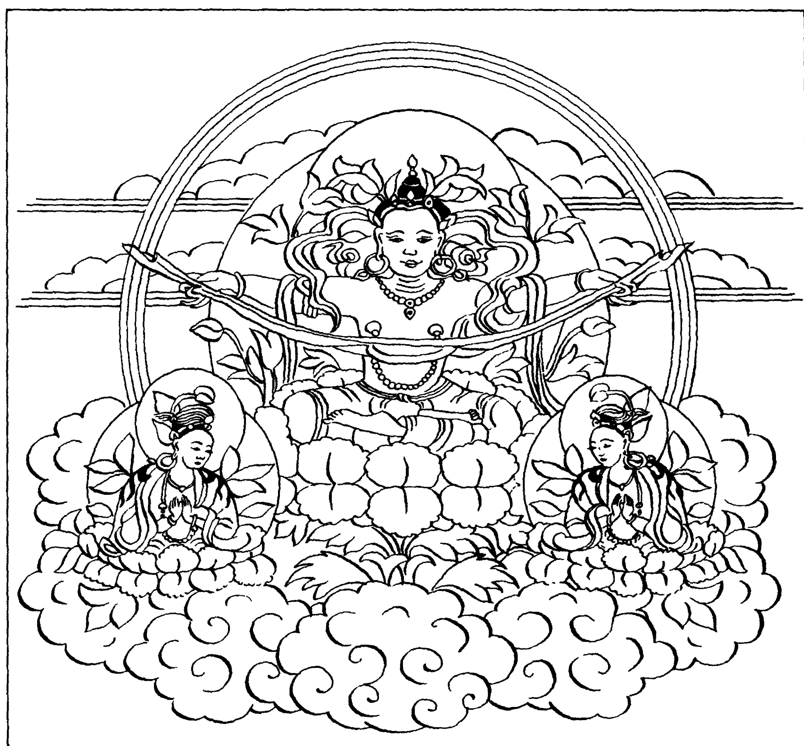
They perceive neither mind, nor mental events, nor
objects.

The same is expressed in the *Introduction to the Madhyamaka* (Ch.6, v.27):

Just as what is perceived by an eye that is dim
Impairs not an undimmed cognition,
Just so the mind that's forsaken taintless pristine cognition
Impairs not the taintless mind.

Śāntideva also says [in the *Introduction to the Conduct of a Bodhisattva*, Ch.9, vv.10ab & 15]:

As long as causes are accumulated,
So long does apparition arise.
If the causal stream be broken,
Even relatively it will not arise.
When no delusion is present,
What refers itself to relative appearance as an object?



Akṣobhyaprabha

As proof of that, let us now refer to the decisive resolution of view and conduct in the disposition of the great pristine cognition of sameness, where the multiplicity [of phenomena] is of a single savour, and which occurs here, in the Great Perfection. During the phase of the ground one does not exaggerate discriminative awareness, for one harbours no hopes with reference to conditioned fundamental virtues, having realised through pristine cognition that relative appearance is a fiction; but one does not depreciate means, because, from the standpoint of consciousness, there is still acceptance and rejection. During the phase of the path, because no deliberations transcend discursive thought, there is not even so much as an atom upon which to meditate. Finally, during the phase of the result, if the stream of mind and all that emerges from mind be shut off, where can there be relative appearance? This essential point, which is the ultimate, innermost intention of the last two wheels of the transmitted precepts, is the unblemished, eloquent tradition of those who have undeludedly adhered to the Sugata's teaching in India and here in the Land of Snows. Therefore, it has been reiterated in the writings of all the literary scholars and undeluded contemplatives, from the great translator Ngok Loden Sherap to Conang Sherap Gyeltsen and Putön Rincentrup of Zhalu.

In general, with an intention directed to consciousness, our Teacher revealed the structure of acceptance and rejection, and of cause and effect, that is valid in much the same manner as is the cause and effect [operating] in the world of dreams. But there are those who passionately cling to an understanding that relative appearance is proven to be valid, even within the pristine cognition of the buddhas. For that reason their clinging to the area of conduct becomes hard and fast, until they tear into patches sublime discriminative awareness and the buddhas' pristine cognition. In this way, it is hard for them to find conviction in the philosophy which does not err with respect to profundity. They even carry off the wondrous enlightened activity of the Sugatas on the stretcher of doubt.

Now, the total freedom from deliberations during periods of meditative equipoise may well be the meditation of Hoshang Mo-ho-yen, but even the *Jewel Lamp of the Madhyamaka*, composed by master Bhavya, which you[1254] esteem as a masterpiece of the Madhyamaka, says:

> Not dwelling on any cognition, not conceiving anything, directing no attention to anything...

Furthermore, Atiśa's comments on the sublime Nāgārjuna's intention explain the period during which one abides in the tranquillity of meditative equipoise that is free from ideation and scrutiny, and also in higher insight, by using the example of fire produced by rubbing two sticks forcefully together. He then gives a detailed explanation, beginning:

> One does not form conceptions about any cognition, nor does one grasp any. One abandons all recollections and deliberations...[1255]

Similar expositions are also found in the three *Meditational Sequences* (*Bhāvanākrama*, T 3915-17) of Kamalaśīla, so it certainly must have been a well-known position among the proponents of the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka.[1256] As these assertions all agree, it hardly matters whether or not they agree with Hoshang Mo-ho-yen, as well.

According to the Great Perfection the naturally present awareness that is the essence of higher insight is itself ascertained to be the pristine cognition of discernment.[1257] Therefore, taking that to be the support for meditation, and having become equipoised in reality, which is free from ideation and scrutiny, one abides in that non-discursive state, the unerring abiding nature which is a "great liberation from limits".[1258] As it says in the *Penetration of Sound*:

> The limit of the natural Great Perfection
> Leaves all things where they arise.
> Because appearance and consciousness are coalescent in reality,
> It reaches the total presence of primordial liberation.
> Its intention transcends the intellect,
> Distinctive phenomena are pure where they arise,
> It is free from the extremes of emptiness and substance,
> Movement has ceased, there are no conceptions,
> And, thoughts exhausted, the intellect is transcended.

Not having realised this, the ebb and flow of ideation and scrutiny does not, by itself, reach the reality of higher insight. Thus, the obscuration which results from subjective intellectual adherences, which refer only to a counterfeit emptiness established by mind and mental events, becomes merely a vastly inflated opinion, the nature of which is never-ending and [a cause for] rebirth. The Teacher himself clearly said this in his *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*:

> O Kāśyapa! whoever, referring to emptiness, relies upon emptiness, deviates greatly from this discourse of mine... O Kāśyapa! it is better to abide in a view [which clings to] individual existence to the extent of Mount Sumeru, than with manifest egotism to adopt a view to emptiness.

Some object to such a viewpoint, saying that Nāgārjuna has said:[1259]

> Not relying upon conventions,
> One will not realise the ultimate.

Hence, [they claim that] realisation must depend on arguments involving refutation and proof. But this quotation simply implies that, ini-

tially, ultimate truth should be realised by relying on expressed meaning and expression;[1260] Nāgārjuna did not say that it must be realised one-sidedly through sophistic examination. He put that down many times:

> Therefore, that is scrutinised
> By a corpse-like sophistry...

Just so, having entered on the precipitous trail of ideation and scrutiny, [the sophists] circumambulate the crags of refutation and proof, and let the pristine cognition which abides in themselves fly off on the path of exaggeration and depreciation. Arrogantly thinking to remove the two extremes through intellectual contrivances, they become like insects entangled in [cocoons spun from] their own saliva. It is extremely difficult for them to arrive at reality as it is. Since reality is inconceivable it cannot be exemplified through conventions, for conventions remain, essentially, discursive labels. It says in the *Sūtra which Decisively Reveals the Intention*:

> Though in the range of particular discrete characteristics,
> It is inexpressible, completely divorced from conventions:
> Ultimate reality is indisputable;
> Its characteristics transcend all sophistry.

Here, in the natural Great Perfection, three postures hammer in the nail, three gazes take aim at the essence, and, traversing the path of the six lamps, reality is seen directly, without intellectual scrutiny.[1261] Therefore, the difference between this path [and that of dialectics] is like that of heaven and earth. As it says in the *Penetration of Sound*:

> As for the ultimate: having parted from intellect,
> The faculties are naturally liberated at once,
> And one perceives it directly.
> This essential point destroys philosophising,
> And, without clinging or grasping at anything,
> Genuine reality is tasted.
> Then, with no support for three-realmed saṃsāra,
> As when space dissolves into space,
> Just so is this supreme yoga.

For much the same reason, Sakya Paṇḍita said [in the *Analysis of the Three Vows*, Ch.3]:

> The view of the Atiyoga
> Is pristine cognition, but not a vehicle.[1262]

Considering that aspect [of the Great Perfection] which verifies, without delusion, the abiding nature of the profound view, it may be well to describe it as pristine cognition, but his assertion that it is not validly a vehicle is an intentional one. It is because the pristine cognition

subsumed by the levels of pious attendants and self-centred buddhas, bodhisattvas, and buddhas is, respectively, incomplete, partially complete, and entirely complete that the definitive order of these four classes of sublime beings and the sequence of the vehicles have been established. It says in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle* (Ch.1, v.50cd):

> Just like space with reference to
> Inferior, middling, or superior forms...

So, exemplified by space which is without qualitative distinctions whether it occupies good or bad vessels, the pristine cognition, disclosed by the greater or lesser power of freedom from obscuration, is [primordially] present as the basis. With an intention directed to this, there is not the slightest contradiction in establishing it to be a vehicle. If one were to maintain that there is no pristine cognition in the minds of the three sublime types of sentient being apart from the buddhas, then [the discussion] would end there. But it is the profound intention of the sūtras and tantras that the vehicles are established because the structure of the levels and paths is based on pristine cognition alone, from the slight vision of it, up to the complete vision of it. Therefore, it says in the *Great Bounteousness of the Buddhas*:

> With mind engaged in the vehicle of pristine cognition and the greater vehicle,
> One dedicates [the merits of] those fundamental virtues.

And in the *Dialogue with Suvikrāntavikrami* (*Suvikrāntavikramiparipṛcchā*, T 14) it says:

> The greater vehicle is the pristine cognition of the buddhas.

Those who, not having conviction in the primordial philosophy of the Great Perfection, grasp as supreme those philosophies which have been established on behalf of neophytes, and so push aside the significance of the three approaches to liberation – they are like shadows that have abandoned their form!

Similarly, there are those who even say that because the word "Great Seal", is not taught in the causal vehicle, Gampopa alone contrived to do so.[1263] In this and other ways they insist that his teaching is incorrect. None the less, the utterly unconditioned expanse is termed a "seal",[1264] for instance in the *Sūtra of the Adornment of Pristine Cognition's Appearance which Penetrates the Scope of All Buddhas*, where it says:

> O Ānanda! the seal of the doctrine is the seal of all things. It is the absence of seal, the uncreated seal, the undivided seal. O Ānanda! those who are sealed by that are great bodhisattvas. They are of the dignified family of enlightenment. They are lions among men...



Pel Jikpa Kyopei Yi

The master Jñānakīrti also offers a detailed exposition in his *Introduction to the Real*, beginning:

> The other name for the Mother, the transcendental perfection
> Of discriminative awareness, is the Great Seal,
> For it is the essential nature of undivided pristine cognition...

Therefore, in the actual teaching of the sūtras, the transcendental perfection of discriminative awareness is sometimes referred to as the Great Seal. In the mantras, one who becomes accomplished by means of supreme bliss resorts to the Great Seal [or coalesence of] bliss and emptiness. So, except for the difference between the sūtras and mantras, it is somewhat incorrect to say that the Great Seal is never expounded in the vehicle of the sūtras. Similarly, while the nucleus of the sugata[1265] is taught in a cursory manner on the path of the sūtras, it is in the teaching of the mantras that it is greatly elaborated.

So it is that those who have clung only to the side of provisional meaning, who have taken interest merely in the structure of conventions, and who have been guided by words [alone] have broadcast those

scriptural authorities [which confirm] their own biased positions; but their strongholds are torn down by numerous transmitted precepts and treatises which comment on the [Buddha's] intention. There have been many such blind arrows of speculation, which did not get so far as they were aimed, and which totally lack the power to refute by means of valid reasoning. This much will have sufficed as an example.

3 *Response to Critics of the "Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions"*

[758.2-764.2] Now, [while some object] to the empowerment of the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*, which belongs to the transmitted precepts of the Nyingmapa (*rnying-ma bka'-ma mdo-dbang*), and reveals empowerment ceremonies for the three causal vehicles,[1266] the *Hevajra Tantra* (Pt.2, Ch.8, vv.9-10c) says:

> First you should grant the *poṣadha* vow;
> Then, teach the Vaibhāṣika philosophy,
> And likewise the Sautrāntika philosophy;
> Later teach the Yogācāra itself,
> And afterwards the Madhyamaka philosophy.
> Then, after the entire sequence of the mantras is known,
> One should teach Hevajra.

In accord with this exposition, which conforms to a sequential progression through the vehicles, and because the central path of all vehicles is revealed in full here in the mantra path, the three causal vehicles are seized by the skilful means of the mantras. At that time they sublimely surpass the attributes of their own levels and indeed become the swift path, just as the attitudes and applications of the *prātimokṣa* vows of the lesser vehicle, when seized by an enlightened attitude, are transformed into the *prātimokṣa* vows of the greater vehicle, the attributes of which sublimely surpass those of the lower ones. Therefore, this is the special real reason [for the empowerments of the causal vehicles in connection with the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*].

Moreover, the term "empowerment" is actually revealed [in the causal vehicles]; for in the *Three Hundred Verses [on the Vinaya]* the vows of the novitiate are termed "empowerment":

> The moral discipline of renunciation removes suffering,
> Destroys the real roots of viewing the perishable as self,
> And vanquishes mundane glory and flower-arrowed Kāma.
> It is the empowerment granting the glory of perfect
> enlightenment.

In general, empowerment is understood in this way: When universal monarchs are crowned, they are anointed with water from a jewelled vase and given benedictions by the brahmans, whereby they are empowered with dominion over the realm with its seven precious things and so forth. Similarly, when a bodhisattva who has arrived at the end of the stream of the tenth level on the path of sūtras is about to become a buddha,[1267] then light rays emanate from the *ūrṇakeśa*[1268] of the tathāgatas of the ten directions and vanish into the crown of that spiritual warrior. This is termed the "empowerment of light rays".[1269] In fact, no matter what path one enters, the consecration of the buddhas is the means by which one is empowered in its view, meditation, conduct, and result, and so is denoted as an "empowerment". It says in the *Sūtra of the Descent to Laṅkā* (Ch.2, XL):

> Mahāmati! moreover, bodhisattvas who have been blessed with two blessings come before the feet of the tathāgatas, arhats, utterly perfect buddhas and ask all their questions. With which two blessings, one might ask, are they blessed? It is so that they are blessed with the blessing of balanced contemplative absorption and with the blessing of the empowerments conferred by all the bodies, faces, and arms [of the buddhas].
>
> Thereat, Mahāmati! bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors are blessed with the blessing of the buddhas from [the time of their attainment of] the first level,[1270] and become equipoised in the contemplation of the bodhisattvas, which is called "Illumination of the Greater Vehicle". As soon as those bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors become equipoised in the bodhisattvas' contemplation of the "Illumination of the Greater Vehicle", the tathāgatas, arhats, utterly perfect buddhas who reside in the ten directions of the universe reveal themselves. They genuinely reveal all their bodies, faces, and discourses. In this way, Mahāmati! they appropriately bless the bodhisattva, great spiritual warrior Vajragarbha and other great bodhisattvas endowed with similar characteristics.
>
> So it is, Mahāmati! that the bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors on the first level attain the blessing to become equipoised in contemplation. Through the fundamental virtues accumulated during all of a hundred thousand aeons, they finally thoroughly realise the characteristics that are allied to the levels, or opposed to them. Then, on the bodhisattva level called "Cloud of Doctrine", the hands of the conquerors extend from the ten directions of the universe towards those bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors who,

seated in the Great Lotus Palace, wearing crowns adorned with all the most precious ornaments, are completely surrounded by bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors like themselves. With [hands whose touch is] like orpiment,[1271] gold, *campaka* flowers, moonlight, and lotuses, the conquerors empower those bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors, all of whom reside in the Great Lotus Palace, on the crowns of their heads, in the manner of lords, universal monarchs, or Indrarāja. Because they are empowered by all the bodies, faces, and hands of the buddhas, that bodhisattva and these bodhisattvas are said to be blessed by the blessing of the hand empowerment.

And:

For the following reasons, Mahāmati! do the tathāgatas, arhats, utterly perfect buddhas bless bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors with their blessing: in order that they not be disturbed by the defilements and deeds of Māra; not slide back into the contemplation and level of the pious attendants; become aware, for themselves, individually, of the level of the tathāgatas; and so that their acquired doctrines and masteries increase. Mahāmati! bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors who are not so blessed slide back into the attitudes of extremists, pious attendants and Māra. They do not attain the unsurpassed and authentic, perfect enlightenment of buddhahood. For reasons such as these, the bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors are favoured by the tathāgatas, arhats, utterly perfect buddhas.

As has been stated abundantly in such passages, it is indisputable that a bodhisattva who has attained the end of the stream [of the tenth level] must attain buddhahood by relying upon empowerment. Therefore, provisionally, the pious attendants, self-centred buddhas, and bodhisattvas are empowered to cultivate meditatively their respective paths; and because, ultimately, they are [all] seized by the enlightened attitude of the greater vehicle, even [the vehicles of] the pious attendants and self-centred buddhas become swift paths to the attainment of omniscience. For this especially crucial reason Vajradhara, skilled in means and all-knowing, has given such teaching. Moreover, when it is taught that, without relying on the three higher empowerments of the Unsurpassed [Yogatantra],[1272] the level of Vajradhara cannot be attained merely by means of the tantras of the outer way of mantras, what is meant is, in point of fact, much the same as this, for, on the path of the sūtras those [empowerments] are concealed, and only the empowerment, or blessing, of great light rays is spoken of.

4 *Response to Critics of the "Root Tantra of the Secret Nucleus"*

[764.2-770.6] Moreover, because Gö Lhetse did not receive the teachings he had requested from the lord of the doctrine, Zurpoche, he nursed a grudge, due to which, after travelling to India, he reported that the Nyingmapa tantras were not to be found in India.[1273] He censured the glorious *Secret Nucleus* for four faults, et cetera, which were occasionally repeated by some Tibetans.[1274] None the less, just going to India [and finding that] they were unknown in a few districts does not disprove the ancient translations. The Great Perfection and other exceedingly profound tantrapiṭaka were only transmitted through unique lineages directly from mouth to ear. Beyond that, not even written texts were made. As nothing at all of those instructions remained behind, it may well be true that he neither saw, nor heard of them; for India was without this sort of Tibetan custom, whereby the doctrines of the secret mantra are given publicly, even to dogs and mice. Nevertheless, when one such as the "sole divine master" Dīpaṃkara [Atiśa], who was renowned for his great learning in the mantras throughout India, saw the Indian manuscripts at the Pehar Kordzöling [at Samye] in Tibet, his scholarly arrogance was shattered because many tantrapiṭaka were preserved there which he had never heard of or seen before. As that story is clearly set forth in the biography of master Atiśa himself, it is of no importance that an ordinary person such as Lhetse did not see those [tantras in India]. As a further illustration, one may note that one Orgyenpa Rincenpel, who meandered like a river all the way to Oḍḍiyāna in the west, and who could powerfully transform the vision of others, said that he did not see an end to the mantras which appeared in the human world.[1275]

Likewise, the lie that the *Secret Nucleus* had been composed in Tibet was betrayed by an actual Indian manuscript, which came into the possession of Comden Rikpei Reldri, the great paṇḍita Śākyaśrī, Tharpa Lotsāwa, Gölo Zhönupel, Shage Lotsāwa, et cetera. Rikpei Reldri, in particular, who was supremely learned in the later translations and was a great rectifier of the teaching, said in his *Proof of the Secret Nucleus* (*gsang-snying sgrub-pa*):[1276]

This tantra is genuine for the following reasons: In the *Great Commentary on the Glorious Guhyasamāja* (*dpal gsang-ba 'dus-pa'i 'grel-chen*, T 1844) composed by the master Viśvamitra, in the course of his comments on the passage "How far does the Being of Pristine Cognition reach...?" the *Secret Nucleus* is cited as follows (Ch.1, v.3):

> *In the abode of Akaniṣṭha without extremes or centre, in the limitless ground which is the radiant wheel of pristine cognition, there is the celestial palace blazing forth with the jewels of pristine cognition, completely uninterrupted throughout the ten directions...*

And also (Ch.1, v.6):

> *In every inconceivable [world], he appears universally as the diverse buddha-body, speech and mind.*

Then, in commenting on the passage, "The stūpa should be known to be the palatial abode of all buddhas...," he cites it as follows (Ch.1, v.3):

> *The spire is the pristine cognition central to all, in which all maṇḍalas of the buddhas of the ten directions and four times without exception are not distinct from one another, and are of a single essence.*

Then, commenting on the passage, "Substantial existence is based on insubstantiality...," he gives (Ch.2, v.6):

> *Emaho! This wonderful marvellous reality*
> *Is the secret of all perfect buddhas.*
> *All is created from the uncreated.*
> *At creation itself there is no creation.*

Then, while explaining the meaning of "secret" he says, "The *Secret Nucleus* speaks of five empowerments."[1277] Moreover, he quotes the passage beginning (Ch.6, vv.9-11):

> *Their [colours] are blue, white, yellow, scarlet ...*

up to:

> *[Pervasive] without extremes or centre,*
> *[It is an unthinkable] spontaneously present*
> *[maṇḍala].*

And he says, "According to the *Secret Nucleus*, there are three realities."

In these and all other such instances Viśvamitra begins by mentioning the title *Secret Nucleus*.

The four perverse faults, et cetera, [criticised by Gö Lhetse], are also to be rejected: [When texts begin with the words] *Thus I have expounded*, it is traditionally held to mean that they were compiled by the buddhas themselves, for it is impossible for even the tenth level bodhisattvas to compile all the teachings of the buddhas. As it says in the *Verification of Secrets*, composed by master Saroruha as a commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*:

> Most masters claim
> That the most radiant tantra,
> The glorious *Guhyasamāja*,
> Had as its compiler
> The warrior called Lokeśvara.
> But by the kindness of my venerable guru
> I know that the compiler of the glorious
> *Guhyasamāja*
> Could not have been any other;
> And so the being who propounded it
> Was that tantra's author,
> The indestructible reality of mind.

In accord with this explanation, there is a tradition whereby the exponent himself is the compiler.

As for the "immeasurable ground" the Abhidharma, too, explains that Akaniṣṭha is immeasurable.

Concerning the *four times*: Viśvamitra's *Great Commentary [on the Glorious Guhyasamāja]* says: "Thus, the fourth time should be known to be sameness..." Moreover, the phrase, *By all the lords of the ten directions and four times* is also found in the new translations. Buddhaguhya explains that it refers to the four aeons.

Regarding Vajrasattva's appearance at the centre [of the maṇḍala]: even the new translations explain that the foremost figure in the maṇḍala may change positions.[1278]

Concerning the passage, *The* visarga *or final punctuation marks* (tig) *are the discriminative awareness through which names are applied* (Ch.4, v.15), the Indian manuscript of the *Secret Nucleus* reads *sūtri prajñātiṣyati*.[1279] *Sūtri* (thread) is the Sanskrit word for *thig* (measuring line). Sūryaprabhāsiṃha's *Commentary [on the Secret Nucleus]* explains [*tig* as being equivalent] to *thig*. *Tig* is an archaicism.

As for the reference to other tantras [which is found in the *Secret Nucleus*]: all the tantras expounded later on, such as the *Hevajra*, also refer to the *Summation of the Real* which had been delivered first.

With such well-wrought arguments, [Rikpei Reldri's work] establishes, in the manner of a teaching dialogue, [the authenticity of the *Secret Nucleus*], having cited quotations from this tantra in the great treatises that were famed in India, along with many commentaries by the masters mentioned above. You should examine it, for it is clearly valid!

For such reasons, the great paṇḍita Śākya Chokden has said:[1280]

> It is not necessary to prove laboriously that
> The Nyingmapa doctrines were translated from Indian
> originals.
> It is enough that they are proven to be
> The teaching of the emanational master [Padmasambhava].
> Although they do not conform with the mantras and symbols
> Of those translated from India later on,
> The proof of their validity is infallible accomplishment
> Through their supreme and common attainment.
> They may be compared with the doctrines taken
> By supreme accomplished masters from various great lands,
> And which were not translated in India
> From their respective volumes;
> For it is said that with Vajrasattva's consent
> The compilers of those transmitted precepts
> Were themselves permitted to teach them
> In the language of each different country.
> The Nyingmapa doctrinal traditions that definitely were
> Translated from India require no proof.
> Having formulated arguments one might prove
> The indefinite ones to be treatises,[1281]
> But the great ones who came before in Tibet,
> Discovering this to be an artificial, conceptual path,
> Have avoided wandering upon it,
> As they themselves have explained.

This reasoned argument appears to be a learned axiom, when scrutinised fairly. In general, a doctrine is no more important merely because it originated in India. A distinction of good and bad treatises on the basis of country is not known in learned circles. If the author was one who was abiding on the level of accomplishment, the treatises composed by him should be valid. So, it is proven that whether they originated in India or Tibet makes no difference. Sometimes, too, Tibetan treatises are better than Indian treatises. One should regard as reliable those composed by accomplished Tibetans, whose pristine cognition was manifest, rather than those written by ordinary Indian scholars, who based themselves on learning in grammar and logic.

5 *The Continuity of the Nyingmapa Tradition, and its Impact on the Other Schools*

[771.1-786.4] Furthermore, in the period following the persecution of the teaching by Langdarma, one called the "Red Master" and another called the "Blue-skirted Paṇḍita" came from India to Tibet, where, for the sake of riches and honour, they propagated practices involving public orgies and slaughter in the villages.[1282] Because many Tibetans entered their following, Lha Lama, uncle and nephew, as well as the translator Rincen Zangpo and others explained, in the epistles of refutation which they authored in order to prevent harm to the teaching, that these were perversions of the mantra tradition.[1283] The translators of the new schools repeatedly declared, in order to prove the greatness of their own doctrines, that the transmitted precepts of the way of the secret mantra according to the Ancient Translation School had been polluted, owing to which ill-informed persons were carried off on the stretcher of doubt. But, in fact, it may be known from the preceding history how the continuous blessings of this succession of tantras, transmissions, and esoteric instructions have been preserved without decline.

In brief, when the doctrine was persecuted by Langdarma all the dialectical seminaries were destroyed, but the hermitages of the mantra tradition survived somewhat in mountainous ravines, caves, and so forth. For that reason, and in accord with the promise which Langdarma himself made to Nupcen [p. 612], the mantrins were never harmed at all. During those times a multitude of excellent awareness-holders, who had mastery over the two accomplishments, continued to maintain the teaching of the three inner classes of tantra. Their number included Nyangben Tingdzin Zangpo, Ngenlam Cangcup Gyeltsen, most of the eight glorious disciples of Nyak Jñānakumāra, Nupcen and his disciples, Rok Śākya Jungne, and Deshek Zurpoche.

As for how the supreme and common accomplishments were visibly disclosed, without fail, by those who experientially cultivated the tantras of the Ancient Translation School and the esoteric instructions composed by those who dwelt on the great level of the awareness-holders:

there were seven successive generations of disciples beginning with Pang Mipham Gönpo, who did so by means of the instructions of the Spatial Class of the Great Perfection. There were seven generations in the lineage which passed from Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo to Dangma, and so on, whose physical bodies dissolved into the rainbow body, the supreme transformation, by means of the path of the esoteric instructions on inner radiance, the Innermost Spirituality;[1284] as well as many who emerged successively, such as the three ancestral Zurs, who had the discipline to resurrect the dead, and who bodily vanished into space.

It is impossible, too, to enumerate all those who passed into the rainbow body by the paths of the profound treasures of the Great Perfection, as exemplified by the Southern [Treasures of Pema Lingpa] and the Northern [Treasures of Rikdzin Gödemcen]. Even during this late age, this may still be illustrated. For example, in 1883/4 (water sheep year, fifteenth cycle) the lord among accomplished masters, Rikdzin Pema Düdül, vanished in the body of light.[1285] Afterwards, when his personal disciple, the treasure-finder Rangrik Dorje, passed away at Mindröling, his remains vanished into light. What was left behind, which was about six inches in size, was taken to Dokam, where it can still be seen today. During that same period, there were thirteen disciples of the great treasure-finder Düjom Lingpa who attained the rainbow body.[1286] Furthermore, very close to the present day, there have been many whom I remember, who were manifestly perceived to have dissolved into the rainbow body without leaving even a trace of their bodies behind: Lingtsang Dzapa Trashi Özer of Dokam in 1935/6 (wood pig year, sixteenth cycle);[1287] followed by his regent, Lodrö Gyeltsen, in 1937/8 (fire ox year);[1288] followed by Derge Yilungpa Sonam Namgyel in 1952/3 (water dragon year).[1289]

In addition, one cannot number those like Trime Özer, the son of the treasure-finder Düjom Lingpa; Ḍāki Künzang Chönyi Dekyong Wangmo; the Zhecen Gyeltsap, Gyurme Pema Namgyel; the great preceptor of Dzokcen, Zhenpen Chöki Nangwa; Gemang II, Thupwang Tenpei Nyima; Cadrel Künga Pelden; Lingter III, Gyurme Pema Tendzin; the great preceptor of Dzokcen, Pema Thekcok Loden; and my own supreme guides, the great treasure-finder Zilnön Namkei Dorje; Khyapdak Gyurme Ngedön Wangpo; and the lord of the circle, Jampel Dewei Nyima. Their physical bodies mostly vanished into light, accompanied by sound, light, earthquakes and various other miracles. What was left behind, no larger than a cubit, became [after cremation] masses consisting of the five remains and relics.

There were also very many [Nyingmapa masters] who traversed the ocean of learning, such as Rongzom Chöki Zangpo and the all-knowing king of the doctrine, Longcen Rapjampa, who planted their feet on a level such as that of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, the supreme adornments



Düjom Lingpa

beautifying Jambudvīpa, whose sublime intellects were fearless in the encounter with the profundities of the Sugata's doctrinal tradition. In the ordinary [sciences], as well, the *Four Medical Tantras* (*gso-dpyad rgyud-bzhi*), translated by the emanational translator Vairocana, have provided great sustenance for numberless living creatures.

Moreover, [the Nyingmapa tradition has been endowed with] profound means for the attainment of myriad deeds by means of the four rites of enlightened activity: pacification, enrichment, subjugation, and wrath. Therefore, when some of those who have been famed for their greatness throughout the Land of Snows have been afflicted with most fearsome circumstances, they have had to seek refuge, directly or indirectly, with the followers of the Ancient Translation School. This is verified by direct evidence: for instance, though Sakya Paṇḍita could defeat Haranandin through reason, when the latter began to fly into the sky it was Darcarwa who bound him with the gnostic mantra of Vajrakīla.[1290] This being so, one should think how far-reaching is that teaching, which is possessed of enlightened activity associated with the manifestly elevated [higher realms of existence] and the definitively

good [liberation].[1291] The buddhas and bodhisattvas have acted solely as physicians on behalf of other sentient beings. With this intention the supremely learned Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupel has said [in the *Blue Annals*, p.203]:

> In general, after the persecution of the teaching by Langdarma, there was not a single ordained monk in Central Tibet and Tsang for more than seventy years. However, there were many Nyingmapa mantra adepts who blessed their respective homelands with their distinctive practices. The householders had faith in them, delighted them with food and clothing, et cetera, and occasionally received the vase empowerment alone, whereby their minds gradually matured. Consequently, when those known as the six or eight men from Central Tibet and Tsang, [namely,] Lume and the others, arrived, countless temples and monastic communities were founded in every province and district. It became possible to enjoy, without decline, the transmitted precepts and treatises which had been translated in the past, during the time of the king and his ministers. Moreover, most of the many learned and accomplished individuals who appeared originated from the lineages of the Nyingmapa accomplished masters.

Just so, apart from some esoteric instructions of the Great Perfection which were composed by Indian masters such as Indrabhūti, Buddhajñānapāda, and Nāropā, and which were dispersed throughout Tibet, most of the treatises, and so forth, composed by other accomplished masters were not even translated into Tibetan. These masters, being determined to preserve secrecy, would not leave even a trace of their supremely profound, esoteric instructions behind. So, let alone the issue of public teaching, because even the books were by and large sealed to be kept invisible, they could only be revealed in utter secrecy to one sole supremely fortunate disciple. So it was that, for example, Phamthingpa was familiar with *Nāropā's Sky-farer* (*nā-ro mkha'-spyod*), the mere name of which Marpa had never heard. Likewise, there are accounts [which hold that] the great paṇḍita Śākyaśrī received Vajrakīla from the great master Padmasambhava himself, and that Phadampa Sangye maintained the Great Perfection as his profoundest commitment. At a later date, the great accomplished master Śāntigupta received the transmitted exegeses, empowerments, and esoteric intructions of many tantrapiṭaka from master Padmasambhava in person. Śāntigupta's disciples who came to Tibet related that he also propagated them in Drāviḍa and other countries.[1292] In addition, there was the Great Perfection which Zhang Yudrakpa received directly from the master Padmasambhava, the bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita, and Vimalamitra.

When the venerable Milarepa first received the Mental Class of the Great Perfection from Nup Khulungpa he could not become equipoised in awareness itself, and for the time being the doctrine and the individual seemed to go their own ways.[1293] Finally, on the basis of the venerable Marpa of Lhodrak's [teaching of the] inner heat, he attained accomplishment on the path of the Great Perfection, whereby all thoughts, all things are exhausted. This can be demonstrated by one of his own songs of indestructible reality, in which he says:

> Stabbed in front by the Great Perfection,
> Stabbed in the back by the Great Seal,
> I vomit the blood of instruction...

The venerable Karma Pakshi [Karmapa II], who had been Garap Dorje's disciple Toktsewa, remembered that previous life in which he had comprehended the six million four hundred thousand verses of the Great Perfection. Owing to this, and to his study of the Great Perfection under Katokpa Campabum, and so on, he obtained accomplishment. The all-knowing Rangjung Dorje [Karmapa III] asserted himself to be the emanation of Vimalamitra and, having become the master of the teaching of the Innermost Spirituality, brought forth treasures of intention as well. The great accomplished master Orgyenpa, the venerable Götsangpa, Yang-gönpa and others who realised saṃsāra and nirvāṇa to be of the same savour [i.e. the adherents of the Drukpa Kagyü tradition] obtained accomplishment in the expanse of the Great Perfection, no matter upon which path they provisionally relied. [To affirm this] one should examine the innermost assertions of their respective intentions.

The glorious Sakyapa all attained accomplishment by relying upon the tradition of the ancient translations that was derived from the lineage of Khön Lüiwangpo,[1294] a direct disciple of master Padmasambhava; and Yangdak and Vajrakīla were both adopted as the vital meditational deities of the Sakyapa. During that age, when those Tibetans with arrogant presumptions to scholarship sought to smear the ancient translations, *Yangdak* and *Vajrakīla* were effulgently protected by their [Sakyapa] doctrine masters, who revered them for their purity and so had occasion to cause [their critics] to erase what they had written. The doctrine master Lama Tampa [Sonam Gyeltsen] attained manifest signs [of accomplishment] by relying on *Vajrakīlā*, and he composed a recension of it. In particular, the supreme holders of the Sakyapa teaching tradition, from Dakcen Lodrö Gyeltsen to Künpang Doringpa, Chöje Tsharpa, Jamyang Khyentse Wangcuk, et cetera, were directly or indirectly favoured and blessed by the great master Padmasambhava. Consequently, there were many who obtained accomplishment by the paths of the Ancient Translation School, including the Great Perfection. They can be known from their individual biographies and so forth, but it will not be possible to mention them [all] here.

Moreover, even the instructions of the precious oral teaching of the Path and Fruit which stem from the traditions of that lineage, are, in fact, the exegesis of the stage of perfection found in the Ancient Translation School's *Heruka Galpo*, a tantra of the cycle of *Yangdak, the Mind*, which actually sets forth the structure of the four empowerments, four obscurations, four paths, four philosophical systems, four deceases, four pulses, and four bodies. Because that is demonstrably so, valid evidence has proven [the Path and Fruit] to be an esoteric instruction connected with this tantra.

Again, there was the great accomplished master of Lhodrak renowned as Namka Gyeltsen, or Leki Dorje, who could receive prophetic declarations directly from the Lord of Secrets and so make predictions about whatever had to be done. The esoteric instructions on the two stages which Vajrapāṇi conferred on him as an aural lineage uphold the true path of the Great Perfection. The venerable Tsongkapa implored that great accomplished master to remove his doubts on the genuine, profound view. The master asked the Lord of Secrets, who delivered the *Supreme Nectar-Elixir Dialogue (zhus-lan bdud-rtsi sman-mchog)*, which says:

> In order to attain the supreme elixir, which is the intention of father Samantabhadra, the heartfelt advice of mother Samantabhadrī, my – the vajra-holder's – own secret injunction, and the highest pinnacle of the vehicles, then cut through to the roots of mind's inner radiance...

And also:

> O Leki Dorje! this, the empty essence of awareness, was not fabricated by anyone. It is without basis, uncaused, abiding from the very beginning... Without constructions and contrivances about it, let it be right where it is. Deviation then attains buddhahood in the primordially pure expanse...

Likewise:

> This natural inner radiance is inseparable from original emptiness, and yet spontaneously present. Its radiant aspect is unobstructed spirituality. Know, too, that whatever arises, without attaining to substantial existence, is that great coalescence. In its inseparability [from emptiness] buddhahood is attained...

It says in the *Elixir Drops of the Creation and Perfection of Vajrapāṇi (phyag-na-rdo-rje'i bskyed-rdzogs bdud-rtsi'i thig-pa)*:

> The deity of pristine cognition declared:
> The unborn, inconceivable expanse of reality
> Is unimpeded, unelaborate, and it appears as anything.

Saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, no different, are primordially pure.
Whatever is manifest in and of itself dissolves in the unborn
expanse.

Moreover:

If delusion's apparitions which grasp two be not destroyed,
One will deviate from the meditative cultivation of
emptiness.
If emptiness be not freed from intellect,
Doctrines appearing dualistically cannot liberate you.
Assertions that the five buddha-bodies are to be attained,
The five poisons to be abandoned,
Buddhahood to be obtained,
And saṃsāra to be renounced,
Are attachments to refutation and proof:
If they're not cut off, you'll not obtain the value of the
genuine nucleus.
Like a blind man seeking the horizon,
You will wander forever in saṃsāra's abodes.

Though you mentally hanker for that which surpasses the
intellect,
Mentally created doctrines cannot liberate you.
"The ultimate is not within intellect's reach and range."[1295]
The pinnacle of vehicles is to be finished with thoughts and
finished with things.
Do not apply even the term "awareness"
To your own mind, the buddha-body of reality,
Which is no substance.
Be absorbed in the indiscernible enlightened mind,
Whose nucleus is emptiness and compassion,
The transcendence of utterance, thought, and expression.
Be absorbed in the transcendence of the intellect.
Be totally absorbed in freedom from deeds.

But "be absorbed" is the intellect's phrase:
Without the conventions "absorbed", or "unabsorbed",
Without words, or expressions, free from analytical grounds,
The analytical, apparent intellect is stilled in the expanse.
Refutation, proof, acceptance, and rejection vanish in space,
Like clouds that dissolve in the sky.
Not renouncing discursive thoughts,
They are pure where they arise.

As for view, meditation, conduct and result:
Make freedom from aversion and attraction your view;
Destruction of subjective intellectualising your meditation;

Let freedom from deeds and craving be your conduct;
And your result the abandonment of the wish to attain
extrinsically
The buddha-body of reality, which is naturally within.

The eighty-four thousand doctrines of the vehicles,
Their tantras, commentaries, and esoteric instructions
Transcend what may be expressed;
But this drop of the nectar of esoteric instruction,
Like refined and clarified butter,
Is the quintessence of all together.
As if it were lion's milk, the supreme essence,
I offer it to you, Leki Dorje,
A supreme vessel, like a vase of gold...

This presents the doctrinal terminology of the Great Perfection without adulterating it with other philosophical systems. Hence, it was by this path that Leki Dorje obtained accomplishment. Above and beyond that, Je Guru [Tsongkapa himself], Tokden Jampel Gyamtso and others have explained that, except in the course of his presentations of the Madhyamaka and logical philosophies, the venerable Tsongkapa conformed to the experiential cultivation of the Great Seal and Great Perfection. This, in fact, can be learned by studying the *Supreme Nectar-Elixir Dialogue*, whereby his doubts on the view were resolved [when he queried] the great accomplished master Leki Dorje. This *Dialogue* by and large merits comparison with the *Golden Rosary Dialogue from the Innermost Spirituality of the Ḍākinī* (*mkha'-'gro snying-thig-gi-zhus-lan gser-phreng*). Had it been otherwise, Tsongkapa would not have had to rely upon that great accomplished master for merely the view that is an object of [intellectual] understanding, because his discernment with respect to conventional topics was as vast as the illumination of the sun and moon. Therefore, Jamgön Tsongkapa himself said:

> In particular, when I received permission to write down the *Supreme Elixir Dialogue, a Nectar Rosary*, an esoteric instruction which summarises the essence of the intention of the Conqueror and his sons, and which is the secret injunction of the sublime Vajrapāṇi, without interpolation, omission, or error, just as it was orally conferred by the Lord of Secrets, then:
>
> The nectar-like speech of the Lord of Secrets
> Fulfilled the hopes of my mind.
> I overcame the sickness of defilement,
> And thought I had reached Alakāvatī.[1296]

Similarly, Paṇcen Lozang Chöki Gyeltsen wrote in his *Guidebook to the Great Seal* (*phyag-chen-gyi khrid-yig*):

Although many different names have been given –
Great Perfection, Great Seal, and Madhyamaka,
Path and Fruit, Object of Cutting, and Pacification –
When they are investigated by a yogin
Who has cultivated them experientially,
He arrives at just one intention.[1297]

Such a statement, made in general from the perspective of experiential cultivation, gives rise to rejoicing.

Concerning the venerable Phawangkhapa Peljor Lhündrup: It was by relying upon his own father Rikdzin Tshewang Norgye and upon Rangdröl Nyinda Sangye that he became a great lord of yoga, who attained stability on the path of the Innermost Spirituality of the Great Perfection. He composed the *Guidebook which Introduces the View Common to the Great Seal, Great Perfection and Great Madhyamaka*, et cetera, and also some notes clarifying the Innermost Spirituality (*snying-thig-la gsal-byed-kyi yi-ge*). The Great Fifth Dalai Lama received the esoteric instructions of the Great Perfection from this master.

In general, the religious king Trhisong Detsen had returned as the Great Fifth, owing to the timely maturation of his enlightened aspiration to increase the happiness of his Tibetan subjects. He enhanced, here in the Land of Snows, respect for the teaching and doctrinal assemblies, without bias. In particular, his acute, reasoned knowledge of the Ancient Translation School of the secret mantra pursued the doctrine [to such an extent that] the simple enumeration of the transmitted precepts and treasures which he studied fill some three volumes. It is clear from the section concerning the Nyingmapa tantras, found in the fourth volume of his *Record of Teachings Received, the Flow of the Ganges* (*gsan-yig gang-gā'i chu-rgyun*), that he undertook to cut off, by logical proofs and refutations, those who espoused perverse notions [regarding the Nyingmapa tantras].

6 *On the Validity of the Treasures*

[786.4-790.3] Similarly, concerning the Nyingmapa treasures, [it may be said that] all the tantrapiṭaka which were reportedly discovered in ancient India by the great accomplished master Sarahapāda, Garap Dorje, Virūpa, Aśvottama,[1298] Nāgārjuna, Padmākara, Saroruha, Lalitavajra, Cārīndra, and so forth, were, in fact, treasure doctrines; for "treasure" is explained to mean something hidden, that is invisible to direct sensory perception for some time. Therefore, when, for the time being, no worthy recipients to whom the illustrative written tantras [could be transmitted] were found, they were sealed in the invisible expanse, where they were guarded and preserved by the ḍākinīs. Then, those accomplished individuals were given prophetic declarations by their favoured deities and, when the time arrived, they were given permission and empowered by the host of ḍākinīs in the great palaces of mantra, such as the Dharmagañji in Oḍḍiyāna. Having released the seal of entrustment, they were given the volumes of the tantras, experientially cultivated them for themselves, and taught them somewhat to other worthy disciples.

In the same way, with reference to Tibet, the all-seeing master Padmasambhava composed, on the basis of the profound and vast tantrapiṭaka, each requisite for the path in its entirety, including means for attainment, ritual collections and esoteric instructions, for he knew the manner in which those requiring training would appear in the future. He arranged them in yellow scrolls as verbal tantras and entrusted them to their respective non-human treasure lords in mountain ravines, rock-chests, wealth-filled lakes, and elsewhere. He then concealed them to be invisible along with their seals of entrustment which were in the form of prayerful aspirations that they be discovered in the future by the worthy and fortunate individuals who were empowered to do so. At a later date, the power of those prayerful aspirations would awaken in the individuals endowed with suitable fortune. The indications of the appropriate times and the prophetic declarations would come together, whereupon the great master would actually reveal his

visage, confer empowerment, and inspire [the treasure-finders] with the seals of entrustment and prophetic declarations. Consequently, having overwhelmed the treasure lords and the protectors of transmitted precepts with their commitments and discipline, all sorts of treasures, those of doctrine and of riches, would come into the possession of the treasure-finders, whereby they would bountifully serve the teaching and sentient beings. This constitutes one aspect of the great enlightened activity of the conquerors. As it says in the *Sublime Sūtra of Contemplation which Subsumes All Merits*, [quoted in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p.105]:

> O Vimalatejas! the treasures of bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors who desire the doctrine, have been inserted in mountains, ravines, and woods. Dhāraṇīs and limitless approaches to the doctrine, which are set down in books, will also come into their hands. O Vimalatejas! deities who formerly beheld the Buddha will encourage the brilliance of all the bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors who desire the doctrine. O Vimalatejas! even if the lives of those bodhisattvas, great spiritual warriors who desire the doctrine, should expire, they will be revitalised and strengthened by all the buddhas, transcendental lords, and by the deities. By the blessing of the buddhas and the blessing of the deities they will endure, if they so wish, for a thousand years.

In the *Sūtra which Genuinely Comprises the Entire Doctrine*, too, it says:

> Ānanda! whoever writes down these diverse doctrines in books, conceals them as treasures, and worships them, so that the doctrine might be completely preserved, will obtain ten true acquisitions. Ānanda! these are: the treasure of beholding a buddha, for he acquires the eye which does so; the treasure of hearing the doctrine, for he acquires the divine ear; the treasure of seeing the *saṃgha*, for by not regressing he acquires [membership in] the *saṃgha*; the treasure which is inexhaustible, for he has acquired the hand of wealth; the treasure of form, for the major and minor marks are perfected; the treasure of service, for his servants will not part from him; the treasure of holiness, for he has acquired brilliance; the treasure of fearlessness, for he has eliminated his adversaries; and the treasure of sustaining merit, for he sustains sentient beings.[1299]

As the Sugata has made such proclamations in his indisputable lion's roar, one ought well to comprehend them.

7 *The Shortcomings of Refutation and Proof*

[790.3-798.6] In general, as long as one has not examined in detail the distinctions of the objects of refutation, and the refutations, found in the past in the catalogues and broadsides which were famed as *Rejections of Perverse Doctrines* (*chos-log sun-'byin*), it is difficult [to maintain cogently] that they tend only to refute the Nyingmapa. When fair-minded persons examine them in detail many appear to have been composed in order to see just how much it was possible to get away with. If all the doctrines refuted by learned and accomplished Tibetans were false, no authentic doctrine at all would be found.

For instance, in his *Treatise which Analyses the Three Vows* (*rab-dbye'i bstan-bcos*), Sakya Paṇḍita refuted a great many Takpo Kagyü [teachings], such as the *Six Doctrines* and the Great Seal.[1300] In his *Answers to the Questions of the Kadampa Spiritual Benefactor Namkabum* (*bka'-gdams-pa'ı dge-bshes nam-mkha'-'bum-gyi dris-lan*, SK Vol.5, no.96) he severly refutes the Kagyü adherents, saying:

> The doctrinal tradition of the Great Seal according to Drigungpa and Taklungpa does not agree with any of the tantrapiṭaka. I think that it is not a genuine path. But do not repeat this to others!

The Kadampa were themselves refuted by Phadampa and others, and the venerable Milarepa criticised Takpo Lharje for adhering to the career of a Kadampa.[1301] The esoteric instructions of Phadampa's Pacification were said by Zhikpo Nyiseng, Co-se Temdrel and others to be fanciful doctrines. They also said that the Object of Cutting was a "doctrine leaked out by a mad nun" [i.e. Macik Lapdrön]. Some said that even the Five Golden Doctrines of the Shangpas had been composed by Khyungpo Tshültrim Gönpo,[1302] and so would not include them in the *Tangyur*. The Sakyapa duo, Yakde Paṇcen and Rongtön Sheja Künzi, and the trio of Korampa Sonam Senge, Śākya Chokden, and Taklung Lotsāwa severely refuted the view and philosophy of the venerable Tsongkapa and maintained that even his visions of Mañjughoṣa

were not genuine.[1303] The supremely learned Rikpei Reldri said that the *Kālacakra* was not a genuine tantra because it states that the planets and stars move toward the east, that China lies to the north of Tibet, and so forth. Moreover, the venerable Remdawa said:[1304]

> Although it is said that *Kālacakra* and others
> Were composed by the mighty lords of the tenth level,
> If intellects which discriminate valid from invalid arguments
> Examine them, that is not seen to be proven.
> In the root tantra the two syllables E-VAṂ are not found;
> In the abridged tantra one sees many contradictions.
> Can one trust it any more than a prostitute's son?

With these and many other arguments he refuted the *Kālacakra*. In addition, Gö Lhetse refuted the Path and Fruit saying:

> The golden doctrines of Gayadhara originated
> From the deranged transmission of the *Mātaraḥ Tantra*.[1305]

But he is well known to have been jealous of its propagator, the translator Drokmi.

For all these arguments there was certainly a basic intention and special need; but, for example, on the other hand, the peerless Takpo Kagyü tradition did produce a host of accomplished masters, and it is well established that Jamgön Tsongkapa's enlightened activity on behalf of the Buddhist teaching was that of a "Second Teacher". If the doctrines, which were well expounded by such great persons as these, who were praised in the indestructible prophecies of the Buddha himself and those of the great master [Padmasambhava], and which explicitly abide in what is meaningful, are impure, it would seem that most Tibetans ought to be excommunicated from the teaching of the Conqueror!

In short, the structure of the vehicles and philosophical systems, which is the object of the buddhas' great enlightened activity, and which is a profound secret of inconceivable reality, is not at all similar to the counterfeit ideas and scrutinies associated with the acute investigations of study and reflection which are pondered through the knowable. Because the sugatas, who are all-knowing, have taught [those vehicles and philosophies] we should recognise that the unerring excellent philosophy of the buddhas is characterised as that in which saṃsāra is abandoned, and liberation and nirvāṇa are entered. The venerable Ajita [Maitreya] has accordingly said [in the *Supreme Continuum of the Greater Vehicle*, Ch.5, v.18]:

> Speech which inspires rejection of
> The conflicting emotions of the three world realms,
> And which expresses the attributes of peace,
> Is the word of the Sage;
> Its opposites are otherwise.

Without being mindful of this, how might the profoundest depths of the oceanic realm of the doctrine be within the range of those bigoted Tibetans who harbour pretensions to learning, when, except for being the object of the buddhas alone, they cannot be realised even by sublime beings?[1306] Those who blaspheme [the doctrine] will not even minutely reach what is truly significant, whether they are motivated by the lack of proper realisation, attachment to only provisional meaning, bigoted tendencies, jealousy towards their own equals, or the mere desire for acquisition, honour, and fame.

Just so, when the greater vehicle was expounded by master Nāgārjuna, the pious attendants invented negative prophecies about lord Nāgārjuna and, having inserted them in the scriptures, proclaimed that [the sūtras of] the greater vehicle were not the transmitted precepts [of the Buddha]. When the sublime Asaṅga commented upon the final transmitted precepts in accord with the intention of the great regent [Maitreya], he and his followers were expelled from the greater vehicle. During the reign of King Dharmapāla, adherents of the lesser vehicle destroyed and plundered a silver image of Heruka, burned up volumes of mantras, and proclaimed that the greater vehicle and the way of secret mantra had been created by Māra. The account maintains that they were saved from royal punishment by master Buddhajñānapāda.[1307]

In Tibet as well, when the venerable Daö Zhönu [Gampopa] taught that the abiding nature of reality, as it is explained in the sūtras, is the Great Seal, [his critics] maintained that this was not at all the teaching of the Buddha, saying it was "Takpo's fanciful doctrine". The all-knowing Rangjung Dorje [Karmapa III] and Chödrak Gyamtso [Karmapa VII] expounded [the teaching] in accord with the intention of the final transmitted precepts, but later Mikyö Dorje [Karmapa VIII] and others did not adhere to their view.[1308] When master Tölpopa declared that the ultimate truth was permanent and stable, the Tibetans considered him to be merely a Sāṃkhya extremist.[1309] After the venerable Tsongkapa had explained relative appearance to be logically verifiable later scholars assaulted him with HŪṂ! and PHAṬ! [i.e. showered him with derision]. The great paṇḍita Zilungpa [Śākya Chokden] had to be ejected from the Sakyapa ranks for explaining that the *Analysis of the Three Vows* was of provisional meaning.[1310] Moreover, the all-knowing Great Fifth, having studied and meditated upon the authentic teaching impartially, was very nearly excluded from the Gedenpa [i.e. Gelukpa] order. The obscuration of those who believe such perverse accusations and, having regarded [these pure masters] perversely, so come to abandon the doctrine, is immeasurable.

Even a householder who has not entered the teaching and who performs intolerable, sinful deeds has the opportunity to become tranquil by merely turning to the profound abode [i.e. emptiness], but this is

not so for those who blaspheme or abandon the doctrine. As it says in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*:

> O Kāśyapa! in the world three kinds of diseased individuals are extremely difficult to cure. What are their diseases? To revile the greater vehicle, to commit the five inexpiable sins, and to harbour perverse attitudes – these three kinds of disease are extremely difficult to cure in the world. Even the pious attendants, self-centred buddhas, and bodhisattvas cannot cure them.

This is elaborated in the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with Sāgaramati*:

> Those who know not the things which make up the world,
> And abide in two perceptions,
> Saying, "this is true, that is false"–
> Such ignoramuses make disputations.
> Because I know the genuine reality
> Of the things which make up the world,
> I never enter into dispute
> With worldly people at all.
> This doctrine, which is free from dispute,
> Has been expounded by all of the buddhas.
> If one knows the world to be sameness,
> There is neither truth, nor falsehood in it.
> If any truth, or falsehood,
> Were to be found in this teaching,
> I would be an adherent of extremes,
> And so be no differert from an extremist.
> Because things are not genuine,
> There is no truth and no falsehood.
> Therefore, I explain the doctrine
> Which transcends the world
> To be free from these two.
> Those sages who know this world,
> In accord with the world's reality,
> Do not adhere to views of truth, or falsehood.
> Those who know this world
> To be utterly pure, like the sky,
> Have great reputations
> Which illuminate the world.

Moreover, the great regent Ajita [Maitreya] has said:[1311]

> The learned should not fear,
> as they should the profound doctrine's decline,
> Fire, unbearable venomous snakes,
> murderers, or even thunderbolts.

Fire, snakes, enemies, and the thunderbolt's blaze
  just deprive them of their lives,
But beyond that do not convey them
  into the utterly terrifying destiny of Avīci hell.
Anyone who, relying on evil companions,
  thinks maliciously of a buddha,
Kills his father, mother, or an arhat,
  or splits the undivided supreme community;
That person, too, will swiftly be freed from those sins
  by definitively thinking on reality.
But where can there be freedom for one
  whose mind is hostile to the doctrine?

And it says in the *Pagoda of Precious Jewels*:

> O Kāśyapa! it is right for me, or one like me, to judge doctrines and individuals; but not so others, for they would fall into perverse opinion.

We should reflect upon the meaning of such words, which the Buddha expressed in many ways. As long as we have not acquired the pure eye of the doctrine, whereby the truth about doctrines and individuals is seen, it is an unbearably terrible deed to analyse things through exaggeration and depreciation, saying this is perverse, this impure, and that artificial.

8 *On the Prophecies Found in the Treasures*

[798.6-801.2] Again, let us consider the prophetic declarations which appear in the treasures. Though a proven treasure-finder, who is free from selfish desires, may have prophecies in his or her treasure-doctrines, such prophecies must be ascertained by those who know their intentional basis and reason, and who will not misrepresent them.[1312] Otherwise, one must not one-sidedly grasp as true the meaning of a prophecy, having taken only the words at face value, without distinguishing provisional from definitive meaning. This is because even if one knows [those things], a prophecy about future good or evil times and so forth may be transformed owing to circumstantial causes, conditions, and coincidences, so that it seems that the prophecy is not precisely fulfilled.

As the meanings of prophecies have rarely been completely fulfilled, except by the three supreme emanations and a few of the great Lingpas, among those who appeared in the past, and because nowadays we are greatly burdened by the degenerations of an age in which the merits of sentient beings are steadily declining, it seems to be extremely difficult for perfectly auspicious conditions to occur. None the less, the compassion and blessing of the great master [Padmasambhava] proceed ever more swiftly. As he has said in his own indestructible speech:

> So that the gift of doctrine might be inexhaustible
>   for future living creatures,
> The entire world has been filled
>   with the treasures of Padma.
> All of their discoverers
>   will be my emanations.
> They will adopt all sorts of uncertain
>   guises and ways of conduct,
> But each encounter with them will not but change
>   the vision of those who have faith.
> Still, it will be most difficult
>   for everyone to appraise them.

And also:

All the discoverers and disciples of treasure,
who hold the lineage of Padma,
Will be worthy ones,
though they act like dogs and pigs.
They will be especially sublime,
unlike other common folk.
All such buddhas in disguise
will drift about aimlessly;
But there will be charlatans and con-men,
who are most hypocritical.
So do not equate the gold
with the ore, O living beings!

It also says in a prophecy from the treasures of Trime Künga (*dri-med kun-dga'i gter-lung*):

Treasure-finders of all sorts will appear continuously,
And treasure-doctrines will pour forth like spores from mushrooms.
None of them will fail to bear fruit;
They will be reminders of me, Orgyen.

In a prophecy from the treasures of Ratna Lingpa (*ratna gling-pa'i gter-lung*), too, it says:

Each great land will have a great treasure;
That, too, will be a reminder of Orgyen.
Each minor land will have a minor treasure;
That, too, will be a reminder of Orgyen.

Moreover:

When bad times blaze like fire,
The power of secret mantra will blaze like fire.

Because this is certain, it is vastly important to open wide the eye of pure vision, without clinging to unfounded prattle and to the extremes of one-sided self-interest. In this way, one becomes undeluded about which path to enter, and which to avoid.

9 *On the Relationship between the Nyingmapa and Pönpo Traditions*

[801.2-803.1] Again, some say that the Pön tradition and the Great Perfection seem to be intimately connected because the diction of the Nyingmapa and Pönpo is similar.[1313] There are indeed many similarities in their doctrinal terminology and so forth, but since these [Pön works] were written so as to resemble the Buddhist doctrine how could they be dissimilar? For example, it is taught that in India there were ten conventional [non-Buddhist schools] which paralleled the pious attendants, and, in the same manner, the self-centred buddhas, Mind Only, Madhyamaka, Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, Father Tantra, Mother Tantra, and Non-Dual Tantra. Likewise, in Tibet as well, Buddhist doctrines including all the texts of the Madhyamaka, Transcendental Perfection, Vinaya, *Treasury of Abhidharma*, and mantras; [means for attainment] of deities such as Cakrasaṃvara, Bhairava, and Vajrakīla; and [the instructions of] the inner heat, Great Seal, Great Perfection, and so forth, have all had their Pönpo imitations. Those, however, are not original. So, how can one begin to refute such limitless, adventitious fantasies?

None the less, the priests of good fortune,[1314] [Pön] mantras, and so forth, which appear to be immediately beneficial, may well have been revealed by the enlightened activities and emanations of the buddhas and bodhisattvas, because the range of the skilful means of the conquerors and their sons is inconceivable, as exemplified by the career of the "Truth-speaking Mendicant".[1315] In general, there are a great many [teachings] which, except for being merely called "Pön", in fact manifestly belong to the Buddhist doctrine.[1316] It is not right to pass final judgement as to whether they may be proven or not, for that merely generates misology.

Moreover, it has been said that there was a causal basis for the origination in pairs of Hinduism and Buddhism in India; Buddhist monks and Pönpos in Tibet, though there were no actual [Indian] extremist schools there; and Buddhists and Taoists in China.[1317] Therefore, so long as other traditions do not harm the teaching, we should

just let them be. As it says in the *Sūtra of Candrapradīpa* [i.e. the *Sūtra of the King of Contemplation*, Ch.7, v.6]:

> Do not think hatefully of those
> Extremists who inhabit the world.
> Establishing compassion for them
> Is a special feature of a beginner's patience.

10 *On the "Bad Luck of the Nyingmapa"*

[803.1-807.1] Furthermore, during later times there have been some who have said that if one were to practise the Nyingmapa doctrinal tradition one would be luckless, owing to which one sees many who have alternatively taken it up and then abandoned it as their continuous object of refuge. None the less, no one who understands the reasons, and so has firm conviction at heart, will be at all concerned with the presence or absence of mere temporary luck. Even if a thousand buddhas were to appear in a vision and say to such a person, "Your doctrinal tradition is wrong. Abandon it and practise another!" not even the tips of that one's hairs would waver. While it is of no importance that ordinary persons, who have not been freed from the snare of desire, hatred, and delusion, harbour hopes and doubts, still, for the reasons given below, it would seem to be correct to state that the Nyingmapa are somewhat unlucky.

In antiquity the whole of Tibet was the dominion of evil incorporeal gods and demons. The great master [Padmasambhava] rendered them powerless by the force of his wrathful discipline. He took the vital heart-mantras of those who obeyed the oaths he dictated and appointed them to be protectors. All those who did not keep the vows he "liberated", and thus eradicated. Similarly, in the case of corporeal human beings, the minister Mazhang was buried alive because he obstructed the entry of the doctrine, and many other Pön ministers were also punished. It says in the *Injunction of Padma*:

> The doctrine and Pön met together like murderers.
> As they did not regard one another purely,
> Many learned translators had to be banished.[1318]

Thus, the introduction of the teaching, which was exemplified in the translation and exegesis of the true doctrine according to the wishes of the venerable king [Trhisong], faced much difficulty. Finally, the preceptor Śāntarakṣita and the master Padmasambhava both rejected the view and conduct of the Pönpo, and defeated them with miraculous

displays of their signs of accomplishment. The sovereign ordered the Pönpo to observe the true doctrine, but except for a few they disobeyed and transformed many [Buddhist] scriptures into Pön [scriptures]. When the king heard of this he had most of the Pönpo decapitated, but Guru Rinpoche said that the gods and demons of Tibet liked Pön and so allowed oracles and astrology, propitiation of divinities, and rites which summon wealth to remain as they were. He subdued all the others and banished those Pönpo from the realm to the frontiers, along with their tambourines for drums, *shang* for instruments,[1319] fox-skin caps for hats, "Phajo" for a name,[1320] and donkeys for transport.

Afterwards, in the reign of the sovereign Trhi Relpacen, the religious law became extremely severe and the evil ministers suffered. Those who looked askance, or pointed threateningly, at the monastic communities had their eyes gouged out, hands cut off, and so forth. Many were thus punished; and because of the evil ministers, the oath of allegiance could not be given to the gods and nāgas successfully for a third time.[1321] Guru Rinpoche declared:

> In the future, mankind will be possessed by malignant gods, ogres, and Gongpo spirits. By conduct which denies the commitments, vows, and fruition of deeds, they will destroy the spiritual and temporal laws. These evil Pönpo ministers of the present day will assume all sorts of corporeal and incorporeal forms, and will obstruct the teaching in Tibet by various means.

Moreover, the acute and concise antidotes for the demons, Gongpo, and Tamsi spirits of this degenerate age, including [the means for] exorcising Gongpo and Tamsi spirits, for eradicating the Gyelpo and Senmo demons,[1322] and for averting military invasion and rebellion, have emerged exclusively among the profound treasures of the Ancient Translation School. Therefore, all kinds of demons surely harbour unbearable hatred towards the adherents of that tradition. For this they will enjoy whatever fruits accord with the powers and deeds associated with their respective perverse aspirations, for such is the reality of the principle of cause and effect. Therefore, holding them as objects of compassion we should make them the basis for the practice of patience. Apart from that it is improper to cultivate hatred for even an instant, for that would impair the bodhisattva discipline. This I say by way of digression.

In particular, there may be some who, far from remembering the kindness of one such as the great master [Padmasambhava], the sole refuge of the Tibetans, revile him with their perverse opinions. All they achieve is temporal demerit for themselves, but they can never obstruct the career of Guru Rinpoche, which is an ocean of enlightened activity. In addition, it is certainly a special attribute of sublime

bodhisattvas that they even cause those with bad connections to terminate saṃsāra.[1323] Therefore, I, Padmasambhava's messenger, prophesy that even these disrespectful critics will at some time undoubtedly become the Guru's disciples and experience the good fortune of eternal bliss.

This completes the refutation of some of the errors of those partisans who in the past have wrongly viewed [the Nyingmapa tradition], the seventh part of this book, *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra*, which is a history of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Part Eight
The Chronology of the Doctrine

1 *The Duration of the Doctrine*

[811.1-815.5] Now, the various chronological determinations which have been made in connection with the descent of the [Buddhist] teaching and so on are to be somewhat examined, and the duration of the teaching's existence is to be set forth. In this respect, the written assertions of Indian and Tibetan scholars are often in disagreement because the determination of the years in which [the Buddha], the incomparable Fourth Guide who taught this teaching of the Auspicious Aeon,[1324] took birth, manifestly attained enlightenment, and entered final nirvāṇa, as perceived by ordinary persons requiring training, is within the domain of the inconceivable. It appears to be equally uncertain how much time has elapsed since the Buddha's final nirvāṇa; and, similarly, there are many different [opinions] about the future duration of the teaching of the Conqueror, owing to the various intentions [with which predictions have been made].

The *Minor Transmission of the Vinaya*, the *Narrative of Suvarṇa* (*Suvarṇāvadāna*), the *Auspicious Aeon Sūtra* (*Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, T 94), the *Great Cloud Sūtra* (*Mahāmeghasūtra*, T 658), the *Commentary on the Sūtra of the Teaching Delivered by Akṣayamati* (*Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtravṛtti*, T 3994), and the *Commentaries on the Treasury of the Abhidharma* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, T 4090-6) unanimously state that the doctrine will endure for one thousand years: five hundred for the actual teaching and five hundred for the nominal teaching. The *Sūtra of Compassion's White Lotus* (*Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*, T 111-12) says that the actual teaching will last for one thousand years and the nominal for five hundred years. The *Sūtra of Reality which Appears Variously without Straying from its Essence* (*Dharmatāsvabhāvaśūnyatācalapratisarvālokasūtra*, T 128) speaks of two thousand five hundred years, and, though many extant texts of the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with the Bodhisattva Candragarbha* (*Bodhisattvacandragarbhaparipṛcchāsūtra*, T 356) speak of two thousand years, supreme holy beings have made it out to be three thousand years and so are probably correct. A period of five thousand years has also been expounded in the *Prophetic Sūtra of*

Maitreya (*Maitreyavyākaraṇasūtra*, P 1011) translated by Tharpa Lotsāwa, in Vasubandhu's *Conquest of Objections* (*gnod-'joms*), in Daṃṣṭrasena's *Commentary on the Hundred Thousand Line Transcendental Perfection* (T 3807-8) and elsewhere.[1325] Such are the statements primarily intended for human beings who require training, in general, and for ordinary non-human beings.

Elsewhere, in the residences of such great non-human beings as the nāga king Sāgara, as well as in Trayatriṃśa and Tuṣita, the teaching of the Thousand Buddhas will not decline until the completion of this great aeon.[1326] This is illustrated by statements found in the *Sūtra of the Dialogue with the Nāga King Sāgara* (*Nāgarājasāgaraparipṛcchāsūtra*, T 153-5) and others. In the lord of sūtras, the *Supreme Golden Light* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*, T 555-7), which belongs to the third wheel and expounds the definitive meaning of the greater vehicle,[1327] and in the *Magical Net of Vajrasattva* (NGB Vols. 14-16) which is among the mantras of Unsurpassed [Yogatantra], it says:

> Buddhas never enter final nirvāṇa.
> The doctrine, too, will not decline.

It says also in the *Tantra of the Wish-fulfilling Array* (*yid-bzhin rnam-par bkod-pa'i rgyud*):

> As long as the great host
> Of all beings remains,
> Buddhas will emanate unceasingly,
> And the doctrine of liberation will not decline.

Thus, in the tantrapiṭaka of the way of mantras there are many statements which maintain that the duration of the doctrine is either determined, indeterminate, or never-ending. Here I will not enlarge upon these prophetic declarations.

Similarly, if we consider, in addition to the duration of the teaching, how much time has already passed since it began, many different opinions are found. Among them, I shall rely here upon the determinations of months and years which have been clearly revealed by the perfect Buddha, the Transcendent Lord himself, in the transmissions of the Vinaya, the sūtras, the *Tantra of Kālacakra, the Glorious and Supreme Original Buddha* (*Paramādibuddhoddhṛtaśrīkālacakratantrarāja*, T 362), and in other particularly sublime and immaculate tantras of the way of mantras. I shall also rely on the extraordinary and taintless statements made by the great master Padmākara of Oḍḍiyāna, who is the indestructible reality of buddha-speech, and on those of the great paṇḍita Vimalamitra and the translator Vairocana. If these are considered in accordance with the correct application of astrological charts, they are found mostly to concur with the assertions of Tibetan *Kālacakra* scholars in general, and, in particular, with those of the great promulgators who

had been prophesied by the Conqueror. I shall, therefore, at the present juncture, state these appropriate dates because others have little doubt in them, and because that system [of calculation] is well understood.

2 A Chronology of the Buddha's Life[1328]

[815.6-819.2] Our Teacher, Siddhārtha, entered the womb at midnight on the fifteenth day of the month of Āṣāḍha[1329] in 962 BC (*don-grub*, earth female sheep)[1330] just as the constellation Puṣya was setting, and while his mother, Māyādevī, was observing a purificatory fast. Then, when nine months and twenty-three days, or ten months, roundly speaking, had passed, at dawn on the seventh day of the waxing half of the month of Vaiśākha[1331] in 961 BC (*drag-po*, iron monkey),[1332] he took birth in the Lumbinī Grove, as Puṣya was in the first stage of its ascent, and when Puṣya was the constellation through which the moon was passing.[1333] In his twenty-ninth year, during the first half of the night on the eighth day of the month of Kārttika[1334] in 933 BC (*kun-'dzin*, earth mouse),[1335] he sowed the seed of his line in Yaśodharā and, at midnight, when he saw the constellation Puṣya rise, he renounced the household life in favour of homelessness, whereupon he practised austerity for six years. In his thirty-fifth year, on the full moon of the month of Vaiśākha in 927 BC (wood horse), he reached the Bodhi Tree and subdued Māra that evening. As midnight passed, the indestructible reality [of the Buddha's mind] became absorbed in contemplation and the moon was eclipsed by Rāhu. A moment before the moon was released from Rāhu's grasp, as the dawn rose and the time approached to beat the victory drum, he became the manifestly perfect Buddha. His son Rāhula, who had remained in his mother's womb for six years, was born at the same time; and while everyone rejoiced at the festival of his birth, Ānanda (All-Rejoicing) was also born.

Immediately after midnight during this eclipse of the moon, early in the hour of the ox,[1336] the moon was obscured from its north-eastern sector by Rāhu's fiery tail, except for one-sixth of the lunar disc. When released from this oppressive obscuration, the moon swelled up to its fullest for something more than thirteen *ghaṭikā* [about five hours and fifteen minutes].[1337]

When seven weeks had passed after this attainment of buddhahood, the Buddha turned the first doctrinal wheel, that of the four truths, in

Vārāṇasī. Then, gradually, he revealed the intermediate transmitted precepts, which concern the transcendent perfection of discriminative awareness and signlessness, on Vulture Peak, and the irreversible vehicle which concerns the nucleus of definitive meaning on Mount Malaya, in the Malla country, and in various other places. Thus he taught three successive doctrinal wheels in conformity with the capacities of those to be trained. Although the exact years in which he taught these wheels have been calculated by some holy beings, they are merely approximations, for beyond that it is difficult to estimate them correctly.[1338] It is also generally impossible to maintain that the establishment of the sequence of vehicles followed a chronological order.

The Tathāgata lived for eighty-one whole years. Then, in the forty-seventh year following his attainment of buddhahood, during the afternoon of the fifteenth day of the mid-spring month of Caitra[1339] in 881 BC (*rnam-gnon*, iron dragon)[1340] he delivered limitless teachings on the vehicle of the Unsurpassed [Yoga]tantra, including the *Glorious and Supreme Original Buddha* [i.e. the *Kālacakra Tantra*], at the Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka Stūpa in South India. This was astrologically conjoined with the time of his [former] victory over the three worlds, that is, the subjugation of Māra. At the beginning of the last watch of the night on the fifteenth day of the following month, Vaiśākha, at Kuśinagara in the Malla country, his physical body passed away into the expanse of reality, without remainder. The Indian master Śīlapālita and the great paṇḍita Śākyaśrī, however, held that he passed into the buddha-body of reality at midnight on the eighth day of Kārttika. The supremely learned Putön of Tibet, and others, have professed the same view.[1341] Again, some have claimed that he passed into nirvāṇa on the fifteenth day of the mid-spring month,[1342] and others hold that it was on the fifteenth day of Āṣāḍha.

3 *From the Buddha's Final Nirvāṇa to the Beginning of the First Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle*

[819.2-823.4] Some astrologers have calculated the chronology of the teaching up to the present beginning from the year following the Buddha's nirvāṇa [i.e. 880 BC, iron snake], but all the great scholars have calculated it beginning from the year of the nirvāṇa itself, as these words prove:

> The year of the Conqueror's nirvāṇa
> Is the first "year of the decease".

Thus, counting from 881 BC (iron dragon), the year of the Buddha's nirvāṇa, through to the present year, 1962 (*dge-byed*, water tiger, sixteenth cycle), 2843 years have passed. The definitive ordering of all other years of the decease must be calculated on this basis. It would be appropriate to explain in detail the chronology of the teaching associated with the succession of the Kulikas, the religious kings of Shambhala, but for fear of verbosity here I shall explain only a few relevant points, little by little:

877 BC In the 5th year of the Conqueror's decease, at sunrise on the 10th day of the month of Jyaiṣṭha[1343] in the wood monkey year, the Second Buddha, Padmākara was born from a lotus bud on an isle in the Sindhu Lake. From that time until the present [1962], 2839 years have passed.[1344]

853 BC In the 29th year of the decease, that of the earth monkey, 2815 years ago, the heroic Lord of Secrets turned the doctrinal wheel for the five noble ones of the genuine enlightened family, on the meteoric summit of Mount Malaya, and the volume containing the tantras fell onto the palace of King Ja of Sahor.

782 BC At the end of the first century, in the earth sheep year, 2744 years ago, the religious king Aśoka was born.[1345]

781 BC In the iron monkey year following the passage of the first century, 2743 years ago, the lake in the Land of Snows had

receded, and the inanimate vessel, including a Sāl forest, and its animate contents evolved there.

771 BC In the 111th year of the decease, that of the iron horse, 2733 years ago, the second council was held.

716 BC In the 166th year of the decease, that of the wood ox, 2678 years ago, Garap Dorje, the teacher of the supreme vehicle, was born.

481 BC In the 401st year of the decease, that of the iron monkey, 2443 years ago, the sublime Nāgārjuna was born.[1346]

After the inanimate vessel and the animate contents had [begun to] evolve in the Land of Snows, during that aforementioned iron monkey year (781 BC), Tibet was governed for 534 years by the nine Masang brothers, [twelve] minor kingdoms and forty principalities, and others. Then,
247 BC in the wood tiger year, 2209 years ago, the lord Nyatrhi Tsenpo emerged as ruler with power over all Tibet.

1 BC The 881st year of the Buddha's decease, that of the iron monkey, 1963 years ago, was the first year prior to the birth of the foreign teacher, Jesus Christ.[1347]

Henceforth [the years] may be easily computed in sequence:

After 621 years[1348] had passed in the course of the dynastic rule of twenty-seven kings of Tibet, reckoned from the
374 CE accession of Nyatrhi Tsenpo in the wood tiger year (247 BC), Lha Thotori Nyentsen was born during the wood dog year.

433 During his sixtieth year, that of the water bird, the Awesome Secret fell onto his palace, and the true doctrine thus emerged in Tibet for the first time.

620 In the iron dragon year which followed the passage of 1500 years of the Buddha's decease, the three 500-year periods of the Age of Fruition, which are first among the ten 500-year divisions of the Conqueror's teaching, had come to an end, and the Age of Attainment began.[1349]

617 In the year of the fire ox, the 185th after the true doctrine emerged in Tibet during the water bird year (433), the religious king Songtsen Gampo was born.[1350]

641 In the 25th year thereafter, that of the iron ox, he founded the Rasa Trhülnang [the Jokhang in Lhasa], et cetera, and introduced the true doctrine and a system of writing.

790 In the 150th year thereafter,[1351] that of the iron horse, the religious king Trhisong Detsen was born.

810 In the 21st year thereafter, that of the iron tiger, the great master [Padmasambhava] came to Tibet, and the doctrinal assembly of glorious Samye was founded.

827 In the 18th year thereafter, that of the fire sheep, the seven trial monks [i.e. the "seven men who were tested"] were ordained as novices, so that the ground for the teaching of the translation, exegesis, and attainment of the true doctrines of the sūtras and mantras was established.

864 In the 38th year thereafter, that of the wood monkey, the great master [Padmasambhava] departed for the island of Cāmara.

866 In the 3rd year thereafter, that of the fire dog, the sovereign Trhi Relpacen was born.

892 In the 27th year thereafter, that of the water mouse, Lacen Gongpa Rapsel was born.

901 In the 10th year thereafter, that of the iron bird, the teaching was persecuted in Central Tibet and Tsang by Langdarma.

906 In the 6th year thereafter, that of the fire tiger, Langdarma was "liberated" by Lhalung Pelgi Dorje.

929 In the 24th year thereafter, that of the earth ox, the kingdom of Tibet disintegrated owing to internal rebellions.

953 In the 25th year thereafter, that of the water ox, Lacen and the ten men from Central Tibet and Tsang began the later propagation of the teaching in Central Tibet from Kham.[1352]

958 In the 6th year thereafter, that of the earth horse, the great translator Rincen Zangpo, the first of all the new translators, was born.

978 In the 21st year thereafter, that of the earth tiger, the learned and accomplished scholar Khyungpo Neljor Tshültrim Gönpo was born.[1353]

982 In the 5th year thereafter, that of the water horse, the glorious lord Atiśa was born.

1004 In the 23rd year thereafter, that of the wood dragon, Dromtön Gyelwei Jungne was born.

1012 In the 9th year thereafter, that of the water mouse, the translator Marpa and the treasure-finder Trapa Ngönshe were born.

1014 In the 3rd year thereafter, that of the wood tiger, Zurcungpa was born.

1027 In the 14th year thereafter, that of the fire hare, the *Commentary on the Kālacakra Tantra*, [the *Taintless Light*,] reached Tibet for the first time. The first sexagenary cycle is counted from this year onwards.

4 *From the Beginning of the First Sexagenary Cycle to the Present*

[823.4-832.4] Henceforth, it will be readily understandable if, in each sexagenary cycle down to the present, the ages of a few of the most well known and great personages be set forth conjoined with an account of the greatest historical changes.

FIRST CYCLE [1027-1087]

When the first cycle began [Wednesday 11 January 1027]:

Rincen Zangpo, the great translator, was in his 70th year	[958-1055]
Khyungpo Neljor was in his 50th year	[978- ?]
Lord Atiśa was in his 46th year	[982-1054]
Dromtön was in his 24th year	[1004-1063]
Marpa was in his 16th year	[1012-1097]
Trapa Ngönshe was in his 16th year	[1012-1090]
Zurcungpa was in his 14th year	[1014-1074]

During this first cycle, the tradition derived from the doctrinal lineage of lord Atiśa and his disciples first originated. Its adherents were called "Kadampa" after the name of their doctrine [*bka'-gdams*, "transmitted precepts and instructions"].

In addition, though the descendants of Khön Lüiwangpo Sungwa,[1354] who had been the direct disciple of the great master [Padmasambhava], had been adherents of the Nyingmapa mantras for about ten generations down to Khönrok Sherap Tshültrim, none the less, Khön Köncok Gyelpo received many doctrines from such new translators as Drokmi Śākya Yeshe and was thus converted to the mantras of the new translation schools. He built the temple of Gorum in 1073 (water ox year, first cycle) on a slope of Mount Pangpo, where the earth was white in the centre. So emerged the tradition called Sakyapa (Pale Earth) from then on, the doctrine having been named after the location.

During the same period, the learned and accomplished Khyungpo Neljor introduced to Tibet the golden doctrines of the Shangpa, and the translator Marpa introduced the sources of the Kagyü teaching.

SECOND CYCLE [1087-1147]

When the second cycle began [Friday 8 January 1087]:

Macik Lapdrön, born iron sheep, was in her 57th year	[1031-1126]
Lingje Kesar,[1355] born earth tiger, was in his 50th year	[1038-1124]
Venerable Milarepa, born iron dragon, was in his 48th year	[1040-1123]
Ngok Lotsāwa, born earth pig,[1356] was in his 29th year	[1059-1109]
Dropukpa, lord of secrets, born wood tiger, was in his 14th year	[1074-1135]
Takpo Daö Zhönu, born earth sheep, was in his 9th year	[1079-1153]

[During this cycle] the Kagyü tradition gradually divided into four great and eight minor subsects, derived from Takpo's disciples, including the "three men from Kham", and these were propagated extensively.

THIRD CYCLE [1147-1207]

When the third cycle began [Saturday 4 January 1147]:

Ca Düldzin Chenpo, born iron sheep, was in his 57th year	[1091-1166]
That same year [1091] Phadampa Sangye went to Tingri.	
Sacen Künga Nyingpo, born water monkey, was in his 56th year	[1092-1158]
Phakmotrupa, born iron tiger, was in his 38th year	[1110-1170]
Karmapa Tüsum Khyenpa, born iron tiger, was in his 38th year	[1110-1193]
Katok Tampa Deshek, born water tiger, was in his 26th year	[1122-1192]
Zhang Tarmatra, born water tiger, was in his 26th year	[1122-1193]
Lingje Repa Pema Dorje,[1357] born earth monkey, was in his 20th year	[1128-1188]
Ngadak Nyang-rel,[1358] born iron dragon, was in his 12th year	[1136-1204]
Jetsün Sonam Tsemo of Sakya, born water dog, was in his 6th year	[1142-1182]
Pel Taklung Thangpa, born water dog, was in his 6th year	[1142-1210]
Drigung Kyopa, born water pig, was in his 5th year	[1143-1217]

FOURTH CYCLE [1207-1267]

When the fourth cycle began [Tuesday 30 January 1207]:

Nyibum the scholar, born earth tiger, was in his 50th year [1158-1213]
Tsangpa Gyare,[1359] born iron snake, was in his 47th year [1161-1211]
Sakya Paṇcen, born water tiger, was in his 26th year [1182-1251]
Taklung Sangye Yarjön, born water pig, was in his 5th year [1203-1272]

After the kingdom of Tibet had disintegrated in the aforementioned year 929 (earth ox), the government was partially preserved in Ngari by minor descendants of the royal family. After remaining thus for 311 years, the army of Dorta the Black arrived in Tibet from China in 1240 (iron mouse year, fourth cycle), and Tibet, the Land of Snows, was brought under China.[1360]

From 1253 (water ox year, fourth cycle), the great lamas of the Sakyapa school held power over all three provinces of Tibet.[1361]

FIFTH CYCLE [1267-1327]

When the fifth cycle began [Thursday 27 January 1267]:

Guru Chöwang, born water monkey, was in his 56th year [1212-1270]
Orgyenpa, the great accomplished master, born iron tiger, was in his 38th year [1230-1309]
Chögyel Phakpa, the lord of living creatures, born wood sheep, was in his 33rd year [1235-1280]
Melong Dorje, the great accomplished master, born wood hare, was in his 25th year [1243-1303]
Como Menmo, born earth monkey, was in her 20th year [1248-1283]
Rikdzin Kumārādza, born fire tiger, was in his 2nd year [1266-1343]

SIXTH CYCLE [1327-1387]

When the sixth cycle began [Saturday 24 January 1327]:

Karmapa Rangjung Dorje, born wood monkey, was in his 44th year [1284-1339]
Yungtön Dorjepel, born wood monkey, was in his 44th year [1284-1365]
Putön, the all-knowing, born iron tiger, was in his 38th year [1290-1364]
Conang Künzi Tölpopa, born water dragon, was in his 36th year [1292-1361]

Longcen Rapjampa, the all-knowing, born earth monkey, was in his 20th year [1308-1363]

From 1349 (earth ox year, sixth cycle), Tā'i Situ Cangcup Gyeltsen of Phakmotru held power over Tibet and Kham.[1362]

SEVENTH CYCLE [1387-1447]

When the seventh cycle began [Monday 21 January 1387]:

Sangye Lingpa, the great treasure-finder, born iron dragon, was in his 48th year [1340-1396]
Dorje Lingpa, born fire dog, was in his 42nd year [1346-1405]
Jamgön Lozang Trakpa, born fire bird, was in his 31st year [1357-1419]
Podong Künkyen Jikdrel, born wood hare, was in his 13th year [1375-1451]
Karmapa V, Tezhinshekpa, born wood mouse, was in his 4th year [1384-1415]
Thangtong Gyelpo,[1363] the great accomplished master, born wood ox, was in his 3rd year [1385-1509]

From 1435 (wood hare year, seventh cycle), Tibet and Kham were governed by the Rinpungpa administration.[1364]

The venerable Tsongkapa [Jamgön Lozang Trakpa] vastly increased the enlightened activities of exegesis and attainment, combining the Kadampa textual tradition with the tantras of the way of the mantra according to the new translations. In 1409 (earth ox year, seventh cycle), he founded the doctrinal centre of Drok Riwo Ganden, whence originated the tradition known as the Geluk, the doctrinal lineage of which [Gandenpa] was named after its seat.

EIGHTH CYCLE [1447-1507]

When the eighth cycle began [Tuesday 17 January 1447], the astrological treatise entitled the *Oral Transmission of Puṇḍarīka* (*skar-rtsis-kyi bstan-bcos pad-dkar zhal-lung*) was composed by those renowned as the "Three Gyamtsos".[1365]

Gendün Trupa [Dalai Lama I], the great paṇḍita, born iron sheep, was in his 57th year [1391-1474]
Gölo Zhönupel, born water monkey, was in his 56th year [1392-1481]
Ratna Lingpa, the great treasure-finder, born water sheep, was in his 45th year [1403-1478]
Karmapa VI, Thongwa Tönden, born fire monkey, was in his 32nd year [1416-1453]

Śākya Chokden, the great paṇḍita, born earth monkey, was in his 20th year [1428-1507]
Korampa, the doctrine master, born earth bird, was in his 19th year [1429-1489]
Chökyong Zangpo, the great translator of Zhalu, born iron bird, was in his 7th year [1441-1538]

NINTH CYCLE [1507-1567]

When the ninth cycle began [Thursday 14 January 1507]:

Pema Lingpa, the great treasure-finder, born iron horse, was in his 58th year [1450-1521]
Sangye Tshencen, the madman of Tsang, born water monkey, was in his 56th year [1452-1507]
Künga Lekpa, the Drukpa madman, born wood pig, was in his 53rd year [1455-1529]
Künga Zangpo,[1366] the madman of Central Tibet, born earth tiger, was in his 50th year [1458- ?]
Gendün Gyamtso [Dalai Lama II], the great paṇḍita, born fire monkey, was in his 32nd year [1476-1542]
Pawo II, Tsuklak Trhengwa,[1367] born wood dog, was in his 4th year [1504-1566]
Karmapa VIII, Mikyö Dorje, was born in this fire hare year [first of the cycle] [1507-1554]
Jetsün Künga Drölcok was also born in this fire hare year [1507-1566]

From 1565 (wood ox year, ninth cycle), the Tsangpa governors ruled Tibet and Kham.[1368]

TENTH CYCLE [1567-1627]

When the tenth cycle began [Saturday 11 January 1567] :

Lodrö Gyamtso, the physician of Zurkar, born earth dragon, was in his 60th year [1508- ?]
Gampopa Trashi Namgyel, born water monkey, was in his 56th year [1512-1587]
Sherap Özer, the great treasure-finder, born fire ox, was in his 51st year [1517-1584]
Pema Karpo, the all-knowing Drukpa, born fire pig, was in his 41st year [1527-1592]
Sodokpa Lodrö Gyeltsen, born water mouse, was in his 16th year [1552-1624?]

Karmapa IX, Wangcuk Dorje, born wood tiger, was in his 14th year [1554-1603]

ELEVENTH CYCLE [1627-1687]

When the eleventh cycle began [Monday 18 January 1627]:

Jetsün Tāranātha, born wood pig, was in his 53rd year [1575-1634]
Rikdzin Jatsön Nyingpo, born wood bird, was in his 43rd year [1585-1656]
Lhodruk Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel,[1369] born wood horse, was in his 34th year [1594-1651]
Lhatsün Namka Jikme, born fire bird, was in his 31st year [1597-1650]
Sungtrül III, Tshültrim Dorje, born earth dog, was in his 30th year [1598-1669]
Gampopa Norbu Gyenpa, born earth pig, was in his 29th year [1599-1633]
Karmapa X, Chöying Dorje, born wood snake, was in his 23rd year [1605-1674]
Sangdak Trhinle Lhündrup, born iron pig, was in his 17th year [1611-1662]
Düdül Dorje, the great treasure-finder, born wood hare, was in his 13th year [1615-1672]
Dalai Lama V, Lozang Gyamtso, born fire snake, was in his 11th year [1617-1682]

In 1641 (iron snake year, eleventh cycle), the Mongolian army inflicted great damage on the spiritual and temporal domains of the Karmapa-Tsangpa government.[1370]

From 1642 (water horse year), the Ganden Palace held dominion over the whole of Tibet and Kham.

TWELFTH CYCLE [1687-1747]

When the twelfth cycle began [Thursday 13 February 1687]:

Cangdak Pema Trhinle, born iron snake, was in his 47th year [1641-1717]
Peling Thukse Tendzin Gyurme Dorje, born iron snake, was in his 47th year [1641- ?]
Gyurme Dorje, the great treasure-finder of Mindröling, born fire dog, was in his 42nd year [1646-1714]

Locen Dharmaśrī, born wood horse, was in his 34th year [1654-1717]
Karmapa XI, Yeshe Dorje, born fire dragon, was in his 12th year [1676-1702]
Khamtrül III, Ngawang Künga Tendzin, born iron monkey, was in his 8th year [1680-1728]

In 1717 (fire bird year, twelfth cycle) the Dzungar army severely persecuted the Nyingmapa teaching and monasteries.[1371]

THIRTEENTH CYCLE [1747-1807]

When the thirteenth cycle began [Friday 10 February 1747]:

Rikdzin Tshewang Norbu, born earth tiger, was in his 50th year [1698-1755]
Situ Chöki Jungne, born iron dragon, was in his 48th year [1700-1774]
Dalai Lama VII, Kelzang Gyamtso, the supreme conqueror, born earth mouse, was in his 40th year [1708-1757]
Rikdzin Jikme Lingpa, born earth bird, was in his 19th year [1730-1798]
Karmapa XIII, Düdül Dorje, born water ox, was in his 15th year [1733-1797]
Dodrup Jikme Trhinle Özer, born wood ox, was in his 3rd year [1745-1821]

FOURTEENTH CYCLE [1807-1867]

When the fourteenth cycle began [Sunday 8 February 1807]:

Chöling Karwang Chime Dorje, born water sheep, was in his 45th year [1763- ?]

Gampopa Orgyen Drodül Lingpa [born 1757] and Rikdzin Dorje Thokme [1746-1797] were both his contemporaries. These are renowned as the "three emanational awareness-holders who opened the secret land of Pemakö as a place of pilgrimage".[1372]

Gyelse Zhenpen Thaye of Dzokcen,[1373] born iron monkey, was in his 8th year [1800- ?]
Dalai Lama IX, Lungtok Gyamtso, the supreme conqueror, born wood ox, was in his 3rd year [1805-1815]

In 1855 (wood hare year, fourteenth cycle) the Gurkha army attacked Tibet.[1374]

FIFTEENTH CYCLE [1867-1927]

When the fifteenth cycle began [Tuesday 5 February 1867]:

Peltrül Orgyen Jikme Chöki Wangpo, born earth dragon, was in his 60th year [1808-1887]
Jamgön Lodrö Thaye,[1375] born water bird, was in his 55th year [1813-1899]
Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, born iron dragon, was in his 48th year [1820-1892]
Chogyur Decen Lingpa, born earth ox, was in his 39th year [1829-1870]
Düjom Lingpa, the great treasure-finder, born wood sheep, was in his 33rd year [1835-1904]
Mipham Namgyel Gyamtso, born fire horse, was in his 22nd year [1846-1912]
Trupwang Śākyaśrī, born water ox, was in his 15th year [1853-1919]
Lerap Lingpa, the great treasure-finder, born fire dragon, was in his 12th year [1856-1926]
Karmapa XV, Khakyap Dorje, was born four years after the inception of this cycle [1871-1922]

In 1888 (earth mouse year, fifteenth cycle), the British arrived in Tibet for the first time.[1376]

In 1904 (wood dragon year), there was a conflict between Britain and Tibet.

In 1910 (iron dog year), the Chinese army invaded.[1377]

In 1914 (wood tiger year), the First World War began.

SIXTEENTH CYCLE [1927-1987]

When the sixteenth cycle began [Friday 4 March 1927]:

Dzokcen Trülku V, Thupten Chöki Dorje, born water monkey, was in his 56th year [1872-1935]
Dalai Lama XIII, Thupten Gyamtso, the supreme conqueror, born fire mouse, was in his 52nd year [1876-1933]
Katok Situ Chöki Gyamtso, born iron dragon, would have been in his 48th year [1880-1925]
Paṇcen Chöki Nyima, born water sheep, was in his 45th year [1883-1937]
Karmapa XVI, Rikpei Dorje, born wood mouse, was in his 4th year [1924-1981]

In 1939 (earth hare year, sixteenth cycle), the Second World War began.

In 1950 (iron tiger year), the turmoil of the Chinese Communist hostility in Tibet began.

SEVENTEENTH CYCLE [1987-2047]

When the twenty-four years from the next one, 1963 (*mdzes-byed*, water hare), through to 1986 (*zad-pa*, fire tiger) have passed,[1378] the seventeenth cycle [1987-2047] will start. At that time:

Künzang Wangyel, the ancestral throne-holder of Mindröling, born in the iron sheep year (1931) will be in his 57th year.

Dalai Lama XIV, Tendzin Gyamtso, the supreme conqueror Padmapāṇi, the crown jewel of us all, born in the wood pig year (1935), will be in his 53rd year.

Künga Trhinle Wangyel, the lord and throne-holder of the Drölma Palace of Sakya, born in the wood bird year (1945), will be in his 43rd year.

I pray that the lotus feet of those great individuals survive for an ocean of aeons, and that their great enlightened activities on behalf of the teaching and living creatures be everlasting, all-pervasive, and spontaneously accomplished!

There are all kinds of disagreements regarding the year-signs and elements from the time when Nyatrhi Tsenpo emerged as the lord of Tibet until the later propagation of the teaching, owing to erroneous records in some of the past doctrinal histories and chronologies of the teaching, or negligence which allowed for discrepancies in temporal sequence, or whatever other reasons. Here, counting from the year of the Buddha's decease and checking against the original sources for Tibetan royal genealogy and doctrinal history, I have set down the exact determination which has thus been obtained.

Although, in general, there have been many changes in the political life of Tibet during the past, as far as the doctrine is concerned, the veracity of the Teacher's own prophetic declaration that his teaching would increasingly spread northwards has been actualised. Due to the merits of those to be trained in Tibet, and by the power of the timely penetration of [the world by] the Conquerors' compassion, individuals who have held the teaching and have shown mastery in inconceivable careers of learning, dignity and accomplishment, have successively appeared from the time of the teaching's inception in the past down to the present day. Because they preserved the most precious teaching and continue to preserve it, the continuity of the doctrine in Tibet has never been impaired. Therefore, there is no reason for errors to have crept into these enumerations of years past.

5 *Some Prophecies*

[833.5-835.4] In the future, when four hundred and sixty-three years have passed counting from the present one, 1962 (water tiger), then at the beginning of the wood male monkey year (2424/5) Rudrakulika, the "Iron Cakravartin" will invade our realm from Shambhala with his emanational armies and destroy all traces of the barbarian forces, none excepted.[1379] Then the *kṛtayuga* of the next four ages will begin.[1380]

Now there are predictions concerning the duration of the secret mantra traditions of the vehicle of indestructible reality in general, and of the teaching of the Great Perfection with its secret transmitted precepts in particular. In general, it is said that the time for teaching through buddha-body begins when [sentient beings] have an infinite life-span and lasts until the life-span is one thousand years; the time for teaching through buddha-speech lasts from then until the life-span is seventy years; and the time for teaching through buddha-mind lasts from then until there is a ten-year life-span. But that is a general statement. As for the duration of the actual teaching [of the Great Perfection] in particular, it is said that the teaching through buddha-body lasts for fifteen thousand periods of five hundred years, and the teachings through buddha-speech and mind for one thousand periods of five hundred years each.[1381]

Concerning the holders of this illuminating doctrine [of the Great Perfection] during this present late age, it says in the *Root Tantra of the Penetration of Sound* (*sgra thal-'gyur rtsa-ba'i rgyud*, NGB Vol.10):

> After I have passed into nirvāṇa,
> In the western land of Oḍḍiyāna,
> The divine lady of Dhanakośa
> Will bear a fatherless son, Vajra-He,
> Who will uphold the genuine teaching.

Beginning thus with Garap Dorje, the last of these successive prophecies reads as follows:



Rudrakulika

Then, the ḍākinī Śrīdharā
Will maintain this teaching and propagate it
During the age when life lasts ten years.
Thereafter it will not endure, but subside whence it arose.

Just so, after the age when life lasts only ten years the disciples of this [Śrīdharā] will have reached perfection and, with the harvest of her teaching, will gradually fly off to the Beauteously Arrayed realm, the realm of Vast Conduct, and the realm of the Melodious Crown. When the teaching has also been brought to perfection seven times in each of those realms, then the world system or field of the emanational body, situated directly in front of the heart orb of [Vairocana] the Great Glacial Lake, will be emptied, and the deeds of the great Vajradhara will have completed one cycle.[1382] Thereafter, in the world system which follows, the doctrine will remain without increase or decline for six hundred billion aeons. In such ways, it is said, enlightened activity is incessant, lasting just as long as does space. Indeed, its manner is not contrary to that of a sky which is without creation and cessation despite the presence of clouds, which are created and cease.

This provisionally ends my exegesis which comprises a brief examination of the various chronological determinations associated with the descent of the vehicles and so forth, and a statement of the teaching's duration, [the eighth part of this book], *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra*, which is a history of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School.

Closing Statements

1 *Primary Sources*

[835.6-837.1] The sources for what is expounded herein have been well-gathered from reliable documents including most of the histories of the *Transmitted Precepts of the Nyingmapa* (*rnying-ma bka'-ma*) in general and, in particular, the following:

(i) The all-knowing Longcenpa's *Great Lecture on the History of the Innermost Spirituality, Mother and Son* (*snying-thig ma-bu'i lo-rgyus gtong-thun chen-mo*).

(ii) Locen Dharmaśrī's *Lamp which Illuminates the Essence of Tantra, Transmission, and Esoteric Instruction: a General Exposition of the Empowerment of the Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions* (*'dus-pa mdo'i dbang-gi spyi-don rgyud-lung man-ngag-gi gnad sel-byed sgron-me*).

(iii) Yakde Düldzin Khyenrap Gyamtso's *Answers to Queries on Doctrinal History, a Storehouse of Gems* (*chos-'byung dris-lan nor-bu'i bang-mdzod*).

(iv) Khecok Ngawang Lodrö's *Origin of the Doctrines of the Ancient Translation School, a Scholar's Delight* (*snga-'gyur chos-kyi byung-khungs mkhas-pa dga'-byed*).

(v) The chapter on the Nyingmapa found in Gölo Zhönupel's *Blue Annals* (*deb-ther sngon-po*).

(vi) The chapter on the Nyingmapa found in Pawo Tsuklak Trhengwa's *Scholar's Feast of Doctrinal History* (*chos-'byung mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*).

(vii) The all-knowing Drukpa Pema Karpo's *Doctrinal History which is Sunlight Extending the Teaching* (*chos-'byung bstan-pa rgyas-pa'i nyin-byed*).

(viii) Jetsün Tāranātha's *Life of Orgyen with Three Reasons for Confidence* (*o-rgyan rnam-thar yid-ches gsum-ldan*).

(ix) The all-knowing Jikme Lingpa's *Narrative History of the Precious Collected Tantras of the Ancient Translation School, the Ornament Covering All Jambudvīpa* (*rnying-rgyud dkar-chag 'dzam-gling tha-grur khyab-pa'i rgyan*).

(x) Katok Paṇḍita Gyurme Tshewang Chokdrup's *Catalogue of the Collected Tantras, a Discourse Resembling a Great Divine Drum* (*rgyud-'bum dkar-chag lha'i rnga-bo-che lta-bu'i gtam*).

(xi) Jamgön Lodrö Thaye's *Lives of the Hundred Treasure-finders, a Beauteous Rosary of Precious Beryl* (*gter-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar rin-chen bai-ḍūrya'i phreng-mdzes*).

(xii) Excerpts from the oceanic eloquence of Mipham Namgyel [i.e. from his *Collected Works*].

Among other works which I have also considered in detail are:

(xiii) The *Great Record of Teachings Received* (*gsan-yig chen-mo*) of the all-seeing Great Fifth Dalai Lama.

(xiv) The *Record of Teachings Received* (*gsan-yig*) of [Gyurme Dorje], the precious, great treasure-finder of Mindröling.

(xv) Rikdzin Tshewang Norbu's *Definitive Order of the Chronology of the Teaching* (*bstan-rtsis-kyi rnam-bzhag*).

2 *Concluding Benedictions*

[837.1-845.4] Totally unadulterated by rough conjectures, egotistical fancies, and other stains of exaggeration and depreciation, I have long abandoned the base-mindedness of such impure motivations as the desire to seem learned, or to achieve fame. Nowadays, owing to the exigencies of place and time, it is difficult to obtain the texts of all the doctrinal histories of the past, and even the accounts [of events] up to the present day have not been clearly compiled. Therefore, I have been motivated only by the hope that this may benefit those seekers who follow the doctrine, without its vanishing like the tracks of a bird in the sky, as well as by the higher aspiration embodied in the thought that there would be no harm if, during this final age, just an account of the origins of the most secret teaching were to be preserved in writing so as to remain on earth. So, I have written this book during my sojourn in the southern land of India, following my expulsion as a refugee from the Land of Snows to the north. Composed with great endeavour and sincere mind, it boasts of purity, conciseness, and clarity. Hence, it merits the confidence of all.

Again, may it be said:[1383]

> Praised as the summit of the Conqueror's whole doctrinal store, appearing with difficulty in this world, but famed in an ocean of world systems,
> The jewel-like teaching of the definitively secret supreme vehicle is so wondrously and perfectly illuminated that it vies with the *udumbara*.
> Covered over with numberless attributes as stems and leaves, it is entwined by millions of vines of maturation and liberation, and is laden with the two accomplishments' fine fruits.
> To sustain those to be trained, the cool land obtained a pleasure garden of marvellous, holy wish-granting trees.
> E MA! What abundant, meritorious fortune!

After the heavenly stream
of the most secret awareness-holders' piṭaka
Had curled up in the locks
of the three ancestral lineages,[1384]
It was conducted to the Land of Snows,
to become good fortune's nectar stream,
By a hundred aspiration-born labours
of the preceptor, master, and religious king.

Who would surpass the kindness,
which extends to the very horizon,
Of the promulgators who've revealed
the sun of the supreme doctrine,
Blazing with accomplishment's thousand rays,
born of the true lineage,
Disclosed on the wondrous highway
of exegesis and attainment?

It is said that all those who have good fortune
and so have enjoyed
The essential elixir-like savour
of esoteric instruction,
That is brewed with the yeast of the lineage
whose intention is directly perceived,
Become drunk with experience and realisation,
and delight in supreme transformation's
dance.[1385]

The teachings of the Ancient Translation School
are not just empty expressions,
Broadcast by the prattle of fools,
who think only their fathers' bowls clean.[1386]
They are excellent and complete, undeluded
essentials of the sūtra and mantra paths,
Taught by those who've appeared in the wake
of millions of learned and accomplished masters.

Water-lilies blemished
by dark ignorance fold themselves up
In that garden, when they are struck
by the necklace of illumination;
But from the reservoir
of the three faiths,
Certainty's white lotus
has blossomed.

Behold the good fortune
  of the ear which receives
Even part of the nectar
  of this discourse on doctrinal history,
And so is embraced by one hundred thousand
  attributes of excellence.
This is a priceless item,
  not subject to devaluation.

Now that this unbearable storm,
  the degenerate age's depredation,
Has driven the craft of the Conqueror's teaching
  right to the perilous brink,
As its unknowledgeable captain
  I've done what I have here,
With a high aspiration to promote
  skilful means' artistry.

Though in the cool land
  the heavenly Sage's teaching
Has been beautified by a million constellations,
  learned and accomplished in the ancient translations,
Still, to raise the horizons
  of this most degenerate age,
A sole naked star remains wishing to speak:
  I am he.

Though she be no wondrous beauty,
  no figure of literary form,
This seductress, brimming
  with fine meaning's youthful vigour,
May well steal the thoughts
  of lucid young scholars,
When she flashes the bright smile
  of deceitless utterance.

This way is a seeing eye
  for those with devotion,
An ornament for the throats
  of the learned and holy,
And, for those who hold the true lineage,
  it is the nectar of my heart.
I think it may well be
  a wish-fulfilling gem.

Though the burden of many years
  weighs on this physical frame,

The youthful power of intelligence
  remains undiminished.
So now it is my heartfelt desire
  to play at skilful teaching and composition
In that pleasure grove
  in which supreme doctrine appears.

The wish-fulfilling gem of the supreme vehicle's
  definitively secret tradition
Was well sought with a hundred efforts
  by the host of our forebearers.
Now the burden falls to us followers
  to worship it as the pinnacle
Of the banner of exegesis and attainment.
  Of this I pray you be knowing!

The good that has come from this little endeavour is like the Manasarovar Lake:[1387] May limitless merits arise from its depths as masses of clouds and fill the entire extent of the celestial expanse of reality!

Let there be brought down a wondrous, plentiful rain of temporal and spiritual well-being, to moisten the hard soil of the world's depredations and give rise to a heavenly, medicinal grove of perfect glory and wealth.

There, may the joyful perfume of the dense groves of pure white-anthered, pollen-drenched lotuses of holiness, which float on the authentic view's lotus pools, waft in a hundred directions.

So that, nurtured by the sunlight of the Three Precious Jewels, the re-emergence of worldly auspices and those of peace, like heavy golden corn, might sustain the *kṛtayuga's* feast.

By wielding the vajra of threefold reason[1388] as their great weapon, the lords among divine promulgators, the proponents of the taintless tradition of the Guide, Supreme Sage, Man-lion,

Have at once crushed the brains of barbarians, who harbour perverse notions, wrong views; with the staff of the view that is free from extremes, they have vanquished flower-arrowed Kāma with his army,

And beat the drum of profoundly significant doctrine. May all of the many creatures who grope in the great darkness of thick ignorant slumber be wakened!

Just hearing the divine melody of the thunder of scripture, and having abandoned that endless state, may they obtain the joy of great intelligence, discerning reality.

May this transformation of the expression of the most secret oceanic doctrinal tradition's origins into written form, from the lute of my throat, which plays indestructible reality's tune,
Not decline until that time when the Fifth Guide's doctrinal drum[1389] resounds in this rea rh to remove limitless beings' afflictions; but may the glory of its enlightened activity blaze everlastingly and all-pervasively.
And may the golden wheel of the indestructible nucleus – whose celestial axis consists of four visionary appearances, spontaneously present through the effortless king of vehicles, whose thousand resplendent spokes are unelaborate primordial purity, whose all-embracing rim is the conduct of transcendental perfections –
Ascend through the skies above the four continents of the Sage's teaching,[1390] so that all that is auspicious, blissful and fine within the three spheres become like unwavering Mount Meru!

3 *Colophon*

Thus this work called *Thunder from the Great Conquering Battle-Drum of Devendra* gives clear and lucid expression to the history of the precious teaching of the vehicle of indestructible reality according to the Ancient Translation School, the first of all of the teachings of the Conqueror in the Land of Snows.

It was composed by Śākyamuni's lay disciple, the holder of gnostic mantras Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje Gelek Nampar Gyelweide (Fearless Indestructible Reality of Pristine Cognition, the Victorious Army of All that is Good), or, to use my name as a grammarian, Tshojung Gyepei Langtso Tsuklak Mawei Nyima (Joyous Youth of the Lake-born Lotus, the Sun amongst Proponents of Scripture), though my countrymen in the village lanes universally know me as Düjom Trülku. I was conceived in the taintless family line descended from the religious king of Kanam, the lord of the realm of Puworong, who became so known because Catri Tsenpo, a deity of the Radiant Heaven, had taken possession of that land;[1391] but my umbilical cord was cut in the secret land of Pemakö. The sunlight of [Padmasambhava] the great master of Oḍḍiyāna's compassion having penetrated my heart, I may boast that the lotus of my intellect did blossom a little.

After being greeted by the onset of my fifty-eighth year, I began this work on Saturday 19 May 1962 (full moon day, *Caitra*, *dge-byed* water male tiger year, sixteenth cycle),[1392] which has the good fortune of being the anniversary of the original reception of [the *Kālacakra Tantra*], that king of Non-Dual tantras and nectar of secret injunctions. It was entirely completed on the most powerful tenth day of the waxing half of the monkey month [i.e. the anniversary of Guru Rinpoche's birth, which in 1962 fell on Thursday 12 July],[1393] sustained by that season in which mobile and motionless creatures enjoy the summer's perfect feast and fruits swell with sap, in the city of Ratnapurī, Sahor, India, a supreme location.[1394] It was there that Padmasambhava, as Dewachenpo, the embodiment of great bliss, had conferred maturation on King Ārṣadhara in the maṇḍala of the glorious *Ocean of Doctrine, the*

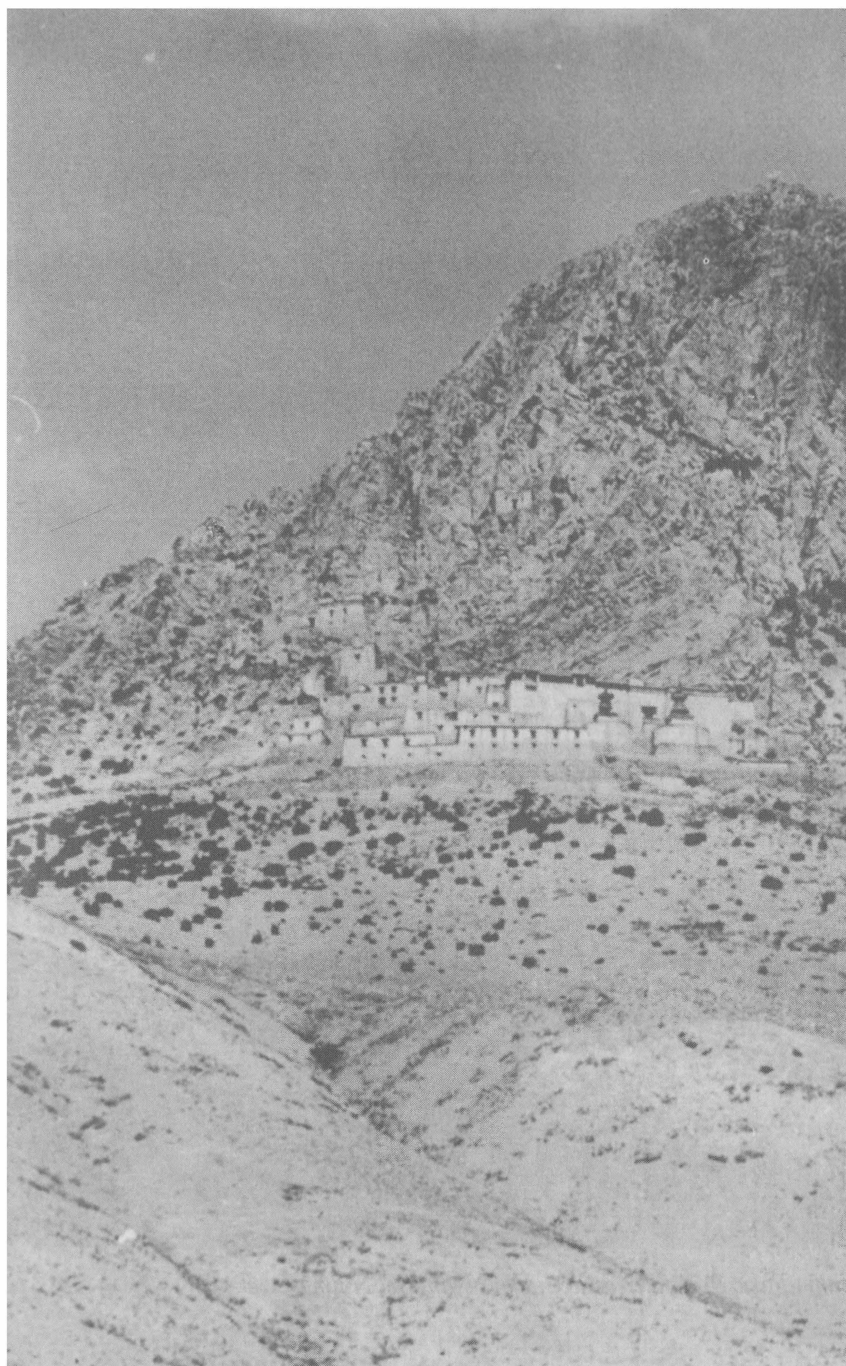
Gathering of Transmitted Precepts complete with its maṇḍala clusters, and played out the apparitional drama of pristine cognition, or the Great Seal, so as to embrace all of space.

The scribe who set down the original copy was Chödrak Gyamtso, a logician and teacher of mantras from Shinglotsel, the southern district of Mön,[1395] who well accomplished this task with his offering of devotion and diligence.

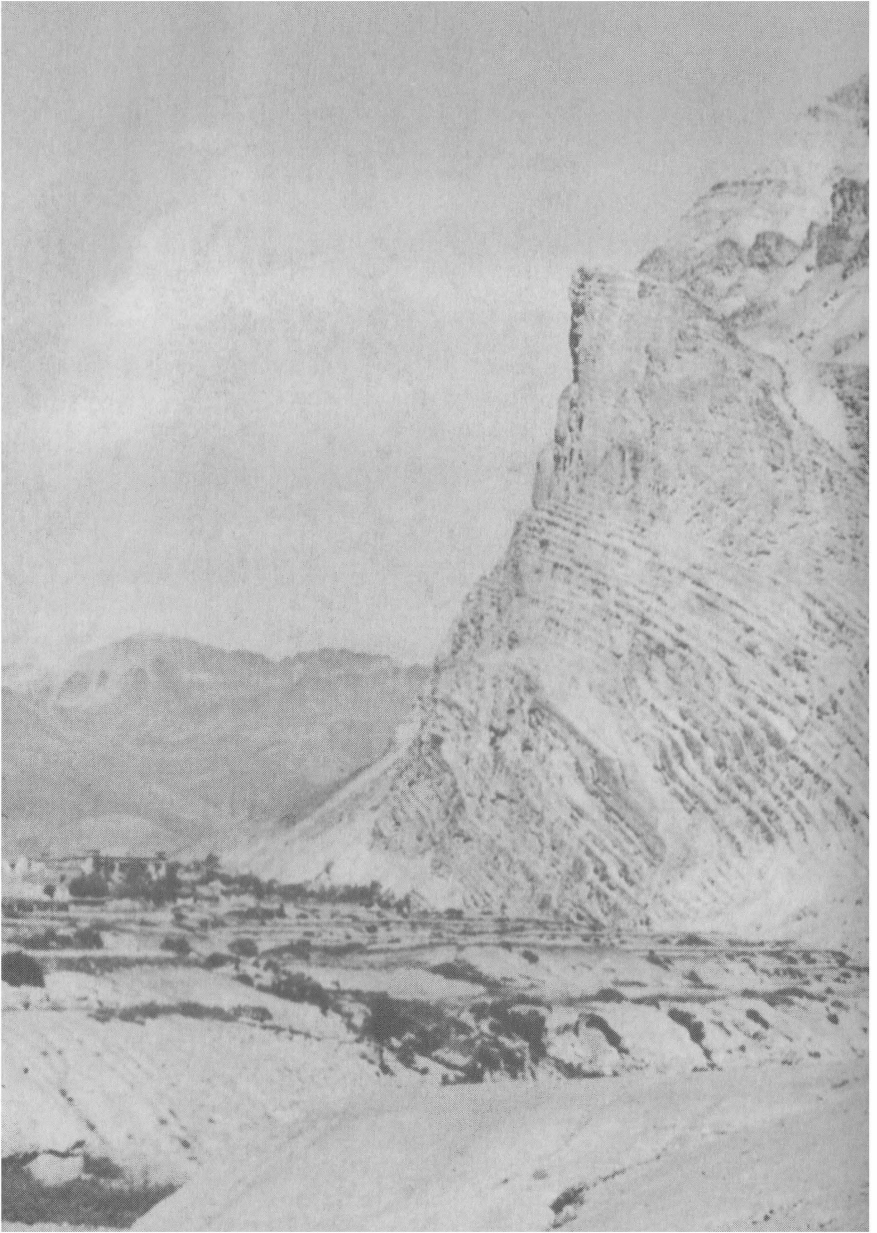
May this cause the precious teaching of the Conqueror in general, and the taintless tradition of its most secret nucleus in particular, to spread without decline, and to survive perpetually, in all places, times and circumstances; and may it be the basis for all living beings to be sustained throughout all times by the fine feast of perfect auspices, bliss and goodness!

May the great tradition of the preceptor,
  the master and the religious king
Increase until it pervades
  the three spheres of Jambudvīpa!
And throughout the three times may there be
  the virtue and goodness whereby
The minds of creatures are never without
  the appearance of the Three Precious Jewels!

Jayantu! May they be victorious!



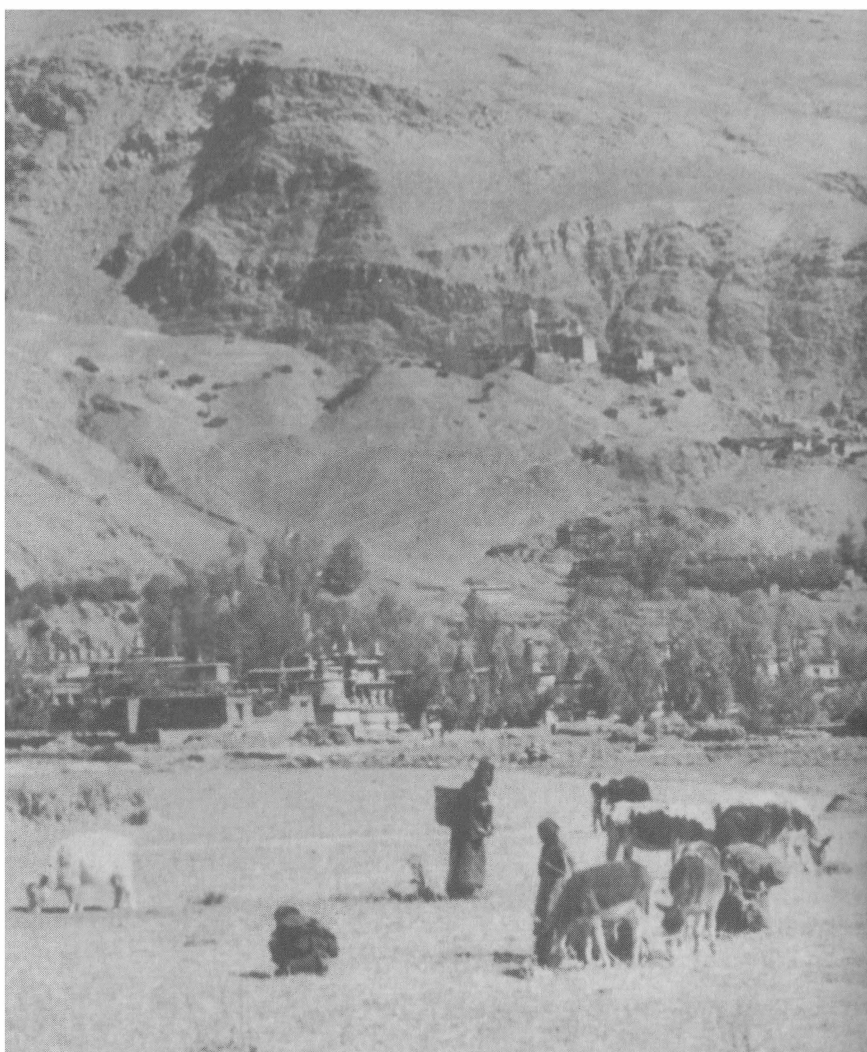
Mawocok in east Lhodrak, residence of Nyang-rel Nyima Özer



Sinmo Parje Rock, a treasure site of Nyang-rel Nyima Özer



*The Guru Temple in Layak, west Lhodrak, founded by **Guru Chöwang***



Lhalung, residence of the Peling Sungtrül



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